THE

HOLY BIBLE

ACCORDING TO THE AUTHORIZED VERSION (A.D. 1611).

Ed. by F. C. Cook

WITH AN EXPLANATORY AND CRITICAL

Commentary

AND

A Revision of the Translation,

BY CLERGY OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

APOCRYPHA.

EDITED

BY HENRY WACE, D.D.,

PREBENDARY OF ST. PAUL'S; PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON; PREACHER OF LINCOLN'S INN; HONORARY CHAPLAIN TO THE QUEEN; CHAPLAIN TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

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PREFACE.

THE scope and limits of this addition to the SPEAKER'S COMMENTARY on the Holy Bible are so lucidly explained in the General Introduction by Dr. Salmon, the Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin, that little need here be added in presenting these two volumes to the reader. "The Books called Apocrypha" formed an integral part of the Authorized Version of the Holy Bible in 1611, and it was thought therefore that the design of a Commentary on that Version would not be completely carried out unless these books received a similar treatment with those which are recognised as Canonical, while their inherent interest and importance rendered it desirable that the English reader should be furnished with a much more complete edition and explanation of them than any he has hitherto possessed. The plan and principles of the SPEAKER'S COMMENTARY have been as far as possible adhered to; and it is hoped that these volumes will afford the latest information which modern learning has supplied on the subject of the Apocryphal books, and will furnish a trustworthy guide in their study.

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APOCRYPHA.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

§ I. CLAIMS OF THE APOCRYPHA ON THE ATTENTION OF CHRISTIAN READERS.

1. *The interval between Old Testament and New Testament times.*—The Christian religion has its roots in Judaism: its Founder and its first preachers were Jews, who all held in profound reverence the sacred books of the Jewish nation, and transmitted that reverence to the Church which they founded. Consequently Christians have always felt a deep interest in the study of these books, and of the history of the Jewish people which they contain. Many a Sunday School child would find it easier to tell rightly the succession of the Kings of Judah than of the Kings of England. But there is a great gap in popular knowledge of Jewish history. That knowledge is now almost exclusively derived from the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments; but between these two collections of writings there is an interval of about 400 years concerning which these authorities are almost quite silent. And yet during that interval important changes took place; as we discover when we compare the state of Jewish religious feeling in Old Testament and in New Testament times. In the latter times we find no hankering after idolatry, no desire for the worship of strange gods; monotheism has become the passionate faith of the people. Their universal conviction is, There is one God, and there is none other but He. Again, we find that at the time of our Lord's appearing the study of the ancient prophetical writings had produced a universal belief in the advent of a Messiah, and a general persuasion that His coming was then close at hand. The doctrine also not only of a future life, but of the Resurrection of the Body, though disputed in the schools, had become the firm conviction of the most religious part of the nation. It is surely an interesting study for a Christian to trace the historical continuity of Jewish religious faith; and if there is a period of the history which the Inspired Volume leaves comparatively obscure, he ought not to disdain to inquire what light can

be thrown on that period from other trustworthy sources.

2. *Value of the books called Apocrypha as throwing light on that interval.*—The books which in the Authorized Version are designated as "the books called Apocrypha," and which form the subject of the present volumes, include the most authentic and most valuable remains of Jewish literature belonging to the period between the prophesying of Malachi and the birth of our Lord. These books, then, present sources of information which evidently cannot be neglected by any one who desires to study the history of the preparation which God made, through the religious training of the Jewish nation, for the reception of the revelation which His Son was to communicate to the world. The use of the books from this point of view is so obvious that they could scarcely have fallen into so much neglect as they now generally have done among English-speaking Christians, if it were not for a reaction against extravagant claims that have been made for them. The Council of Trent set the whole collection, with three exceptions (viz. the two books of Esdras and the Prayer of Manasses), on a level of complete equality with the books of the Hebrew Bible and of the New Testament. This decision was so much at variance with learned opinion in the earlier Church, that the framers of the Thirty-nine Articles had no difficulty in producing the authority of the most learned of the Western Fathers, St. Jerome, in support of their assertion that the Church reads the Apocryphal books for example of life and instruction of manners, but does not apply them to establish any doctrine.

3. *Prevalent neglect of these books.*—These books were not only for the reasons just mentioned retained in the public reading of the English Church, but were commended in the authorized editions of the Holy Bible to the private study of her members. But in the earlier part of the present century, objections which had been heard of before, against the circulation of the Apocrypha as part of the sacred volume, took formidable shape. It was urged that the circulation of the Apocrypha, bound up with the canonical books in the same volume, if it did not amount to an acknowledgment of the Romish claims for the Apocrypha, at least would induce the less learned to accept all the books so presented to them as possessing like authority. It is not necessary to enter here into the history of the controversy that ensued; but the practical outcome of it has been that for the greater part of the present century the Bibles in common use no longer contain the Apocrypha; and so these books have come to be really "hidden away," and are practically unknown to the bulk of our people.

In order to judge dispassionately what the claims of these books really are, we must study the history of their reception in the Christian Church; nor can that history be understood without going further back, and studying the history of the Greek Bible.

§ II. History of the Greek Bible.

4. *Jewish use of the Greek language.*—If it were proposed to compare the books of the Old and of the New Testament with the view of ascertaining what changes had passed on the nation during the interval between the two dispensations, the first thing that presents itself at the outset of the inquiry is the difference of the language in which the two collections of books are written. This difference corresponds to a fundamental difference between the two dispensations. As long as Judaism was but the religion of a single nation, which, content with admitting some casual proselytes, made no systematic effort at extending itself beyond the borders of its own land, so long the Hebrew language could well suffice for its needs. But out of Judaism was developed a religion which aimed at nothing less than making a conquest of the whole world. It would have been, humanly speaking, impossible to gain this victory through the instrumentality of Hebrew, which was barely known by name to the most cultured peoples of the time, as one of the languages spoken by those whom they called barbarians. Greek, on the other hand, was universally spread over

the eastern part of the Roman world, where it afforded the means of communication between the ruling nation and its subjects. In the West also Grecian traders had established settlements. Greek cities had been founded in the South of Italy; and one of the most interesting Christian remains of the second century[1] affords evidence that Greek-speaking settlers had made their way up the Rhone from Marseilles to Lyons. Besides the use of the language for the purposes of business, its noble literature made acquaintance with it a necessity to every man of culture and education. When the Jews looked outside the boundaries of their own nation, it seemed to them as if all else were Greeks. In the New Testament the antithesis "the Jew and the Greek" is of frequent occurrence, exhibiting the feeling that all who were not Jews might be roughly described as Greeks. If, then, Jewish missionaries were to go forth, converting the other nations of the world to own that He whom the Jews worshipped was the only God, it seems a necessary condition for their success that they should be able to use the instrumentality of the Greek language.

5. *Providential result of the calamities of the Jewish nation.*—But how did it happen that Jews were found in considerable numbers possessing this accomplishment, and how indeed did they come to take such interest in foreign nations as to be anxious to labour for their conversion? We find that it was the temporal calamities of the Jewish people, though to the eye of men they seemed certain to crush out their national existence, which really in the providence of God were made the means of training them to become the teachers of the world. Had their sovereign continued to retain his independence, sitting at Jerusalem on the throne of David, they would have had little inducement to acquire a mastery of foreign languages, and it is likely that they would have cared as little as in former times to propagate their faith in distant lands. But their capital was taken, their king slain, all their leading men carried off to foreign captivity. The policy of the conquerors of those days included extensive deportations of the conquered peoples. No cruelty was intended: the involuntary exiles were assured the move would be for their good. "Make an agreement with me," said Rabshakeh, "and come out to me, until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards." (Isaiah xxxvi. 17.) That these were no delusive promises may be gathered from Jeremiah's subsequent letter to the Babylonian exiles, counselling them to settle down contentedly in the land of their captivity. "Build ye houses, and dwell in them; plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them; take wives, and beget sons and daughters; take wives to your sons, and give your daughters to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters, that ye may be increased there and not diminished. And seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried captive, and pray unto the Lord for it, for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace." (Jer. xxix. 5–7.) These counsels were so acted on that, when seventy years afterwards the decree went forth that the exiles might return to their own land, only a fraction of them cared to remove, and Babylonia continued for centuries to include a large Jewish population.

6. *Pressure of Hellenism on Judaism.*—But Nebuchadnezzar was far indeed from being the last of the conquerors of the Jewish nation. Those who returned from the Babylonian exile found successive waves of foreign conquest to pass over their land, the same policy of deportation being persisted in. For example, the city of Alexandria is said to have had its first population provided for it by a forced migration of many thousand Jews. It is needless to trace minutely the history of these compulsory removals, because they were rapidly succeeded by voluntary migrations, as the intelligence which Jews at home received from their brethren abroad made them acquainted with greater facilities for commercial enterprise enjoyed in other countries. Thus, in one way or the other, so many of the people removed

[1] The story of the martyrs of Lyons (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1).

that there came to be more Jews outside Palestine than within it. Meanwhile the victories of Alexander had made Grecian influence potent in Palestine, as in other parts of what had been the Persian Empire; so that not merely did Jews go largely out into the heathen world, but the heathen world pressed in upon Judæa. Those who were zealous for their own law grieved at the difficulty of maintaining Jewish exclusiveness under the increasing pressure of Hellenism. But God's providence ordained that the throwing down the barriers which had hedged in the Jew from contact with foreign nations should result, not, as had been feared, in the swamping of Judaism by heathenism, but in spreading reverence for the law of Moses over every part of the civilized world.

7. *The Greek Old Testament.*—We have now to speak of one of the chief means used in spreading this reverence for the Mosaic Law. It is a piece of theological information so elementary as to be possessed by every educated person, that the Old Testament was written in Hebrew, the New Testament in Greek: but not every one who knows so much as this knows, or at least often happens to think, that between the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament there was a connecting link; namely, the Greek Old Testament. In fact we have a Greek New Testament because there had been a Greek Old Testament. And yet this commonly forgotten Greek Old Testament has left very distinct traces on our English Bible. On first opening it, we find the several books designated by Greek titles, Genesis, Exodus, and so on. These names tell a story. They tell that the Old Testament was originally translated into Latin, not out of Hebrew, but out of Greek, so that the Greek titles of the books passed into the Latin; and again that it was first translated into the modern languages of Europe, not out of Hebrew, but out of Latin, so that the same Greek names have passed into our current use. This remark lies on the surface; but when the student of our English Bible goes deeper, he finds other phenomena which would perplex him if the explanation were not at hand that the New Testament writers used a Greek Old Testament. To take one of the most striking examples: any one who compares with the Old Testament the quotation from the 40th Psalm in Heb. x. 5, must be struck with the difference; the words "mine ears hast thou opened," in our translation of the Psalm, being replaced by "a body hast thou prepared me" in the quotation in the New. The former represents correctly the reading of the Hebrew text; the latter gives the rendering of the old Greek translation. There are several other passages where a careful reader even of the English Bible may discover traces of the influence of the old Greek version, and it need scarcely be said that the theological student who desires to trace the influence of the Old Testament on the New is bound to keep his eye constantly on the Greek Old Testament.

8. *Read by heathen.*—Mention has already been made of the preparation which in God's providence was made for the propagation among other nations of the religious truths which the Hebrews had preserved. In consequence of the captivity and dispersion of the Jewish nation, it came to pass that the first Christian missionaries found, in every city which they visited, a Jewish colony, which had already taught many of the thoughtful of the surrounding Gentiles to scorn the follies of the popular polytheism and to admire the purity and simplicity of the Hebrew faith. The agency through which had been effected this leavening of the Gentile world by Jewish doctrines was the Greek Bible, which has been truly described as the first Apostle that went out from Judaism to the Gentile world. The Jews boasted that their nation had records reaching back to an antiquity far superior to any historical documents the Greeks could shew, and laws of greater excellence than the legislation of any other state. Thus they were proud to impart their sacred books to any whose curiosity they had been able to excite, and the extent to which the Jewish books were read is proved by the prominence that the argument from prophecy presents in the early Christian apologies. Justin Martyr, for example, had been educated

in Grecian philosophy: though born and bred in Palestine, he shews no knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, and does not even seem to have had a very accurate copy of the Greek version on which he is entirely dependent. But that book seems to have saturated his thoughts and to have furnished him with all the conceptions of the Messiah which he found fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth.

9. *The medium through which the Christian Church generally knew the Old Testament.*—We might expect to find more knowledge of Hebrew in an Epistle ascribed to the Apostle Barnabas; yet in this work the writer discovers mysteries in the letters by which a numeral is expressed in the Greek translation of an Old Testament text; and he seems never to have reflected that the Greek was not the original, or to have suspected that on going back to the Hebrew the grounds for his exposition would completely disappear. In later Fathers, it is an exceptional thing to find one with any knowledge of the Hebrew Bible. And, as has been already said, it was from the Greek Old Testament that the Latin versions were made, so that it was through the Greek book, known either directly or indirectly, that the Christian Church for centuries obtained its knowledge of the Old Testament.

10. *Differences between the Greek and Hebrew Bibles.*—After a time, however, it came to pass that some who, either through intercourse with Jews or from acquaintance with Hebrew, had the means of comparison, became aware of a difference between the Greek Bible which they used and the Bible of the Jews. And this difference did not merely affect the meaning of single texts, but there were large passages and whole books contained in the one volume which were absent from the other. In particular the Canon of the Jews did not include the books which we know as 'Apocrypha,' and which found extensive reception in the Christian Church, because they had come to be included in the Greek collection of sacred books. This is why a history of the reception of the Apocrypha must include a history of the Greek Bible.

§ III. Palestinian Canon of the Old Testament.

11. *Melito.*—The earliest indication we find of uncertainty in the Christian Church as to the Old Testament Canon is contained in an interesting extract preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 26) from the Preface to a work of Melito of Sardis, who died somewhere about A.D. 180. It appears hence that Melito's book had been written in compliance with the request of a friend named Onesimus, who had frequently asked him to make selections from the Law and the Prophets, of passages concerning our Saviour and concerning all our faith. Onesimus had also asked Melito to give him accurate information concerning "the old Books;" how many their number and what their order.

12. *Conception of a closed Canon of Scripture.*—We may remark here in passing that this question of Onesimus shews that the idea of a definite closed Canon of Scripture had then become familiar to the mind of the Church. It will be readily understood that when the books of the New Testament were first written, each of them separately might be venerated by those who became acquainted with it and who acknowledged its apostolic authority; but that the formation of a definite collection of sacred books, admitted to be superior in authority to all other books, could not take place until each of the books, though it may be originally intended for local use, had become the property of the universal Church. It is clear that in the mind of Onesimus, his Old Testament ought to consist of a definite collection of books arranged in a definite order; and he wished to be assured what those books were and what their order. It may reasonably be inferred that he who asked this question about "the old Books" had already obtained similar information about "the new."

13. *The list of Melito.*—In answer to Onesimus, Melito, praising the pious motives which had prompted the request, declares that he had been earnest to comply with it, and states that he had travelled up to the East and had arrived at the place where the things

had been preached and done; and that he had there accurately learned the books of the Old Testament. And then he gives their names as follows: Five books of Moses, — Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers,[1] Deuteronomy; Joshua the son of Nave, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two of Chronicles; the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon also called Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Job; the Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Twelve in one book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Esdras. This list pretty nearly agrees with the Canon of our Church; for Jeremiah no doubt included Lamentations, and Esdras the Book of Nehemiah, so that the only point of difference is that there is no mention of Esther. The Old Testament books are here called by their Greek names, and the order is not the same as the Jewish order. We have therefore no reason to think that Melito made his lists from personal knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, or from consulting with those who used it. But, as his narrative implies, his list gives the contents of the Greek Old Testament which he found in use in the Christian churches of Palestine at the time of his visit.

14. *Josephus.*—This list of Melito furnishes proof that, as far as the Old Testament is concerned, the Canon of the Christian Church in Palestine agreed with that of their Jewish brethren. Concerning the Canon of the Jews of Palestine towards the end of the first century, we have information in a passage of Josephus, which, though it has been frequently quoted, cannot be omitted from this account. The passage is taken from the treatise against Apion, on the antiquity of the Jews, in which Josephus undertakes to prove that the Jewish records are more ancient and more trustworthy than those of the Greeks. And one of the points he urges is, that among the Greeks the composition of histories was taken up by every man who felt inclined to it: by one man in order to shew off his literary skill, by another with the view of writing a panegyric on some kings or cities, or of throwing discredit upon others; but that among the Jews the framing of historical records was no volunteer work, but was the special business of the priests and prophets, and the faithful preservation of the truth their only object. And he goes on to say, "For we have not thousands of books discordant and conflicting, but only twenty-two, containing the record of all time, which have justly been believed to be divine. And of these, five are the books of Moses, which embrace the laws and the tradition of the creation of man, reaching to the death of Moses. This period is little short of three thousand years. And from the death of Moses down to the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who succeeded Xerxes, the prophets who came after Moses related the things done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God and practical directions for men. From the time of Artaxerxes to our own time, each event has been recorded, but the records have not been deemed worthy of the same credit as those of earlier date, because the exact succession of the prophets was not continued. But what faith we have placed in our own writings is seen from our conduct; for though so long a time has now passed, no one has dared either to add anything to them or to take anything from them, or to alter anything. But it grows up with Jews from their very birth, to regard them as decrees of God, and to abide by them, and if need be gladly to die for them."[1] He goes on to say how often Jews had given their lives in defence of their sacred books; and he asks what Greek would die, or even submit to a trifling loss, in defence of any book of his; nay, even of his whole literature. And in fact there was no reason why he should. He knew that the authors of his books wrote each on his own mere motion, and there was no reason to think the ancient writers more trustworthy than the modern, who notoriously wrote books recklessly, about things they had neither witnessed themselves nor knew from authentic information.

15. *Means of identifying the twenty-*

[1] Some very ancient authorities for the text transpose Leviticus and Numbers.

[1] *Cont. Apion.*, i. 8; Westcott, *Bible in the Church*, p. 26.

two books of Josephus.—Josephus does not name his twenty-two books; but this count of twenty-two books according to the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet became usual among the Jews; and we can obtain their names from other sources, of which two in particular deserve attention. Origen gives the list of the twenty-two books in a passage preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25); and Jerome gives the names in the Preface to his Latin translation of the Bible, called the 'Prologus Galeatus.' We have thus no difficulty in defining the Canon of Josephus. There can be no question about his first division, the five books of Moses; and the four of his last division are no doubt the Psalms of David, and the three books ascribed to Solomon. The thirteen that remain in Jerome's list are Joshua, Judges and Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations, Ezekiel, the twelve minor prophets in one book, Job, Daniel, Esdras, Esther, and Chronicles. We have no reason to imagine that the list of Josephus was different.

16. *The theory and the practice of Josephus.*—It appears from the extract just quoted, that besides the twenty-two books which Josephus accounted sacred, he knew of other Jewish books, composed later than the time of Artaxerxes, which he did not hold in the same consideration. It deserves to be mentioned that if we had not this explicit statement of the difference which Josephus put between the two classes of books, and had been left to infer his theory from his practice, we might have come to a different conclusion. In his account (*Antt.* xi. 1–5) of the return of the Jews from the captivity, he chiefly follows, not the canonical Book of Ezra, but the apocryphal First Book of Esdras, telling the story peculiar to that book, of the contest between the three young men who were members of King Darius's guard. In telling the story of Haman and Esther (*Antt.* xi. 6), he gives at length a letter bearing the name of Artaxerxes, taken from the apocryphal additions to the Book of Esther. And in his account of Judas Maccabæus (*Antt.* xii. xiii.) he employs the First Book of the Maccabees. This example teaches us the necessity of discriminating in other cases between proofs which merely establish that a writer was acquainted with disputed books, and proofs that he ascribed to them canonical authority.

17. *Agreement as to the Canon between the Christians and the Jews of Palestine.*—The agreement of the Canon of Melito with that of Josephus proves that late in the second century the Christians of Palestine were in substantial agreement with their Jewish neighbours as to the Old Testament Canon. This is only what might have been expected, since it is plain from the New Testament, that our Lord and His apostles had no difference with the Jews on this subject of the Canon. In every part of the New Testament the authority of the sacred books of the nation is assumed as undisputed; and in all controversy with the Jews these books are common ground. Our Lord appeals to these Scriptures as testifying of Himself (John v. 39). The Apostle Paul enumerates it as among the highest privileges of the Jewish nation that to them had been committed the oracles of God (Rom. iii. 2). No hint is given that they had been unfaithful to their trust by adding to or subtracting from the sacred deposit.

If it were only proposed to trace the history of the Hebrew Bible, the investigation might stop at this point, for the Jews to this day count no books as sacred but those which were reverenced in the time of Josephus. A few of the books which we know as Apocrypha appear to have been originally written in Hebrew, but they have not been preserved in that language, nor do they appear ever to have been set, by those who used it, on a level with their ancient sacred books. The claims of the books called Apocrypha depend altogether on the place which these books found in the Greek Bible; and therefore it has become necessary to speak of the history of that translation, and of the authority attributed to it in the Christian Church.

18. *Origin of the Septuagint.*—All authorities agree in naming Alexandria as the birthplace of the Greek Bible. Mention has already been made of the multitudes of Jews who resided outside the limits of

the Holy Land, and who came to be technically known as "the Dispersion" (ἡ διασπορά: see John vii. 35; James i. 1). This "Dispersion" had centres in Babylonia, in Syria, in Egypt, and with the last of these we are here concerned. Of all the Jewish foreign settlements it was the greatest, possibly in numbers, certainly in influence. The Jews had received every encouragement to settle in Alexandria, and had largely availed themselves of it. Philo tells that in his time the Jewish inhabitants of the city numbered a million, and that they occupied almost exclusively two of the five districts into which the city was divided, and were not altogether absent from the remaining districts. The quarter they occupied was close to the river, much of the commerce along which was in their hands. The majority of them used Greek as the language of their daily life, and read their sacred books in a Greek translation.

19. *The story told by the so-called Aristeas.*—Concerning the origin of this version, a marvellous tale was told, which came to be generally accepted. Its earliest form is to be found in a letter purporting to be written by one Aristeas, an officer in the court of King Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second, and perhaps the most distinguished of the Ptolemies, who reigned B.C. 284–246. The letter relates that this king, having founded the celebrated library at Alexandria, felt that his collection would be incomplete if it did not include the laws of the Jews, of the fame of which he had heard from his librarian. And it goes on to tell, how the king acquired the desired volume at a cost unparalleled in the history of literary enterprise. We are told that, in order to conciliate the favour of the Jews for the request he was about to make, the king began by proclaiming the liberty of every Jewish captive in his dominions, paying the owners 20 drachmae for each slave. The number of captives had been calculated at over 100,000, and the estimated cost of redemption was over 400 talents; but as the king in his liberality included even the sucking children, paying for them at the rate of adults, the sum actually spent swelled to 660 talents. He then sent an embassy to Jerusalem with gifts of gold, silver, and precious stones, on quite as liberal a scale, praying the high priest to send him seventy-two elders, six out of each tribe, who should make for him a faithful translation of the Jewish laws. The letter relates that this request was complied with. It gives the names of the elders sent; it tells the splendid entertainment provided for them in Egypt, and the magnificent fees with which they were rewarded on the conclusion of their work.[1]

20. *Later improvements on that story.*—The story as originally told went no further than this; but an improvement subsequently made to it obtained general credence. It was said that the king, wishing to test the fidelity of the seventy-two interpreters, locked them up in separate cells; and that afterwards when they came to compare the translations which each had made separately, they were found to agree not only in sense, but word for word. This story was known to Philo (*De Vit. Mos.* ii.). It was believed by Irenæus and several other Fathers of the Church. Justin Martyr had even been shewn at Alexandria the cells in which the work had been done.

21. *Fictitious character of the whole story.*—When in a more critical age the story came to be scrutinised, it was found that in its earliest form it had not contained any mention of the seventy cells, and therefore that part of the story was cleared away as a later embellishment.[2] Next it was seen that the story, even as told by Aristeas, bears the marks of being enriched with much fictitious ornamentation—the extraordinary profusion of treasure, for example, lavished on the accomplishment of the work being unlike anything we read of in real history, but natural enough in a romance, the author of which can, at no cost to himself, endow his characters with boundless riches.

[1] The letter of Aristeas is printed by Hody, *De Bibliorum textibus originalibus*.

[2] "Nescio quis primus auctor septuaginta cellulas Alexandriæ mendacio suo exstruxerit, quibus divisi eadem scriptitarunt, cum Aristeas ejusdem Ptolemæi ὑπερασπιστής, et multo post tempore Josephus nihil tale retulerint." (Hieron. *Præf. in Pent.*)

22. *More probable account of the origin of the Septuagint.*—Finally, the authority for the story being found to be entirely untrustworthy, modern criticism rejects it altogether, and regards the Greek Bible as having not originated in any royal command, but as having sprung up to supply the wants of the many thousands of Jews who resided permanently at a distance from the land of their fathers, and who habitually used Greek as the language of their daily life. These foreign Jews in wealth and numbers surpassed the parent stock; but they all looked to Jerusalem as their religious centre. We know, from Acts ii. 5–11, what multitudes of them collected to celebrate the feasts at Jerusalem, and, from Acts vi. 9, that there were in Jerusalem synagogues specially frequented by foreign Jews. The need for these special places for religious instruction probably arose from the employment in them of the Greek language. The reading of the books of Moses was everywhere part of the synagogue service on every Sabbath day (Acts xv. 21), and among those who were known as Hellenists (Acts vi. 1) it was only in the Greek language that these books could be read with advantage. At least, if the Hebrew text was read aloud, it needed to be followed by an interpretation; and in any comments that might be made on what had been read, the Greek language would in these synagogues be employed. Thus, in the account (Acts xiii.) of St. Paul's visit to the synagogue of Antioch in Pisidia, we are not told in what language took place the reading of the law and the prophets, related *v.* 15; but we find that in Paul's immediately following address to the assembled congregation it is from the Greek translation that he quotes the Old Testament.[1] Thus, then, the Greek translation being required for the religious wants of the dispersed Jews themselves, it is irrational to suppose that it took its origin from a desire to satisfy heathen curiosity, however true it be that in point of fact the Greek Bible proved to be a principal agent in the conversion of the heathen world.

23. *Diversities of Jewish opinion as to the merits of the work.*—Philo (*De Vit. Mos.* ii.) tells that the Jews of Alexandria held an annual feast in commemoration of the Greek translation, when they made a pilgrimage to the island of Pharos, where, according to tradition, the cells for the seventy interpreters had been built. On the other hand, we find from Rabbinical authorities that there were at a somewhat later time in Palestine stiff maintainers of Jewish exclusiveness, who held in abomination the whole conception of a Greek version. They said that it had been forbidden to write the law on the skin of an unclean beast: surely it was ten times forbidden to pollute it by the language of the heathen. Consequently that which was in Alexandria a day of feasting was turned by them into one of mourning; and they commemorated by a fast what they regarded as a day of apostasy, like that when the people danced round the calf which Aaron had made. Little did these short-sighted rigorists consider that it was owing to this book, the making of which they deplored, that their brethren who lived among the heathen were preserved from learning any of their ways; and, even though they might lose the use of their national language, held fast to their national religion as a thing with which none of Jewish race could ever bear to part.

24. *Literary activity of Hellenistic Jews.*—We learn, however, that in judging of Jewish opinion we must take separate account of Palestine and Alexandria, as distinct centres of religious thought, which conceivably might develop itself differently in the two places. The Alexandrine Jews might well regard themselves as entitled to hold an opinion of their own. Alexandria was one of the foremost cities of the world, as a centre both of commerce and of literature. Its inhabitants boasted that theirs had been a great city when Rome was as yet but a village, and that even then Rome must starve if it did not receive supplies of corn from Egypt. The Jews held a leading place in the commerce of the city, and many of them were deeply

[1] The quotation "Behold, ye despisers," &c. (*v.* 41), is from the Greek, not the Hebrew, of Hab. i. 5; and in the "sure mercies" of David (*v.* 34) the words of the LXX. translation of Isaiah lv. 3 are also followed.

tinctured with Hellenic culture. They were forced, in a way that Palestinian Jews were not, to take account of Grecian speculative systems, and were naturally desirous to present their religion in the form most likely to attract a philosophic inquirer, and were solicitous to smooth away difficulties which might be expected to repel him. Some of the Greek-speaking Jews were active in literary composition. Eusebius, in his *Praeparatio Evangelica* (Book ix.), gives extracts from several writers who had arrayed the facts of the Old Testament history in a Grecian garb. One writer named Ezekiel had turned the history of the Exodus into a drama, in which Moses and Zipporah and Raguel hold dialogues in iambic verse; and even the scene at the burning bush, in which God Himself is a speaker, is thrown into like form. Another writer, Theodotus, told in hexameters the story of the rape of Dinah and the destruction of Shechem (*Ev. Praep.* ix. 22). Another, who in distinction from his better-known namesake is called the elder Philo, wrote a description of Jerusalem, also in hexameters. Others, as Demetrius and Eupolemus, retold in prose the Scripture narrative of the early history of the Jewish nation. Some of these are treated by Josephus and by Eusebius as if they were heathen writers bearing independent testimony to the truth of the Old Testament narratives; but an examination of the extracts which have been preserved proves decisively that the writers in question obtained their knowledge solely from the Old Testament. It is reasonable to think that those who exhibited so intimate an acquaintance with that volume were probably Jews. If any of them were heathen, we have indirect evidence how successful Jews had been in commending their literature to Greek-speaking people.

25. *Additions made by them to the Canonical books.*—But Jewish literary activity did not limit itself to the reproduction or recasting of the sacred histories. It displayed itself also in the composition of narratives, some entirely fictitious, such as probably the story of Susanna; others, such as the books of the Maccabees, recording the history of times later than those treated of in the books of the Palestinian canon. It is intelligible that many who might set little value on works which merely told over again with less authority the story told in the canonical books might be ready to give a different reception to writings which appeared really to supplement the Scripture history, and might regard such works as at least edifying for private reading, even though not possessed of canonical authority. Thus, for example, in Scotland, where in modern times there has been no disposition to receive apocryphal writings, the works of Josephus have been admitted to rank as edifying Sunday reading. Certain it is that several works, to which there was nothing corresponding in the Hebrew Bible, came to be joined in the current use of Greek-speaking people with the translations of the canonical books.

§ IV. Alexandrian Canon of the Old Testament.

26. *Generally coincident with Palestinian.*—It has been already said that we are not at liberty to assume that Alexandrian opinion was always identical with Palestinian, and therefore that the question what value was attached to the later books at Alexandria is not decisively settled by our knowledge that they were not regarded as canonical in Palestine. But we hear nowhere of any difference between native and foreign Jews on the subject of the Canon; and as far as the Apocrypha is concerned, no difference is exhibited in our great source of information as to Alexandrian religious thought; namely, the writings of the great Alexandrian Jew, Philo.

27. *Philo: prominence given by him to the Pentateuch.*—Indeed, on comparing Philo's Scripture quotations with those of the New Testament writers, we are conscious of one difference. The New Testament quotations range freely through all the books of the Old, and seem to treat all as of like authority. The Law and the Prophets alike furnished materials for synagogue reading (Acts xiii. 15; Luke iv. 17), and even the title "the Law" ceases to be ex-

clusively given to the books of Moses. St. John in his Gospel three times cites the Psalms as "the Law" (x. 34, xii. 34, xv. 25), and St. Paul (1 Cor. xiv. 21) gives as from the Law a quotation from the prophet Isaiah. In the writings of Philo, on the contrary, the books of Moses have such prominence that it requires attentive examination to discover what value he set on other Old Testament books. The subjects of the great majority of Philo's treatises are expositions of parts of the Mosaic writings: not one of his treatises formally professes to explain any other part of Scripture. And, again, there are in Philo's writings about fifty quotations from the Pentateuch for one from any other part of the Old Testament. We are thus led to put to ourselves the question, Can it be that Philo and the Alexandrian Jews did not include in their Canon any books but those of the Pentateuch; and that thus the books of the Apocrypha found it easy to establish themselves, not indeed on a level with the Pentateuch, but on a level with other Old Testament books? The result, however, of careful examination is to answer this question in the negative, by proving that Philo did attribute inspiration to the later Old Testament books, and that he did not set the Apocrypha on a level with even these latter books.

28. *According to the original story, the Seventy Interpreters translated the Pentateuch only.*—There can be no doubt, however, of the special authority attributed in Egypt to the Pentateuch. On turning back to the letter of Aristeas already referred to, it is proved that the original story of the Seventy Interpreters limited their work to the translation of the Pentateuch. It is only of the Mosaic laws that the fame is described as having reached the Egyptian king. It is only the Book of the Law that is said to have been sent from Jerusalem, and this only is mentioned through the whole story. Indeed, the length of time which the translation is said to have taken, viz. 70 days, suits well enough for the work of rendering the Pentateuch, but would be altogether inadequate for that of translating the whole Old Testament. Josephus, who tells the story after Aristeas, not only like him makes mention only of the Law as having been sent to the King of Egypt, but in the preface to his *Antiquities* expressly says that no other part of the Scripture had been so sent. But setting aside the story of the Seventy Interpreters, internal evidence proves that the Pentateuch was translated by different hands from those that worked on the other books. Not only is the style of the translation different, the rendering of the Pentateuch being the more close and literal, but many proper names (for example, Philistines, Mesopotamia, Idumæa) are differently rendered in the earlier and the later books; and so are several technical words, such as Urim and Thummim. It is quite true that the Christian Fathers generally lost sight of this distinction, and commonly thought of the Greek Old Testament which they used, as a work translated all at one time, and that they ascribed the origin of the entire collection to the seventy elders who, according to the current story, had been sent to the King of Egypt. But the earlier version of the story only referred to the Pentateuch, and, as has been already said, the different books are proved by internal evidence to have been translated at different dates.

29. *The Pentateuch probably came into synagogue use before the other Old Testament books.*—That this should be so is quite intelligible if we believe, as there is every reason to do, that the Greek translation took its origin in the needs of the synagogue worship in places where Jews habitually spoke Greek. There is a current story that until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes only sections from the Law were read in their synagogue worship, but that under his tyranny the public reading of the Law being forbidden, the rulers of the synagogue substituted for use in their worship a selection of lessons from the Prophets. When on the death of Antiochus the reading of the Law was restored, the reading of the Prophets was still continued. This story, however, rests on no good authority;[1] and the true date of the introduction into the

[1] The earliest authority seems to be Elias Levita, who lived at the end of the fifteenth century.

synagogue worship of readings either from the Law or the Prophets is lost in obscurity. But at least there is every reason to think that the public reading of the Pentateuch was much the older of the two; and therefore it is quite intelligible that the need of a Greek version of the Pentateuch would occur before one of a translation of the other books became necessary. With this agrees the fact that existing copies of the Greek of the Pentateuch differ but slightly from each other, and not very much from the current Hebrew text, while there is much more uncertainty about the Greek text of the later books, and the variations from the Massoretic Hebrew text are often considerable. And evidently the text of a book only employed in private reading might be liable to corruptions from which one constantly used in public worship would be secure. The proofs have been already given that the prophetical books furnished materials for synagogue reading in the apostolic times, not only in Judæa but in Asia Minor. But it is possible enough that the public reading of the prophetical books may have been of later introduction in Egypt than in these countries, and may not have been very ancient in Philo's time.

30. *Recognition of these other books by Philo.*—In this way we can account for the very great prominence which Philo gives to the Mosaic writings; but though his use of the other books is comparatively small, it is only by comparison that it is so, for he quotes these books some fifty times, and he clearly treats them as inspired.[1] He quotes the words addressed to Joshua, "I will never leave thee or forsake thee," as a λόγιον or inspired utterance; he treats the whole story of Gideon or of Samuel like the narratives in the Pentateuch, making it a source of mystical deductions; the Book of Judges is quoted with the formula, ὡς ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος φησί; the song of Hannah is cited as inspired; the Psalmist is several times described as "that divine person" (ὁ θεσπέσιος ἀνήρ), as "no common person, but a prophet whom it is good to trust" (οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀλλὰ καὶ προφήτης ᾧ καλὸν πιστεύειν, ὁ τὰς ὑμνῳδίας ἀναγράψας, *De Agric.* i. 308, Mangey's edition); and the prophetical writings are cited with such formularies of quotation as the following:—"An inspired member of the prophetic choir" (τοῦ προφητικοῦ θιασώτης χοροῦ, *De Conf. lingg.* p. 411); "one of the old prophets who in divine inspiration said" (τις τῶν παλαιῶν προφητῶν ὃς ἐπιθειάσας εἶπεν, *Quod a Deo mittantur Somnia*, p. 681); "the father of the universe uttered by prophetic mouths" (ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων διὰ προφητικῶν ἐθέσπισε στομάτων, *De Profugis*, p. 575; see also p. 293). One passage of Philo (*De Vit. Contemp.* 3) has been quoted as indicating his Canon. He describes the Therapeutæ as bringing into their holy place none of the things needed for nourishment of the body, but only *laws*, and oracles delivered by *prophets*, and *hymns* and other writings by which knowledge and piety are increased and perfected. And no doubt the well-known threefold division of sacred books appears to be here recognised; but the passage itself determines nothing as to the authority ascribed by Philo to each of these sections.

31. *His silence as to the Apocrypha.*—Philo exhibits his sense of the predominant authority of Moses, by describing the later prophets, even one so late as Zechariah, as companions (ἑταῖροι) of Moses, as if they owed their authority to having been the scholars and successors of the great legislator. If it is to be inferred from this that Philo did not set the historical and prophetical books on quite the same level as the Pentateuch, it is still plainer that he did not set the Apocrypha on a level with the historical and prophetical books. These latter books he quotes far less frequently than the Pentateuch, but still very often; and quotes them in such a way as to exhibit his reverence for them: the Apocrypha he never quotes at all. This silence is truly remarkable, because Philo repeatedly quotes profane authors; so that even if he ascribed to the books called Apocrypha no canonical authority, we

[1] Quite similar features present themselves in another Alexandrian writing, the Book of Wisdom. That work exhibits the writer as strongly influenced by the prophecies of Isaiah, by the Psalms, and by the Book of Proverbs: but the histories which he makes the subject of direct comment are taken exclusively from the Pentateuch.

might still expect that he should shew some signs of acquaintance with them. When we join to the evidence afforded by Philo the fact that we never hear of any difference of opinion between Alexandrian and Palestinian Jews as to the books to which they ascribed inspired authority, we are warranted in concluding that the Canon of both was the same; and that though the Greek-speaking Jews used in private reading non-canonical books which they found to be edifying, they did not set these on the level of the ancient Scriptures.

§ V. The Old Testament as used by the Christian Church.

32. *Non-recognition of the Apocrypha in the New Testament.*—Philo's silence with regard to the Apocrypha harmonizes with the fact that in the New Testament writings which quote freely all the parts of the Canon recognised by Josephus, there is no formal quotation of any of those other books which, according to Josephus, were later than the reign of Artaxerxes, and which he regarded as inferior in credit to the earlier writings. It is true that in the New Testament there are some half-dozen passages where the formulæ of Scripture citation are used, but where the passages quoted can either not be identified at all, or not with any certainty, with anything found in our Old Testament. Such passages are Matt. ii. 23, Luke xi. 49, John vii. 38, 1 Cor. ii. 9, Eph. v. 14, 2 Tim. iii. 8, James iv. 5. But the singular thing is, that if we fail to find the originals of these passages in the books of the Hebrew Canon, we equally fail to find them in the works commonly called the Apocrypha, in no part of which can anything resembling these passages be found. If indeed the Book of Enoch had formed part of the Canon of the Council of Trent, we should be bound to consider what inference ought to be drawn from the fact that that book is quoted by St. Jude; but except Tertullian, no one in the Christian Church seems to have owned the Book of Enoch as canonical; and the fact remains that among the books which were anywhere admitted into the Canon of the Christian Church, none but those of the Hebrew Canon are directly quoted by New Testament writers. In fact the Apostles appear to have been in full agreement with their Jewish brethren as to the Old Testament Canon; and Jewish tradition on the subject has never wavered down to the present day.

33. *Patristic use of the Old Testament.*—But the Gospel was rapidly propagated among men unacquainted with Jewish tradition, and unable to read the Hebrew Bible. The Greek Bible had been a chief instrument in their conversion, and continued to be a principal means of sustaining their religious life. Many of them had not the qualifications for discriminating between the claims of the different parts of the Greek book which they used. It has been already remarked, that ordinarily the Christian Fathers apply to their whole Greek Bible the account which Aristeas gave of the origin of the Pentateuch, and imagine that the translation of all the books was the work of the Seventy Interpreters. So, for example, Irenæus (iii. 21), when he tells the story of the seventy cells, tells it concerning the translation, not of "the Law," but of all the books of the Scriptures. And at an earlier time, Justin Martyr, in his controversy with Trypho, accuses the Jews of having taken away many Scriptures from the translation effected by the seventy elders who were with Ptolemy; and when he is asked to specify these mutilations, they turn out to affect passages in Isaiah, in Jeremiah, in the Psalms, and in Esdras; and the idea does not appear to occur, either to Justin or to his Jewish interlocutor, that these books had not been translated by the same hands as the Pentateuch.

34. *The Christian Fathers were acquainted with the books called Apocrypha.*—But the Greek Bible which passed into the hands of the Gentile converts to Christianity included whole books not to be found in the Hebrew Canon; and it is not wonderful that where the Hebrew language was unknown, and where there was no contact with Jewish tradition, all should have been received indiscriminately. Numerous instances can be produced of the use of the books of the Apocrypha by Christian Fathers from the

earliest times; and in many cases the quotations are made with the usual formulæ of Scripture citation. Judith is cited as a pattern of female heroism in the Epistle of Clement of Rome (c. 55): in the Epistle which bears the name of Barnabas (xix. 9) a saying of the Son of Sirach (iv. 31) is incorporated; and the occurrence of the same passage in the lately discovered *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* has led many critics to believe that Barnabas here copied a still earlier document. The homily which goes by the name of Clement's Second Epistle exhibits (ch. 16) a reminiscence of the Book of Tobit (iv. 11, xi. 9), though with much freedom of alteration. The same passage of Tobit was clearly also known to Polycarp (ch. 10). The Story of Bel and the Dragon is cited by Irenæus (iv. 5).

35. *And frequently quote them as Scripture.*—The instances just produced only exhibit acquaintance with the books of the Apocrypha, and determine nothing as to the consideration in which they were held by those who quoted them. And perhaps we cannot lay much stress on the fact that Irenæus (v. 35) ascribes to the prophet Jeremiah a quotation really taken from the apocryphal Book of Baruch. But Clement of Alexandria, who was omnivorous in his reading, not only, like Irenæus, quotes Baruch as Jeremiah (*Strom.* i. 10), but repeatedly quotes apocryphal books as Scripture. Thus he quotes Tobit as Scripture (*Strom.* vi. 12), Ecclesiasticus (i. 8), 2 Esdras (iii. 16), Wisdom (v. 14), ascribing the last-named book to Solomon (vi. 14). Clement was not very critical; and if, in deference to his authority, we were to add the books just named to our Old Testament Canon, we should be bound in consistency to add the Epistles of Clement and of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, and other books to our New Testament Canon. Tertullian ascribes the Book of Wisdom to Solomon (*Adv. Valent.* 2), and quotes Ecclesiasticus with the formula "sicuti scriptum est" (*Exhort. ad Cast.* 2). In this style of quotation Clement and Tertullian are followed by many succeeding writers, popular usage constantly tending to make no discrimination between the different books which circulated as component parts of the current Greek Bible.

§ VI. Learned Eastern opinion concerning the Old Testament Canon.

36. *Origen.*—But whatever popular usage might be, learned opinion constantly remained cognizant of the distinction between those books which the Hebrews recognised as part of their Bible, and those which owed their circulation to the Greek version. The Christian world was, no doubt, much indebted for its wide knowledge of this distinction to the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. In this the historian had inserted not only the testimonies of Josephus and Melito which we have already quoted, but also that of Origen, than whose authority none stood higher on questions of biblical criticism. He quotes (vi. 25) a passage from Origen's commentary on the First Psalm, in which it is stated that the canonical books of the Old Testament are, as the Hebrews have handed down, twenty-two in number, answering to the number of letters in their alphabet; and then the Hebrew as well as the Greek names of these books are given. Of the books of the Apocrypha, the only mention in this place is that Origen adds that, besides the twenty-two books which he has enumerated, there are the books of the Maccabees.

37. *Africanus.*—But Origen himself affords a curious example of the conflict between popular and scientific opinion. He used a Greek Bible himself; and though he has shewn himself aware that some of the things included in it formed no part of the Hebrew Canon, he habitually conformed to what, in Alexandria at least, was the popular usage. Thus he read the Story of Susanna as part of the Book of Daniel, and he appealed to it in a public discussion which he held in Palestine. For this he was taken to task by Africanus, at that time the most learned scholar in Palestine; and since, in the question what Canon was recognised by the Apostles, it is with the Palestinian tradition we are mainly concerned, it is interesting to find that the Canon which is attested as recognised in Palestine, by Josephus in the first century and

by Melito in the second, appears now from Africanus to have been in the third century still in exclusive possession. Africanus writes, that having been present when Origen had quoted that part of the Book of Daniel which contains the Story of Susanna, he was not so discourteous as to interrupt at the time; but he expresses his surprise that Origen could fail to be aware that this section of the book was spurious. The story was a pretty one, but was a modern addition, as might be shewn by many proofs, of which he proceeds to give a summary. Only one of the arguments he uses need here be noticed: viz. that all the books of the Old Testament had been translated from the Hebrew, but that the original of this story was plainly Greek, as appears from a certain play on words. The story tells how Daniel convicted the two false witnesses by asking each separately under what tree he had seen Susanna commit adultery. The one answers, Under a mastich-tree (σχῖνος); and Daniel replies, God will cut thee asunder (σχίσει). The other answers, Under a holm-tree (πρῖνος); and Daniel replies, The angel of the Lord is ready to saw thee asunder (πρίσαι). Origen replies *seriatim* to the objections stated by Africanus; and in answer to this one, he refuses to accept the paronomasia as proof that the Story of Susanna was not originally written in Hebrew. He challenges Africanus to tell the Hebrew names of the two trees in question; a thing which he himself, notwithstanding many inquiries from Jews, had never been able to find out. How, then, could Africanus tell that the Hebrew names might not have admitted the same play on words? Or at least might there not have been a play on words in the Hebrew, which, though incapable of literal translation, had yet, by a change in the names of the trees, been skilfully represented by the Greek translator? If Origen is right here, the Greek translator must not only be complimented for his skill, but congratulated for his good fortune in being able to find Greek names of trees so admirably suited to his purpose.

38. *Origen's reply to Africanus.*—But a more fundamental question was raised with regard to the principle assumed by Africanus, that no books were to be recognised as belonging to the Old Testament but those which had been originally written in Hebrew. The admission of this principle would evidently be fatal to the claims of many of the books of the Apocrypha. Origen points out what revolutionary consequences would follow if the Christian Church were required then to alter its Canon into conformity with the Hebrew text. It was not only the Story of Susanna that must be cut out: not only the other additions to the Book of Daniel, the Song of the Three Children, and the Story of Bel and the Dragon, but there were also passages in the Book of Esther, in the Book of Job, and indeed in many other parts of the Old Testament, which, though found in the Greek text, had nothing corresponding in the Hebrew. Must all these be also excised? Must we reject the sacred books current among the brotherhood, and pay humble court to the unbelieving Jews, entreating them to impart books free from spurious admixture? Can we suppose that Divine Providence, which had given in the sacred Scriptures edification to all the churches of Christ, did not care for those whom He had bought with a price, for whose sake God spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, that He with Him also might freely give us all things. It were well if Africanus would remember the precept, "Thou shalt not move the everlasting landmarks which those before thee have set up."

39. *Athanasius.* — However Origen's practice may have tended to obliterate the distinction which his theory acknowledged, between the books extant in Hebrew and the additions made to them in the Greek Bible, that distinction was not lost sight of even in Alexandria. The century after Origen presents us with the testimony of the great Alexandrian bishop Athanasius. In the letters which, in conformity with ancient custom, he annually issued to announce the date of Easter to the churches of his province, it was his wont not to confine himself to that notification, but to take a wider range of instruction. In that which he issued in the

year 365, he gives a list of the books of Scripture, stating that the books of the Old Testament, whose names he gives, were twenty-two, according to the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. He then gives a list of New Testament books, agreeing with our own Canon, and adds, "These are the fountains of salvation, so that he who thirsts may satisfy himself with the oracles in these. In these alone the lesson of piety is proclaimed. Let no one add to these, nor take anything from them." Apparently, however, the books of the Canon were reserved as the exclusive property of members of the Church; for Athanasius goes on to say that there were other books not included in the Canon used for the instruction of catechumens, viz. the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Esther, Tobit, Judith, the Teaching of the Apostles, and the Shepherd. It will be observed that Esther is placed, not among the canonical books, but with those of the Apocrypha, and that the books of the Maccabees are not mentioned at all. Athanasius, being ignorant of Hebrew, used a Greek Bible; and though he was aware of the inferior authority of the books which he names as not belonging to the Canon, it is very possible that he may not have been equally aware of the spurious character of some of the additions made in the Greek text to some of the books which he acknowledged. He certainly counted Baruch as part of Jeremiah; and in this he was followed by several succeeding writers.

40. *Other Eastern authorities.*—It would be tedious to quote other Eastern Fathers, such as Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nazianzen, Amphilochius, Epiphanius. Nor need time be spent in discussing the Council of Laodicea, a small council which met about A.D. 363, and which appears to have been the first council to make decrees on the subject of canonical books. The list of books commonly appended to their decrees omits the Apocrypha, but its authenticity cannot be relied on. The exclusion of the Apocrypha is so completely in accordance with Eastern learned opinion, that it is immaterial whether the list as we have it was drawn up at the council itself, or afterwards appended as expressing general church usage. Suffice it, then, to say that when Eastern writers undertake formally to enumerate the books of the Old Testament, they ordinarily reckon only the books of the Hebrew Canon; but that, in practical use, all the books of the Greek Bible are apt to be indiscriminately employed. It is worth while to mention that this practical use applies quite as much to the apocryphal First Book of Esdras, which is not recognised by the Council of Trent, as to any of the apocryphal books which that council has admitted. There is no story more frequently cited by the Fathers than the tale of the three young men at the court of Darius, which is told in the book just mentioned. It may be added that the *Apostolic Constitutions*—a work which in its present form may be dated as of the latter part of the fourth century—gives a list (ii. 57) of books to be used in church reading, and in this is quite silent as to any books but those of the Hebrew Canon. The *Apostolic Canons* is a compilation to the earlier part of which may be assigned the date just given for the present form of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, but which has received additions of uncertain later date. The last of the Canons so added gives a list of Scripture books, which adds to the books of the Hebrew Canon three books of Maccabees, and mentions on a lower level the Book of Ecclesiasticus as useful for the instruction of the young.

§ VII. The Old Testament Canon in the West.

41. *Augustine.*—We turn now to the West, and there, as might be expected, we find an echo of Greek opinion. The Latin Old Testament was, at least for some three centuries, only a translation from the Greek, so that popular usage in the West, as well as in the East, tended to an indiscriminate use of all the books which possessed ecclesiastical authority. The story that the Seventy Interpreters had evidenced their inspiration by the exact agreement of their separate works was very generally believed; and with those who accepted that story, the Greek Bible was evidently an inspired book of au-

thority, fully equal to that of the Hebrew original. Nor was this belief shaken when, in process of time, it came to be known that there were passages in which the Greek did not faithfully represent the Hebrew. Augustine held that, if the Greek differed from the Hebrew, it was because God had inspired the translators to make it different. The Hebrew book was written for the use of Jews: no doubt some changes were necessary to adapt it to the use of the Gentile world. If there was even a direct contradiction between the Greek translation and the original, Augustine held that this contradiction was to be regarded as a signal indicating that in the passage in question we were not to rest satisfied with a literal interpretation. And going beneath the letter to look for an allegorical interpretation, he was always able to shew that the same truths were taught in both books, though under different figures. Augustine, who has no pretensions to rank as a learned scholar, habitually used a Latin Bible which contained the books of the Apocrypha; and he frequently appeals to the authority of these books, though he sometimes shews himself aware that their authority was questioned, and that they were not included in the Canon of the Jews. In the Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, at which he was present, a list of canonical Scriptures was drawn up, agreeing with that afterwards adopted by the Council of Trent. In fact, this African Council of Latin-speaking bishops is the best authority which the Trent divines can produce for their decision. There is reason, however, to think that the Council of Carthage did not intend to exclude, as was done at Trent, the apocryphal First Book of Esdras from their list of canonical books. Augustine certainly, when he spoke of Esdras, intended to include this book, and acknowledged it as Scripture (*De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 36). In copies of the Septuagint the First Book of Esdras meant the apocryphal first book; the second book meant the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah regarded as making a single book. We can scarcely doubt that these were the two books of Esdras acknowledged at Carthage; and it would seem to be from not understanding this point that the apocryphal First Esdras escaped recognition at Trent.

42. *Rufinus.*—Scholars, however, in the West could not help being acquainted with Greek learned opinion as to the inferior authority of some of the books in Church use, and they made that opinion known to their countrymen. Rufinus, for example, in his Commentary on the Apostles' Creed, gives a list of Old Testament books agreeing with the Hebrew Canon; and then he adds, "Yet it must be known that there are other books which have been called by the ancients not canonical, but ecclesiastical;" and he then specifies the so-called Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, the books of Tobit, Judith, and Maccabees; and in the New Testament, the Shepherd of Hermas and the Two Ways or Judgment of Peter. These, he said, the Fathers wished should be read in churches, but not alleged to establish any article of faith.

43. *Jerome.*—For the emphatic enunciation of the inferior authority of those Old Testament books, or parts of books, which were not extant in Hebrew, the Western world was indebted to Jerome, who was the first Western scholar to acquire a knowledge of Hebrew himself, and who even made the study of that language fashionable in Rome. He shewed that the story of the seventy cells was wanting in historical authority; and he altogether rejected the notion of the inspiration of the Greek translators, pointing out that the work of a translator was quite different from that of an inspired prophet, and required different qualifications; human learning and knowledge of languages being the essential qualifications of a translator. By the help of the Hebrew, Jerome revised the former Latin version, and in the prefaces to the books of his revised version he insisted on the claims of the "Hebrew verity." But the authority of the books previously current in Latin was by this time so well established, that this department of Jerome's labours drew on him an amount of opposition and calumny of which he repeatedly complains bitterly. He says in the preface to his version of the Book of Job, "If I occupied myself in basket-making"—then a common employment of monks—"in

order to eat my bread by the sweat of my face, nobody would assail me. But now, because according to the Saviour's command I choose to labour for the meat that perisheth not, and strive to clear of briar: and thorns the way of the sacred volume, I am violently attacked. When I correct faults, I am treated as a forger, and I am accused of introducing errors when I am taking them away. Such is the force of custom, that many like even what are acknowledged to be faults, and are more anxious to have their copies beautifully written than correctly written."

44. *Augustine's expostulation with Jerome.*—It was, however, neither personal animosity nor stupid ignorance which inspired the dislike that many pious men then felt to the attempt to supersede the current Latin Bible by one translated directly from the Hebrew. Augustine, for example, made friendly expostulation with Jerome. He protested against the immodesty of correcting the translation of the seventy interpreters. If the passage in the original was plain, they could not well have gone wrong; if it was obscure, they were as likely as any modern translator to give the true meaning. He pointed out that the adoption of a new translation would not only set the Latin Churches at variance with the Greek, but would cast uncertainty on the whole text of Scripture. If a question arose as to the accuracy of a translation from the Greek, that language was so generally known that there would be no difficulty in obtaining skilled and trustworthy opinion as to which translation was right. But who knew Hebrew in the West besides Jerome himself? If they scrupled on his word to reject renderings sanctioned by prescriptive use, to whom were they to resort in order to test his assertions? Were they to go to the Jews? What a humiliation to have the authority of the Greek and Latin Churches set aside in deference to these Jewish judges! Perhaps they might give some translation different both from the Septuagint and from Jerome's, and who was then to decide between them? And how could you ever be sure that they were not purposely giving false information? Who could trust the good faith of those enemies of the Cross of Christ?

45. *The story of the gourd.*—In illustration of the practical inconvenience of translation from the Hebrew, St. Augustine told a story which has been often quoted. An African bishop having adopted Jerome's translation in his church, there came to be read the lesson about Jonah's gourd, when, instead of the "gourd" to which the people had been accustomed, there was read Jerome's word "ivy." On this there arose a tumult in the congregation, the Greeks among them especially accusing the translation of falsification. The bishop was obliged to consult the Jews, who, St. Augustine tells Jerome, "either through ignorance or malice," answered that it was "gourd" in the Hebrew copies, as it was in the Greek and Latin, so that, in short, the bishop was compelled to correct this reading as a fault; for, if he had not done so, he would have been left without a flock. In fine, Augustine pressed on Jerome the great scandal which a new translation would cause the people, by shaking the credit of the Septuagint, to which their ears and hearts had become accustomed, and which had been approved by the authority of the Apostles.

46. *Rufinus assails Jerome for rejecting the Apocrypha.* — The remonstrances which Augustine made, courteously and respectfully, were repeated by Jerome's antagonist Rufinus angrily and scurrilously. Jerome had learned Hebrew from a Jew named Baranina, —a name which, for the purposes of invective, was made to take the form Barabbas.[1] "What wickedness," cries Rufinus, "to violate the deposit of the Holy Ghost! The History of Susanna, who afforded an example of chastity to the Church of God, has been cut out and rejected by you. The Song of the Three Children, which is sung on festivals in the Church of God, has been removed from its place. Why need I name separately changes the number of which is too great to be counted? Are we to pay more respect to the one and harmonious

[1] In fact Barrabanus, instead of Baranina, is the reading of many MSS., and probably the name was so read by Rufinus.

voice of Seventy Interpreters, guided in their separate cells to uniformity by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, or to what one man utters at the instigation of Barabbas? Peter presided over the Church of Rome for twenty-four years, and no doubt gave the Church the same books which were used when he himself sat and taught. Did he deceive the Church by handing over to it books full of falsehood; and, though he knew the Jews had the truth, wish Christians to have falsehood? Perhaps you will say, Peter was unlearned, and was not well enough skilled in languages to make a new translation. What, did the gift of tongues on the day of Pentecost confer nothing on him? Well, Paul at least was not without letters. When he taught his disciples 'to give heed to reading,' would he not care that they should have correct readings? He ordered his disciples to beware of the circumcision, and to give no heed to Jewish fables. How was it that he did not foresee by the Spirit that the time would come when the Church should discover that the truth of the Old Testament had not been delivered to her by the Apostles, and when she must send ambassadors to the circumcision acknowledging that she had been 400 years in error, and imploring them of their charity to impart some of the truth which had been in their keeping; when she would be obliged to own that she, who had been chosen as the bride of Christ, had been decked by the Apostles with false jewels, and must beg the Jews to send Barabbas, whom once the Church had rejected in order to wed Christ, that he might replace the false with true ornaments?"

47. *The arguments of Rufinus derived from Origen.*—It is to be observed what a close relation there is between the line taken by Rufinus in this controversy with Jerome, and that taken by Origen in his controversy with Africanus. Their arguments would have great weight if their assumption were correct that the Apostles had guaranteed the authority of what passed in the fourth century as the Septuagint version; but we have already seen that there is no reason to think that the Canon of the Apostles included the books of the Apocrypha. It is also to be observed that what was involved in the assumption was not merely the claims of the books not extant in Hebrew: the correctness of the Septuagint translation of all the recognised books was equally supposed to be guaranteed. But that no such guarantee was given, is plain from the number of passages where New Testament writers cite the Old Testament, and do not use the Septuagint translation.

48. *The practice of St. Jerome as to the use of the Apocrypha.*—It has been remarked in the case both of Josephus and of Origen, that the practice of these writers does not agree with their theory; and we are therefore led to inquire whether Jerome has been more consistent. The result is found to be that when Jerome is using the books of the Apocrypha, "for example of life and instruction of manners," he does not scruple to quote them with the formula "sicut scriptum est," and even on one occasion with the epithet "scriptura divina." But when he is writing controversially and using testimonies to establish doctrine, he is careful to mark the inferior authority of these books (see, for example, *Cont. Pelag.* 31, 33). There is a like difference between the theory of the Church of England stated in her 6th article, and her practice evidenced by the approval given in the 35th article to the use of the First Book of Homilies, in which books of the Apocrypha are quoted as Scripture.

49. *Ultimate success of Jerome's translation.*—What has been stated as to the opposition Jerome's revision met with, entitles us to say that there seldom has been a case where the results of scientific investigation had to encounter stronger dislike, opposed as they were to long-received opinion, sanctioned by highly venerated authority. And yet, in the end, Jerome's work had a singular success, —a success, indeed, involving the abandonment of the principle for which Jerome contended, viz. that the authority of the most approved translation must bow to that of the original. For Jerome's own translation not only triumphed over the hostility which had threatened to suppress it at its birth, but gained an authority which only the original could rightly claim. In the cele-

brated Complutensian Polyglot[1] the Latin was placed in the middle, the Hebrew and Greek on each side,—as the Preface said, like Christ between the two thieves; the idea being that we could rely on the Latin text, which had been in the keeping of the Roman Church, but not on those in the other two languages, which had been in the custody, in the one case of unbelieving Jews, in the other of schismatical Greeks. The thesis that the Vulgate is far closer to the original than either the Hebrew or Greek text was elaborately maintained by Morinus in the early part of the seventeenth century. The Vulgate was pronounced "authentic" by the Council of Trent; and what is implied by that epithet to those who acknowledge the authority of that council, may be gathered from the dictum of a Jesuit writer of the present day, that "the Greek and Hebrew texts are of the greatest value, *as means in order to arrive at the genuine sense and full force of many passages in the Latin Vulgate*."[2]

50. *The Middle Ages.*—But the Latin Bible which passed into general circulation was not altogether Jerome's work. He had declined to translate the books of the Apocrypha, but ultimately allowed himself to be persuaded by the urgency of two bishops, his friends, to make a hasty version first of the Book of Tobit, then of Judith. His version of the former book, he tells us, was the work of a single sitting, performed under the guidance of an instructor skilled in Hebrew and Chaldee. Latin-speaking Christians, when adopting Jerome's versions of the canonical books, were still unwilling to be without the books which they had been accustomed to read in their Bibles. They therefore joined to the translations revised by Jerome (including Tobit and Judith) the translations of the other books which had been current before Jerome's labours. The Latin Bibles therefore in general use represented at once popular usage and learned opinion: popular usage because they contained all the books commonly regarded as Scripture, learned opinion because they also contained Jerome's prefaces, in which he repeatedly insists on the distinction between the "canonical Scriptures" and the books which were read in the Church for the edification of the people, but not for the authoritative confirmation of doctrine. The consequence was that this distinction was never lost sight of, and it would be easy to cite a long list of writers, all through the Middle Ages and down to the very epoch of the Reformation, who shew themselves aware of it.[1] It will suffice here to name three.

51. *De Lyra.*—Nicolaus de Lyra, who lived in the middle of the fourteenth century, was one of the most popular of the pre-Reformation commentators on Scripture. He begins his commentary on the Book of Tobit as follows: "Now that I have, by the help of God, written on the canonical books of Holy Scripture, beginning from Genesis and going on to the end of the Apocalypse, I proceed now, trusting in the same help, to write on the other books which are not of the Canon; viz., Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobit, and Maccabees.... The books which are not of the Canon are received by the Church to be read for instruction in morals, but their authority is reckoned less fit for proving matters which come into dispute, as Jerome saith in his prologue to the Book of Judith, and in his prologue to Solomon's Proverbs; wherefore they are of less efficacy than the canonical books.... The books of Holy Scripture which are called canonical are of such authority, that whatsoever is contained there is firmly held to be true; and consequently also whatsoever is plainly inferred from them. For as in philosophic writings the truth is known by reduction to first principles known of themselves, so in the writings of Catholic doctors the truth in matters which are to be held by faith is known by reduction to the canonical Scriptures which have been given by Divine revelation, so that nothing false can be contained in them. ... The truth written in the canonical books is for the most part prior in time, and always superior in dignity and

[1] Published in 1517.

[2] Humphry, *The Written Word*, p. 228.

[1] In Cosin's *Scholastical History of the Canon* will be found in successive chapters (chaps. vi.–xvii.) testimonies from each century, from the fourth to the sixteenth.

authority, to that which is written in the non-canonical books." Similarly in the preface to Ezra he had said, "The books of Tobit, Judith, and Maccabees, though they be historical, I yet pass by for the present, because they are not of the Canon, either among the Jews or among Christians. Moreover Jerome says of them . . . that they are reckoned among the Apocrypha."

52. *Cajetanus.*—The second writer whom it is worth while here to cite brings us down to the very epoch of the Reformation, del Vio, better known as named from his birth-place, Cajetanus, the papal legate before whom Luther was summoned to appear in 1518. He was a man of the greatest reputation in his day,[1] and the fact that he was a strenuous defender of papal prerogatives and of the parts of the Romish system assailed by Luther makes his testimony the more valuable, to the authority enjoyed, down to the time of the Council of Trent, by Jerome's ruling on the subject of the Canon. He says, "In order not to err in our discrimination of canonical books, we follow the rule of St. Jerome. What he handed down as canonical we accept as canonical; what he separated from the canonical we hold outside the Canon" (*Comm. in cap. i. ad Hebr.*). In his dedicatory preface addressed to Pope Clement VII. he says, "The whole Latin Church owes very much to St. Jerome, not only on account of his noting in the books of the Old Testament the small portions which are either spurious or doubtful, but also on account of his separation of the canonical from non-canonical books. For he has thus freed us from the reproach of the Hebrews that we invent books, or parts of books, of the old Canon which are quite unknown to them." Accordingly Cajetan refuses to include in the canonical books on which he comments, Tobit, Judith, and Maccabees, stating that they had been put among Apocrypha with the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus (*Comm. in ult. cap. Esther*). And he adds, "The words both of councils and of doctors must be brought to the file of St. Jerome: and according to his opinion these books (and if there be others like them in the Canon of the Bible) are not canonical as respects establishment of doctrines of faith, but may be called canonical as respects the edification of the faithful. For with this distinction you can reconcile what is said by Augustine in his second book *De Doctrina Christiana*, and what is written in the Council of Florence under Eugenius IV. and in the provincial councils of Carthage and Laodicea, and by Popes Innocent and Gelasius."

53. *The Complutensian Polyglot.*—To the same epoch belongs the third authority which we cite, Cardinal Ximenes, who, in the Preface to the Complutensian Polyglot published in 1517, echoes St. Jerome's language, and describes the books of which he can only print a Greek, not a Hebrew text, as "the books *outside the Canon*, which the Church receives rather for the edification of the people than to confirm the authority of ecclesiastical dogmas."

54. *The Reformation.*—From what has been stated it appears that in refusing to place the books of the Apocrypha on a level with the earlier canonical books the Reformers made no innovation, but were in accordance with the best learned opinion of their day. But Luther gave emphasis to the doctrine of the inferior authority of the Apocrypha, by the place he assigned them in his German Bible. In Latin Bibles, as in the Greek books from which the Latin translation was made, they had been mixed up, according to their subjects, with the canonical books. Thus Tobit and Judith are treated as historical books, coming between Nehemiah and Esther; Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus follow the canonical books of Solomon; the Song

[1] "Cavete ne lumen Ecclesiæ exstinguatis," is said to have been the exclamation of Clement VII. when he saw the Cardinal in peril in the capture of Rome in 1528. The following is the character given of him by Ughelli (*Italia Sacra*, i. 544; Venice, 1717):—"Hic ille est alter Thomas, ingeniorum extrema linea, doctorum virorum miraculum, hæreticæ pravitatis terror, sacrarum Scripturarum lumen ac fax, scholastici pulveris athleta invictus, Thomisticæ doctrinæ galeatus defensor, sincerioris doctrinæ propugnaculum, arx ac promptuarium subtilium argumentorum, cathedræ demum splendor ac decus, cujus adeo immortalia scripta sunt ut tamdiu videantur perennatura quamdiu divinam sapientiam scholastica subsellia personabunt."

of the Three Children, and the Stories of Susanna and of Bel and the Dragon, take their place as parts of the Book of Daniel. In Luther's translation the disputed books were placed by themselves[1] as an appendix at the end of the Old Testament, with the title, "Apocrypha; that is, books that are not held as equal to the Holy Scriptures, and yet are good and useful to read." This separation of the disputed books, and the use of the name Apocrypha as their title, was followed by Coverdale in the first English Bible that contained them, and in subsequent English translations. Cranmer's Great Bible had "Hagiographa" as a separate titlepage for this section, but "Apocrypha" as the running heading on each page.

55. *The name Apocrypha.*—From this period dates the use of the word "Apocrypha" as a technical name for the disputed books of the Old Testament Canon. In the earliest Christian use of the word it appears to have retained its etymological meaning "secret." Thus Clement of Alexandria speaks of the secret books of Zoroaster (*Strom.* i. 15). It was common with heretical sects to throw an air of mystery about their books: partly in order to flatter their disciples with the belief that they were in possession of secrets known only to the initiated; but partly also because those who forged books in the names of Apostles found that the fiction that these books had been intended to be kept secret was convenient, as affording an explanation why they had not been heard of before. It is almost exclusively with regard to heretical books that the word "apocryphal" is first used. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 4) applies it to a Gnostic book from which he cites a passage; see also Tertullian (*De Anima*, 2).

56. *The twofold division of books as to Canonicity— Cyril of Jerusalem.*—Cyril of Jerusalem is, as far as we know, the first to apply the name Apocrypha to the books added in Greek Bibles to the books of the Hebrew Canon. In his fourth Catechetical lecture, he says, "Learn diligently and from the Church which are the books of the Old Testament and which of the New, and read not, I pray, any of the Apocrypha. For why shouldest thou, who knowest not those which are acknowledged by all, take needless trouble about those which are questioned? Read the Holy Scriptures, those two-and-twenty books of the Old Testament which were interpreted by the seventy-two interpreters." Then, having related the current story of the origin of the Septuagint, he proceeds: "Read the two-and-twenty books of these Scriptures, and have nothing to do with the Apocrypha. Those books only study earnestly which we read confidently even in church. Far wiser than thou and more devout were the Apostles and the ancient bishops, the rulers of the Church, who have handed down these: thou, therefore, who art a child of the Church, tread not on their sanctions." He goes on to teach his disciples the names and order of the twenty-two books. We may gather from this, as well as from the passage already quoted in which Athanasius describes the books outside the twenty-two as only used in the instruction of catechumens, that in the fourth century lessons from the Old Testament Apocrypha were not read in the Eastern Church. Cyril's own practice shews that he did not regard the study of these books as unlawful; and the object of his lecture would seem to be to exhort the less learned members of his flock to confine their reading to the books about whose authority there was no dispute.

57. *The threefold division—Rufinus.*—In the West, however, lessons were read in church not only from the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, but of the New, including such books as the Shepherd of Hermas and the Two Ways. Accordingly Rufinus, in his *Commentary on the Apostles' Creed* (37), where he appears to be following the guidance of Athanasius, makes a threefold division[1]

[1] The separation, however, had previously been made in an edition of the Septuagint published at Strasburg in 1526.

[1] With regard to the well-known threefold, or rather fourfold, division of books made by Eusebius in treating of the New Testament Canon (*H. E.* iii. 25), it may be remarked that he does not apply the name Apocrypha to any of them; but elsewhere (iv. 22) he employs incidentally the phrase τῶν λεγουμένων ἀποκρύφων, having apparently only heretical books in view.

of books. First, the books which the Fathers included in the Canon, and out of which they willed that assertions of our faith should be established. This list contains only the twenty-two Old Testament books. Secondly, books not canonical, but called by our ancestors Ecclesiastical, which they willed should be read in the Church, but not alleged as authority for the establishment of doctrine. The rest they called Apocryphal, which they did not admit to be read in the churches.

58. *Jerome's adoption of the twofold division.*—Jerome, however, conformed to the usage of Cyril, and only recognised the twofold division—canonical and apocryphal. That in his language "apocryphal" may fairly be translated "non-canonical" appears from what he says about the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, which in his *Catalogue* he accepts as a genuine work of that Apostle, but says of it, "Barnabas composed one epistle tending to the edification of the Church, which is read among apocryphal Scriptures." But there is no doubt that the word Apocrypha in Jerome's use of it contained a note of disparagement. His feelings with regard to these books are indicated beyond mistake in his letter to Læta (*Ep.* 107), giving her instruction as to her daughter's education. Having given his advice as to the order in which the child is to be made to read the books of the Old and New Testament, among which none are mentioned save those recognised by the Church of England as canonical, he goes on to say, repeating Cyril's warning, "Let her beware of all apocrypha (*Caveat omnia apocrypha*). And if at any time she should wish to read them, 'non ad veritatem dogmatum sed ad signorum reverentiam,'[1] let her know that they are not the works of those whose names they bear, that many faulty things are mixed up in them, and that it needs great prudence to look for gold in mire."

It has been suggested that St. Jerome had only in his mind New Testament apocryphal books falsely ascribed to Apostles, and that he did not mean to apply the name Apocrypha to the disputed books of the Old Testament. But he expressly does so apply the name in his prefaces. Cyril of Jerusalem had done so before him; for as Cyril contrasts the Apocrypha with the twenty-two books, it is clearly the Old Testament he has in view. In St. Jerome's enumeration of sacred books in the letter just quoted, the exclusion of the disputed books from mention is very marked. The same feature presents itself in his letter to Paulinus (*Ep.* 53). He there goes regularly through the books of the Old and New Testament, leaving out the books not included in the Hebrew Canon, and then adds, "oro te frater carissime inter hæc vivere, ista meditare, nihil aliud nosse, nihil quærere." St. Jerome's attitude of mind towards the disputed books is that he not only did not regard them as canonical Scripture, but that he thought a Christian's time might be more profitably spent than in reading them. It was the persistence with which St. Jerome used the name Apocrypha in speaking of the non-canonical books of the Old Testament which led to the adoption of it by the Reformers. In what precedes we have retained the use of the noun "Apocrypha" in the technical sense, but have avoided the adjective "apocryphal," which in modern English conveys a different meaning.

59. *The Council of Trent.*—It was just at the time of the death of Luther when, in 1547, the question of the Canon came under consideration at Trent. There were some of the Council who advocated the following the authority of St. Jerome, by making two classes of books differing in authority; others who would have evaded controversy by making a mere list of books, and defining nothing as to the authority of each; but the view which ultimately prevailed, and which was embodied in the canon adopted by the Council, put all the books that had been popularly regarded as belonging to the Old Testament on a footing of perfect equality. The Council declared that it received alike the books of Old and New Testament, since one God was the author of both; as well as also the traditions relating to faith or conduct, dictated by Christ or the Holy

[1] I am not sure that I rightly understand the last two words; and as they are irrelevant to the present discussion, I leave them untranslated.

Spirit, and preserved by continual succession in the Catholic Church; and that it accepted all with equal regard and reverence. Then, lest any doubt should arise as to the books of Scripture intended, a list is given, such as that already described, in which the books of both classes are intermixed without any hint of difference of authority. In modern times learned Roman Catholics have found it impossible to avoid making a division of Old Testament books into proto-canonical and deutero-canonical. But since the Council gives no warrant for such a division, they are obliged to explain that the term "deutero-canonical" is not intended to imply any inferiority of authority, but only a later date of admission into the Canon. Finally the Council passed an anathema on any one who does not receive as sacred and canonical these books, entire with all their parts, as they have been wont to be read in the Catholic Church and are contained in the old Latin Vulgate edition. The effect of this "entire with all their parts" is that though in the list of canonical books only the Book of Daniel, for example, is mentioned by name, any one would come under the anathema who should reject the Song of the Three Children or the Story of Bel and the Dragon.

60. *What weight to be attached to the ruling of this Council.*—To any one who regards the Council of Trent as infallible this decree closes the controversy. It may be perfectly true that this decision, equalizing the authority of all the books, is quite opposed to the judgment of all the most learned divines of previous times; but it can be said that these divines had not been privileged to hear the voice of the Church declaring the truth on this subject. But one who thinks that the Church had not to wait till the 16th century for its knowledge of the Canon of Scripture will find that if he cannot attribute to the Council of Trent inspired and infallible authority, he will be unable to acknowledge it as possessing any authority whatever.

In questions of criticism requiring learning for their determination, merely official position conveys no title to respect. In these islands the authority of Parliament is supreme; yet if both Houses of Parliament were to pass unanimous votes that Sir Philip Francis wrote the letters of Junius (or that he did not write them), such votes would count for nothing as affecting the judgment of critics, except so far as they furnished evidence what was the prevalent opinion at the time when they were passed, and except also so far as it could be shewn that persons had joined in these votes whose knowledge and skill entitled them to be listened to with respect. But when inquiry is made as to the knowledge and skill of those who passed the Trent decree, no favourable answer can be given. It would be out of place here to give any account of the political difficulties which impeded the assembling of the Council of Trent. Suffice it to say that when, after some futile attempts to bring a council together elsewhere, the Pope's legates proceeded to Trent, they found no prelate there but the bishop of the place. And for some ten months afterwards the number of bishops assembled remained so few that it was felt they could not without manifest indecency venture to describe themselves as an Œcumenical Council. Nor was it any high standard of numbers at which they at length arrived. When the Council actually opened, there were present, besides the legates, only four archbishops and twenty-eight bishops; and some of these were titular bishops, pensioners of the Pope, and having no real connection with the dioceses which they nominally represented. The subject of the Canon was the first matter of controverted doctrine with which the Council dealt, and it was discussed in congregations at which not more than thirty persons were present. By the time the decree was actually promulgated in a meeting of the Council, the total number had not risen above fifty-three. But though the Council was not strong in numerical representation, its weakness was far greater as respects the quality of those who took part in it. Though the Council called itself Œcumenical, no part of the world was really represented in it except Italy. The great bulk of the bishops were Italian: of the rest the majority were Spanish; there were a couple from

France, none from Germany, Switzerland, or the Northern countries. But a still worse account has to be given of the scholarship of its members. None knew Hebrew; only a few knew Greek; there were even some whose knowledge of Latin was held in but low repute; not one had eminence as a learned divine. Westcott's summing-up of the case is completely justified. "This fatal decree, in which the Council, harassed by the fear of lay critics and 'grammarians,' gave a new aspect to the whole question of the Canon, was ratified by fifty-three prelates, among whom there was not one German, not one scholar distinguished by historical learning, not one who was fitted by special study for the examination of a subject in which the truth could only be determined by the voice of antiquity. How completely the decision was opposed to the spirit and letter of the original judgments of the Greek and Latin Churches; how far it was at variance, in the doctrinal equalization of the disputed and acknowledged books of the Old Testament, with the tradition of the West; how absolutely unprecedented was the conversion of an ecclesiastical usage into an article of belief, will be seen from the evidence which has been already adduced." [1]

61. *Controversial inducements to its recognition of the Apocrypha.*—It has been said, and probably with truth, that the majority at the Council, being men who took much more interest in the polemical discussions of their own day than in learned research as to the opinions of earlier times, were mainly induced to give so high a rank to the Apocrypha, by the controversial use to be made of a few texts in it. Thus, in controversy concerning the help or intercession of angels, use might be made of the Book of Tobit (see in particular xii. 12, 15), and so concerning the intercession of departed saints (2 Macc. xv. 12–14; Baruch iv. 4). On the question of prayers for the dead, appeal might be made to 2 Macc. xii. 44, 45: and concerning the merit of almsgiving and other good works, to Tobit iii. 10, iv. 7; Ecclus. iii. 30.

[1] *Bible in the Church*, p. 257.

62. *The acceptance of the Apocrypha as inspired necessitates a low theory of Inspiration.*—If the Tridentine divines were influenced by such considerations as these in ascribing canonical authority to these books, the Reformers' reasons for refusing to do so were far more fundamental than were suggested by any possible use to be made of them in particular controversies. It ought never to be forgotten that the question concerning the authority of the books of the Apocrypha is intimately connected with the question how much is meant by the inspiration and authority ascribed to the books of the Hebrew Old Testament. The two classes of books can be put on the same level, either by magnifying the authority ascribed to the former, or depressing that ascribed to the latter. Thus, for example, the rationalistic critic of the present day, who does not ascribe inspiration, as the Church understands the word, to any books, has no inclination to set the books of the Apocrypha in any inferior position. Jewish literature of one age has as many claims on his regard as Jewish literature of another. The Jewish literature now extant in Hebrew may be, speaking generally, of earlier date than that only extant in Greek; but he regards the one as no more above his criticism than the other; the older no more than the later, an authority to which he is bound to defer. Where a somewhat higher view of the inspiration of the Old Testament Scriptures is held, it is still evident that the more of error and imperfection is imagined to be compatible with inspiration, the less difficulty is there in ascribing that attribute to the books of the Apocrypha, or to any other books. Now the Reformers felt it to be a necessity of their position to hold a very high doctrine of Inspiration. They rejected the infallibility claimed for the authority of the Church, but they taught that Christians were not left without the security of an unerring guide. This they found in the Bible; and if they rejected decisions made by high Church authority, it was because they found them opposed by authority which they recognised as superior.

Now some of the books of the Apo-

crypha are plainly indefensible by any one who holds any high theory of Inspiration. It is not merely that they are wanting in external attestation; there are many passages where the moral tone falls distinctly below the dignity of Scripture. The Book of Wisdom, which is one of the finest, is certainly not Solomon's, and probably is one of the latest in the collection; the Second Book of the Maccabees is disfigured by several anachronisms and historical blunders; the books of Tobit and Judith, not to speak of the stories of Susanna and Bel and the Dragon, cannot possibly be maintained as historical, and must be relegated to the class of edifying fiction. And even in the latter point of view they are unacceptable to a modern reader. It is hard, for instance, for such a reader to take seriously the story of the demon Asmodeus in the Book of Tobit. This demon is capable of sexual lust, and is able to take the lives of the men of whom he is jealous; but is unable to bear the stench of the burning of a fish's liver, and flies off to the upper parts of Egypt. Any controversy concerning the books of the Apocrypha in modern times will be found really to regard not so much the credit due to these books as that due to the books of the older Scriptures. No one can now venture to demand for the statements found in the books of the Apocrypha that unhesitating deference which the men of the early Church accorded to the books which they recognised as Scripture; and therefore it is not possible now to bring the Apocrypha to the level of the Old Testament Scriptures through any process of raising the authority of the former books. If the books of the Apocrypha are to be called sacred and canonical, it can only be by maintaining that these epithets can be bestowed on books full of blunders and false conceptions, which the early Church would have thought it scandalous to attribute to any books which they regarded as inspired. It has already been observed, that when the prerogatives of Inspiration are denied or extenuated, the controversy concerning the authority of the Apocryphal books ceases to have any practical meaning.

§ VIII. The Use of the Apocrypha in the Church of England.

63. *The Apocrypha formerly used extensively in public.*—When the Reformers denied the inspired authority of the books of the Apocrypha, it was by no means their intention to exclude them from use either in public or in private reading. The Articles of the Church of England quote with approbation the ruling of St. Jerome, that though the Church does not use these books for establishment of doctrine, it reads them for example of life and instruction of manners. Accordingly, lessons from the Apocrypha were appointed to be read on the week-days during two months of the year; and these books are once or twice quoted as Scripture in the Homilies set forth by authority. Not only was this the view of the cautious men who held high office in the Church of England, but it was not dissented from by a more extreme section of Reformers. The Geneva Bible, which, until it came to be superseded by King James's Authorized Version, was the most popular and widely circulated of English Bibles, prefixed the following Preface to the section containing the Apocrypha: "The books that follow in order after the Prophets unto the New Testament, are called Apocrypha; that is, books which were not received by a common consent to be read and expounded publicly in the Church, neither yet serve to prove any point of Christian religion, save inasmuch as they had the consent of the other Scriptures called Canonical to confirm the same, or rather whereupon they were grounded: but as books proceeding from godly men were received to be read for the advancement and furtherance of the knowledge of the history, and for the instruction of godly manners: which books declare, that at all times God had an especial care of his Church, and left them not utterly destitute of teachers and means to confirm them in the hope of the promised Messiah, and also witness that those calamities that God sent to his Church were according to his providence, who had both so threatened by his prophets, and so brought it to pass for the destruction of

their enemies and for the trial of his children."

64. *And in private.*—Abundant references to the books of the Apocrypha in our elder literature testify the extensive use that for some time continued to be made of them, and in many cases by men who cannot be suspected of sympathy with Romish teaching. Perhaps the most interesting illustration of the acquaintance with them possessed by the less learned of the people is afforded by what John Bunyan tells in his Autobiography,[1] how he was roused from a state of religious despondency by the recollection of a text from the Apocrypha, though for some time he could not remember where he had met with it, "Look at the generations of old and see; did ever any trust in the Lord, and was confounded?" (Ecclus. ii. 10.) He probably knew the words from having heard them read in church; but it appears from his account that he had the means by his private study of discovering the source of the quotation.

In the present general neglect of the Apocrypha, young readers require a commentator to explain to them why Shylock should exclaim, "A Daniel come to judgment," or why Milton should describe Raphael as the "affable Archangel;" or as

> "the sociable spirit that deigned
> To travel with Tobias, and secured
> His marriage with the seven-times-wedded maid."

Of those who quote the saying, "Magna est veritas et prævalebit," probably a majority could not tell whence it was derived. Christian names still in use—Susan, Toby, Judith—bear witness to the influence once exercised by the books which bear these names, but which would now be seldom thought of in connection with them, if it were not that pictures have made the stories familiar to many who do not care to study the books themselves.

65. *The Lectionary.* — A somewhat fuller account may now be added of the public and the private reading respectively of these books in the Reformed Church of England. The Lectionary, which in the main continued in use down to the present reign, not only declined to use the two books of Esdras and the Prayer of Manasses, which are not recognised in the Tridentine Canon, but also with less apparent reason the books of the Maccabees, although they contain information concerning a most interesting period of Jewish history, which might well with advantage have been made popularly known. The remainder of the books were read with scarcely any attempt at curtailment or selection. Among the Puritan complaints in the reign of Elizabeth, objections to the public reading of the Apocrypha had no prominent part. The great anxiety of the objectors was that the time available for the ordinance of preaching should not be encroached on, and therefore their dislike extended to the reading of any fixed Scripture lessons beyond the passages which the officiating minister might choose as the subject of comment. They objected likewise to the use of the Homilies. The futility of their objections was easily shewn by Whitgift and Hooker; but the latter, while shewing the unreasonableness of refusing to submit to the decision of authority in such a matter, allows it to be seen that, according to his private judgment, he would have preferred confining church reading to the canonical Scriptures. At the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, the objections made to the Apocrypha lessons did not raise the general question of the propriety of reading non-canonical books, but were only directed against particular passages in the lessons read; and these it was attempted to meet by a revision of the Lectionary. The history of Bel and the Dragon, which had been read as part of the Book of Daniel, was now omitted; and so were also some of the less credible chapters of the Book of Tobit, though with considerable damage to the story. A few of the lessons for instruction in manners were also omitted as not conformed to modern ideas. Thus the writer of the Book of Ecclesiasticus exhibits a very low opinion of the female sex, and this led to the omission of the whole of his 26th chapter in the Prayer Book for 1604. In the revision under

[1] *Grace Abounding*, § 62.

Charles II. half the 25th chapter was left out besides. A few specimens will sufficiently indicate the reasons for the omission :—"Give me any plague but the plague of the heart, and any wickedness but the wickedness of a woman. . . . All wickedness is but little to the wickedness of a woman : let the portion of a sinner fall upon her. As the climbing up a sandy way is to the feet of the aged, so is a wife full of words to a quiet man. . . . A woman, if she maintain her husband, is full of anger, impudence, and much reproach." "Of the woman came the beginning of sin, and through her we all die. Give the water no passage; neither a wicked woman liberty to gad abroad. If she go not as thou wouldest have her, cut her off from thy flesh, and give her a bill of divorce, and let her go."

66. *Changes in the reign of James I.*—One other of the omissions of 1604 is curious for its leaving out a single verse of a chapter (Ecclus. xlvi. 20), the thing asserted in this verse being the reality of the appearance of Samuel when called up by the Witch of Endor. Although Justin Martyr and some other ancient authorities had explained the prophet's complaint, "Why hast thou disquieted me and brought me up?" by a theory as to authority exercised by evil spirits over souls in the departed state, such a theory was deeply repugnant to the general sense of the Church, which held to the doctrine expressed in the Book of Wisdom: "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them." And so the theory found more favour that the appearance to Saul was a demoniac illusion, in which powers were claimed for the evil spirits which they did not really possess. And this theory is evidently that which was adopted by the revisers.

67. *The Long Parliament.*—During the Long Parliament objections against the use of the Apocrypha became louder. The abolition of Apocrypha lessons was one of the concessions offered in 1641 by the Committee of the House of Lords presided over by Bishop Williams. In a sermon preached before the House of Commons in 1643 the well-known scholar Lightfoot complained of the custom of printing the Apocrypha between the books of the Old and New Testament. "Thus sweetly and nearly should the two Testaments join together, and thus divinely would they kiss each other, but that the wretched Apocrypha doth thrust in between." "Like the two cherubins in the temple-oracle," the end of the Law and the beginning of the Gospel would touch one another, "did not this patchery of human invention divorce them asunder." He goes on to account for the reception so long given to the Apocrypha as due to the ignorance and superstition of the times, the Talmud being then unknown and the world being ignorant how impious and ridiculous were the doctrines and fables of the Jewish schools. But he wonders that Churches which had cast off the yoke of custom and superstition should do as first ignorance and then superstition had done before them. "It is true they have refused these books out of the Canon, but they have reserved them still in the Bible, as if God should have cast Adam out of the state of happiness, and yet have continued him still in the place of happiness." And he closes with the demand, "Cast out the bondwoman and her son, for the son of the bondwoman may not be heir with the son of the free."

68. *The Savoy Conference.*—At the Savoy Conference it was asked that the use of Apocrypha lessons should be discontinued, as being inconsistent with the sufficiency of Scripture. To which the bishops replied that the same objection lay against the use of sermons, and that it were much to be wished that all sermons gave as useful instruction as did the chapters selected from the Apocrypha. And in the end, not only were the Apocrypha lessons retained, but the story of Bel and the Dragon, and all but one of the omitted chapters of the Book of Tobit, were restored to the Lectionary. The omission of Apocrypha lessons was one of the concessions contemplated in the abortive attempt made for the comprehension of Dissenters in the reign of William III.

69. *The revised Lectionary of* 1867.—Although the books of the Apocrypha were so largely employed in the Church's Calendar, it was only the week-day

lessons that were thence taken. The Sunday lessons were all taken from the canonical books; and owing to the very general disuse of attendance on week-day services, the consequence has been that there is a large number, perhaps a majority of members of the Church, who have scarcely ever heard a lesson from the Apocrypha. At the revision of the Lectionary by Convocation in 1867, the reading of Apocrypha Lessons was much diminished. The time during which such lessons were read on week-days was reduced from two months to three weeks. All the historical or quasi-historical books were put out of the Lectionary. It has been stated that there had previously been no lessons from the books of Esdras or Maccabees; and now the books of Tobit and Judith, and the stories of Susanna and Bel and the Dragon, were also removed. Thus, except that on one morning and one evening lessons are taken from the Book of Baruch, the only books read are Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus; and these are not read continuously as before, but are only represented by some short selections. In fact, so small a portion of the apocryphal books has been retained in the present Lectionary that the retention of any would seem intended for little more than an assertion of the Church's right to use these books if she pleases in public reading. This is still more true of the American Church, which entirely discontinued the use of lessons from the Apocrypha on ordinary week-days; but still uses such lessons on two or three holy days. The Irish Church on its last revision of the Lectionary has not even retained so much as this.

70. *The Church's practice as to the public reading of uninspired books has been always determined by considerations of expediency.*—It must be owned that the English Church and its different branches have, with respect to the public use of the Apocrypha, departed a good deal not only from the practice of the ancient Church, but even from its own earlier practice since the Reformation. But it must be remembered that the public use of uninspired writings is a matter on which the Church has always used her liberty of change, according as expediency and regard for the edification of her children suggest. In the very early Church the Epistles of Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas, and other writings were publicly read; but this use was afterwards so completely discontinued that these writings almost ceased to be copied, so that they have had a narrow escape of being lost to our time. One of these books, indeed, the Revelation of St. Peter, has almost entirely perished. In some cases the cause of the disuse of the public reading of books has been jealousy for the honour of Scripture, and a fear lest uninspired books should be placed in the minds of the people on the same level. It was this fear which led to the exclusion of some of the books which have been just named, while no scruple was felt as to the reading of acts of martyrdom or letters of living bishops, to which no inspired authority was likely to be attached. And no doubt the fact that the books of the Apocrypha have been set by the Church of Rome on exactly the same level as the canonical books has led many Protestants to desire that no possible countenance should be given to such an estimate of them by the public reading of the Church. But there are quite different reasons why compositions which at one period can be read with the greatest advantage, "for example of life and instruction of manners," cannot be used with equal advantage at another. The best sermons of the great preachers of former days, if now read without alteration or adaptation, would be found to tend little to edification. If there is one Article of the Church of England which commends the books of the Apocrypha as useful to be read, "for example of life and instruction of manners," there is another Article which commends the two books of the Homilies as containing a godly and wholesome doctrine and necessary for these times; and which judges them "to be read in churches by the ministers diligently and distinctly, that they may be understanded by the people." And yet it may be doubted whether during the whole course of the year all over the kingdom a single homily is now so read. And it is not that the clergy who thus disregard the Church's recommendation have ex-

amined the Homilies and formed an unfavourable opinion of their teaching; but simply that they believe that more modern lessons can be delivered to the people with greater probability of edification. In former times some deemed it inexpedient to read lessons from the Apocrypha, lest the people should learn to look on these books with too much reverence: the late revisers of the English Lectionary had to take into account quite the opposite danger; namely, lest it might be inexpedient to read that towards which many of the people might be contemptuously disposed. Thus, for example, as long as the Book of Tobit was accepted as containing a history substantially true, it could be read with edification for the sake of the lessons of piety and charity which it conveys. But if the bulk of the hearers would be likely to take offence at the absurdity of the fable, it might be prudent to give useful lessons in a less questionable form.

71. *The Book of Ecclesiasticus.*— Similar considerations justify the large excisions from the Book of Ecclesiasticus made by the late revisers of the English Lectionary. The whole book may be read in private with great interest and advantage. It contains the wise counsels of a shrewd and pious Jew of former times, and the reader takes no offence even though some of his advice may be out of date and not adapted to our present circumstances. But it is different if the same things are read out as a sermon intended for the immediate edification of the hearers. If, indeed, these hearers have been trained to regard the lessons as possessing some kind of inspired authority, they may listen to all with undiscriminating reverence. But if the hearers regard what is read as a human sermon by no means above their criticism, there are some things from which they would be likely to dissent; other things which would provoke a smile and tend to disturb the attitude of deferential attention with which it is desirable Church Lessons should be listened to. Mention has already been made of this preacher's low opinion of the female sex, expressions of which break out continually. "From garments," he says, "cometh a moth, and from women wickedness" (xlii. 13). He describes the perpetual anxiety which the care of a daughter entails on her father. "The father waketh for the daughter, when no man knoweth; and the care for her taketh away sleep: when she is young, lest she pass away the flower of her age; and being married, lest she should be hated: in her virginity, lest she should be defiled and gotten with child in her father's house; and having an husband, lest she should misbehave herself; and when she is married, lest she should be barren." The following is shrewd advice, but scarcely what one would expect to receive in church: "Give not thy son and wife, thy brother and friend, power over thee while thou livest, and give not thy goods to another, lest it repent thee, and thou entreat for the same again. As long as thou livest and hast breath in thee, give not thyself over to any. Far better it is that thy children should seek to thee than that thou shouldest stand to their courtesy." Still more wanting in dignity is the advice to guests at a feast. "If thou sit at a bountiful table, be not greedy upon it, and say not, There is much meat on it . . . Judge of thy neighbour by thyself: and be discreet in every point. Eat, as it becometh a man, those things which are set before thee; and devour not, lest thou be hated. Leave off first for manners' sake; and be not unsatiable, lest thou offend. When thou sittest among many, reach not thine hand out first of all. A very little is sufficient for a man well nurtured, and he fetcheth not his wind short upon his bed. Sound sleep cometh of moderate eating: he riseth early, and his wits are with him: but the pain of watching, and choler, and pangs of the belly, are with an unsatiable man. And if thou hast been forced to eat, arise, go forth, vomit, and thou shalt have rest." It would be too long to quote other excellent advice about the choice of friends and about the lending of money: for example, "Lend not unto him that is mightier than thyself; but if thou lendest him, count it but lost." "Consult not with a fool; for he cannot keep counsel." "Open not thine heart to every man, lest he requite thee with a shrewd turn.'

And the contrast is amusing which the preacher draws between the wisdom of the learned man who devotes his life to the knowledge of the law and the limited attainments of those whose time must be mainly occupied with the business of their craft. "The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure; and he that hath little business shall become wise. How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is of bullocks?"

72. *The Apocrypha unlikely to regain its former place in public reading.*—These few examples sufficiently illustrate the need of selection and excision, if it is desired that lessons from one of the most instructive books of the Apocrypha shall be listened to with serious reverence by ordinary congregations of the present day. And it becomes apparent that the use of this literature for purposes of public instruction is never likely to become as great as it was in the ancient Church, especially now that the very much increased use of preaching has provided such an abundance of sermons more likely to deal with the immediate wants of the people than anything written by a homilist of former days.

§ IX. The Value of the Apocrypha for private use.

73. *Undue neglect of the Apocrypha.*—But the difficulties which may be felt as to the public reading of the apocryphal books do not at all affect the private study of these books; and it must be pronounced not quite creditable to our people that, in the reaction against the claim for the Apocrypha books of inspired authority, they have permitted themselves to become so very generally completely ignorant of books which God's providence has for so many centuries employed for the instruction of His Church. There are many, even of those who would not like to be pronounced ill informed in theological knowledge, with whom the whole history of the Jewish nation is almost a blank for the 400 years from the close of the Old Testament Canon to the birth of our Saviour. What training the nation had received in order to fit them for the reception of the further revelation which our Lord was to communicate they have never cared to inquire. Yet the Apocrypha contains evidence that, in the later times to which it belongs, the doctrine of a future life had taken hold of the people as it had not done earlier. The third part of the Homily on the Fear of Death offers proofs of the belief in a future life held by "the holy fathers of the old Law;" but these proofs are taken exclusively from the Book of Wisdom. And it would not be possible to replace the two passages from that book selected as the lessons for All Saints' Day, by two other Old Testament chapters expressing the same belief with equal distinctness.

74. *The New Testament writers exhibit acquaintance with the Apocrypha.*—Again, can there be a matter of greater interest than to know what books our Lord and His Apostles are likely to have used, what literature they may have read which may at times have influenced their language or their trains of thought? Admirers of Shakespeare at the present day have tried to form a Shakespearian library: that is to say, a collection of the books which their favourite poet is likely to have used; very justly believing that, by a comparison of his works with these his sources of information, they will be better able to appreciate his genius. And though, in the case of the New Testament writers, the inspired books of the Old Testament were certainly the main subject of their study,—and therefore the knowledge of these books is to us the most important aid for understanding the New Testament,—yet the question is an important one, Did the Apostles and Evangelists read anything else besides the Scriptures? and if they did, may not the knowledge of this literature afford a useful subsidiary help to the full understanding of the sacred volume? The New Testament writers not only never quote the apocryphal books with the authority of Scripture, but they never make any direct reference or allusion to anything which these books relate. Yet there are

unmistakeable coincidences of language which make it plain that these books were not altogether unknown to them. Several instances will be found in the references given in the notes of the following commentary, and we can only here give by way of illustration what does not pretend to be an exhaustive list.[1]

With respect to these parallels, it must be observed that though it is always to a certain extent precarious to infer literary obligation from mere similarities of expressions; yet if we have independent knowledge that one writer was acquainted with the works of another, then we are justified in pronouncing it to be less probable that both independently should chance to hit on the same ideas or forms of expression than that the earlier writer should have suggested them to the later. The books we know as Apocrypha are nearly all earlier than the New Testament writers, who could not well have been ignorant of them; and therefore coincidences between the former and the latter are not likely to have been the result of mere accident. On this account we have allowed several coincidences to stand in the list which, separately considered, have little force as proofs of literary obligation.

75. *The Epistle to the Hebrews.*—The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews habitually used the Greek Bible, and beyond doubt exhibits acquaintance with the disputed books. In the very opening of the Epistle (i. 3), the phrase "brightness of his glory" (ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ) recalls a similar expression in the Book of Wisdom (vii. 26, ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς ἀϊδίου). In both cases we have the rare word πολυμερής in close neighbourhood (Wisdom vii. 22; Heb. i. 1). Other coincidences with the same book are Heb. iv. 12, 13 = Wisd. vii. 22–24; Heb. viii. 2, 9, 11 = Wisd. ix. 8; the description of temporal sufferings as παιδεία, Heb. xii. 6–11 = Wisd. iii. 5; τόπος μετανοίας, Heb. xii. 17 = Wisd. xii. 10; ἔκβασις, Heb. xiii. 7 = Wisd. ii. 17. It may be regarded also as put beyond doubt by several verbal coincidences that in the close of the eleventh chapter of the Hebrews reference is made to the martyrdoms in the times of the Maccabees. Thus ἐτυμπανίσθησαν (xi. 35) seems plainly to refer to ἐπὶ τὸ τύμπανον προσῆγε (2 Macc. vi. 19, 28); the word ἐμπαιγμῶν (xi. 36) is found also 2 Macc. vii. 7, 10; and for the hope of a "better resurrection" which animated the martyrs, see 2 Macc. vii. 9.

76. *St. James.*— St. James, in his Epistle, has many coincidences with books of the Apocrypha, one of the most striking of which is, "Be swift to hear, and with patience give answer" (Ecclus. v. 11; compare James i. 19, also Ecclus. xx. 7). What is said about the tongue (Ecclus. xxviii.) ought to be compared with the corresponding passage in James iii. In particular the use of the word φλογίζω (James iii. 6) seems to have been suggested by Ecclus. v. 22; and "out of the same mouth proceedeth blessing and cursing," by v. 12. The following other parallels between St. James's Epistle and the Book of Ecclesiasticus have been enumerated by Dean Plumptre:—

James i. 5 = Ecclus. xx. 15, xli. 22.
,, i. 8 = ,, i. 28, ii. 12.
,, i. 12 = ,, i. 11, 16, 18.
,, i. 12 = ,, xv. 11.
,, i. 23 = ,, xii. 11.
,, i. 25 = ,, xiv. 23, xxi. 23.
,, v. 7 = ,, vi. 19.

Dean Plumptre has also given a table of coincidences between St. James and the Book of Wisdom, as follows:—

James i. 11 = Wisd. ii. 8.
,, i. 12 = ,, v. 7.
,, i. 17 = ,, vii. 17–20.
,, i. 20 = ,, xii. 10.
,, i. 23 = ,, vii. 26.
,, ii. 13–16 = Wisd. vi. 6, 24, &c.
,, ii. 21 = Wisd. x. 5.
,, iv. 14 = ,, iii. 16, v. 9–14.
,, v. 6 = ,, ii. 12.

Bleek adds the use of the word ὀνειδίζειν with reference to benefits conferred (James i. 5; Ecclus. xviii. 18, xx. 15, xli. 28); the thought that God tempteth not to evil (James i. 13; Ecclus. xv. 11); for the Wisdom that descendeth from above (James iii. 15; Ecclus. vii. 25, &c.).

77. *St. Peter.*—Again, the opening of St. Peter's first Epistle (i. 6, 7) has many verbal coincidences with Wisd. iii. 5, 7, where also ἐν καιρῷ ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτῶν may be compared with 1 Pet. ii. 12.

And St. Paul.—Of St. Paul's acquaintance with the Apocrypha perhaps the

[1] A long list of coincidences will be found in an article by Bleek (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1853).

most striking illustrations are obtained from the parallels between his description of the Christian armour (Eph. vi.) and a similar description, Wisd. v. 18–20; and between the illustration of the potter (Rom. ix. 21) and the same illustration, Wisd. xv. 7. What is said (Rom. ix. 22) about God's "long-suffering" with the vessels of wrath has a parallel in Wisd. xii. 20. The whole section, Rom. i. 20–32, has close affinities with thoughts in the Book of Wisdom; compare Rom. i. 20, Wisd. xiii. 1. See also Wisd. xiii. 8, xiv. 21. Other parallels are—

Rom. ii. 4	= Wisd.	xv. 1.
,, xi. 32	= ,,	xi. 24.
1 Cor. vi. 2	= ,,	iii. 8.
2 Cor. v. 4	= ,,	ix. 15.
1 Thess. iv. 13	= ,,	iii. 18.

For the combination χάρις καὶ ἔλεος, 1 Tim. i. 2, see Wisd. iii. 9, iv. 15. Coincidences with the Book of Ecclesiasticus have been found:

Rom. ii. 5–11	= Ecclus.	xxxii. 15, &c.
,, xii. 15	= ,,	vii. 35.
1 Cor. vi. 12, 13	= ,,	xxxvii. 28, xxxvi. 20.
2 Cor. vii. 10	= ,,	xxx. 21, 23, xxxviii. 18.

78. *St. John.*—The prologue of St. John's Gospel has affinities with the thoughts in Wisdom, chaps. vii.–ix. Compare especially Wisd. viii. 3, ix. 1. The Johannine phrase "signs and wonders," σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, iv. 48, is found in Wisd. viii. 8, x. 16. Other parallels are John iii. 14 = Wisd. xvi. 5; John iii. 12 = Wisd. ix. 16; John xvii. 3 = Wisd. xv. 1. One passage of Ecclesiasticus presents a coincidence striking but perhaps accidental, οἱ ἐσθίοντές με ἔτι πεινάσουσι, καὶ οἱ πίνοντές με ἔτι διψήσουσι, xxiv. 21; John vi. 35. The phrase εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, 1 John ii. 17, is found Wisd. v. 17; and the ἄξια γάρ εἰσι of the Apocalypse (iii., iv., xvi. 6) may have been suggested by Wisd. iii. 5.[1]

The Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus[2] are those of which we find the most distinct traces in New Testament writers; but one passage in the Book of Tobit bears on the interesting question whether any before our Lord had enunciated the golden rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." For the rule as stated in this comprehensive positive form no earlier authority can be produced, but we find it in the negative form (Tobit iv. 15), "Do that to no man which thou hatest."

[1] Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, p. 30.

[2] See the Introduction to the Book of Ecclesiasticus in this edition.

79. *Claims of the Apocrypha arising from its long-continued use in the Christian Church.*—Finally, it has been always the study of the Church of England to maintain continuity with the ancient Church. We use in our public worship no new-fangled forms of prayer, but make our petitions often in the very words which for centuries the Church has employed. We count the holy men of the earlier Church as ours, and we read their writings with edification. It cannot therefore be without interest for us to be acquainted with books to which so many divines of the earlier Church attributed high authority, and from which they drew many illustrations. It is this Christian use of the Apocrypha which accounts for the limitation of the contents of the present volumes. The writings included in them are not the only pre-Christian writings which may be studied with advantage in order to trace the religious progress of the Jewish people. Some materials for the study have indeed only recently come to light. The Book of Enoch has special claims on our attention; and there are some of the so-called Sibylline verses which are certainly pre-Christian, and which may be used to illustrate the history of Messianic expectations. But though a larger collection of Jewish apocrypha would certainly not be without interest, it would be hard to keep it within moderate limits; and whatever acceptance other apocrypha may have met with in Jewish circles, the books included in the present volumes have enjoyed a consideration in the Christian Church to which no others can lay claim.

Note on the Syriac Versions of the Books of the Apocrypha.

The following Note on the Syriac versions of the books of the Apocrypha has been contributed by the Rev. Dr. Gwynn:—

1. *The Apocrypha in the Peshitto.*—It is a remarkable fact that, though the Peshitto Version of the Old Testament is (as regards the canonical Books) unquestionably rendered in the main from the Hebrew direct, every existing MS. of that version which makes the least approach to being a complete Old Testament contains most of the Apocrypha of the Greek. This is so alike in the oldest MS., which is of the 6th century, and in the latest (not including very recent transcripts made for European use), which is of the 17th. Even the smaller collections of O. T. writings which some MSS. exhibit shew this same feature. A volume of the Prophets usually gives Baruch with Jeremiah, and with Daniel its Greek interpolations. A 'Book of Women' always joins Susanna and Judith with Ruth and Esther. Moreover, in the Syrian order, which differs both from the Hebrew and the Greek, these Apocrypha are most of them classified with the rest according to their contents, and not relegated to an inferior place in any Syriac MS., but rather placed higher than is usual in Greek MSS. Thus, in the oldest and best Syriac Old Testament, the Ambrosian (Cod. B. 21 *inf.*), which is of the 6th century, the Book of Wisdom follows Proverbs and stands before Ecclesiastes and Canticles. The whole arrangement of the O. T. in this MS. is worthy of observation. The earlier Books (omitting only Ruth) are placed as in our Bibles, except that Job (as written by Moses) follows the Pentateuch, and (on the same principle) the Psalms follow the Books of Samuel, and the writings of Solomon (as above, including Wisdom) follow the Books of Kings. Next come the Prophets,—Isaiah, Jeremiah (with Lamentations, Epistle of Jeremiah, *two* "Epistles of Baruch"), Ezekiel, the twelve Minor Prophets, and lastly Daniel (including the Prayer and Song of the Three Children, and with Bel and the Dragon appended); then the Book of Women,—viz. Ruth, Susanna, Esther, and Judith;[1] then Ecclesiasticus, the Books of Chronicles, the (otherwise unknown) "Apocalypse of Baruch"; then the Book known in English as 2 Esdras (in Latin 4 Esdras), which is here 1 Esdras; then the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah; and lastly, five Books of Maccabees, of which the first two are those given in the English Bible, the third is that which is found in most Greek MSS. of the LXX., the fourth is the history of Eleazar and Samona, ascribed to Josippus or Josephus, and the fifth is Josephus's 'De Bello Jud.,' bk. vi.

This order is in great measure followed in all the later MSS. of the Syriac O. T., as for example in the two very recent copies, now in the Bodleian Library, which Walton used for his Polyglot, both of the 17th century (viz. "Poc.," now Poc. 391; and "Uss.," now Bodl. Or. 141), dated respectively 1614 and 1627.[1] The latter of these differs from the order of the Ambrosian MS., in the earlier part, only in (1) omitting the Psalms altogether, (2) placing Chronicles next after Kings, and (3) giving Wisdom the last place among Solomon's writings. But it then proceeds to divide the Book of Women into two, placing Ruth and Susanna next to Solomon and before the Prophets, while Esther and Judith follow the Prophets. Among the Prophets, the twelve Minor come next after Isaiah; then Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel (Jeremiah and Daniel having the same apocryphal matter attached as in the ancient codex). After Judith follow the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah, then Ecclesiasticus, and *four* Books of Maccabees. As a supple-

[1] The 'Book of Women' is sometimes found in Syriac collections as a separate volume. It is remarkable that two ancient Nitrian copies of this book (Brit. Mus. Add. 14,652, and 14,447) subjoin as a fifth book to the four above named, 'The History of Thecla,' being a very early Syriac version of the extant Greek 'Acts of Paul and Thecla.' The former of these two MSS. is of the 6th century—at least 400 years older than any existing Greek copy of these 'Acts,' and is thus the earliest known authority for their text.

[1] It is worth while to note here that the Cambridge MS., Ll. 2. 4 (formerly the property of Erpenius), cited as "Cant." in Walton's Polyglot, is wrongly described in his 'Prolegg.' xiii. (p. 89) as containing "Prophetas majores et libros *omnes* qui vulgo Apocryphi dicuntur." No Syrian, unless under Western influences, would so segregate the apocryphal books. The only parts of the Apocrypha contained in this MS. are the additions to Daniel in ch. iii., and Bel and the Dragon.

ment, the Book called in English Bibles "1 Esdras" (Greek 3 Esdras), and Tobit, are appended, each headed, "according to the Septuagint." Almost the same description applies to "Poc.," except that the Prophets are removed to the end, so that the four books of Women come together. In this copy there is a note at the end explaining that the Psalms are omitted merely because separate copies of that book are commonly to be met with. The great Cambridge MS. of the Syriac Bible, Oo. 1. 7, which is intermediate in age between the Ambrosian and the Bodleian copies, agrees substantially with the latter in its canon and arrangement of the books of the Old Testament.

It appears then that the early Peshitto Old Testament contained all the Books which form the English Apocrypha, except 1 [3] Esdras and perhaps Tobit, the apocryphal Additions to Esther, and the Prayer of Manasses, which also are wanting. In the more recent copies Tobit and 1 Esdras are supplied—the former partly, the latter wholly—from a later version. In this respect, as well as in the partial alteration of the order of the books, these copies shew signs of Western influences. Notably "Uss.," the later of the two Bodleian copies, was copied in 1627 at the order of Thomas Davis, a resident at Aleppo, for Archbishop Ussher, from a MS. belonging to the Patriarch of the Lebanon[1] in the Maronite Convent of Kanôbin, several years after the time when the authority of the See of Rome had become paramount within the Maronite Church. Western influences probably account likewise for the omission from the later MSS. of part of the additional apocryphal matter found in the earliest, viz. the Apocalypse of Baruch, and the book which stands as 5 Maccabees. But it is probable that neither of these books ever attained a permanent place among the Syriac pseudepigrapha. The third and fourth Books of Maccabees, however, held their ground; and so does the Book styled "First Epistle of Baruch," standing before the Baruch of the LXX. which is reckoned "second" to it.[1]

2. *The Apocrypha in the Syro-Hexaplar Version.*—The later Syriac version of the O. T., known as the Syro-Hexaplar, follows (so far as its existing remains enable us to judge) the text and arrangement of Origen scrupulously. It is known to have been made by Paul of Tella in Mesopotamia, a Jacobite bishop, at Alexandria, about the year A.D. 616–17. The former half of it is extant only in portions; the latter half is complete in another Ambrosian MS. (C. 313 *inf.*), of 8th century, and contains most of the apocryphal Books (all that are classed as poetical or prophetical), in their usual Greek order. The books of the Apocrypha wanting from this MS. are thus the quasi-historical ones: Tobit, Judith, 1 and 2 Esdras, the Maccabees, the Greek additions to Esther, to which is to be added the Prayer of Manasses. But a MS., now lost, which was in the possession of Andreas Masius in the 16th century, apparently containing exactly the books which are wanting to the Ambrosian, included Tobit; and the extracts from it printed by him in his 'Syrorum Peculium,' when compared with the earlier chapters of Tobit printed by Walton in his Polyglot from his 17th century MSS., identify these chapters as part of the Syro-Hexaplar Version. And the 1 [3] Esdras of the same Polyglot, derived from the same MSS., is similarly identified as Syro-Hexaplar by comparison with extracts from that version contained in a MS. collection of the 8th century (Brit. Mus. Add. 12,163). In both these Books, the internal evidence of the manner and diction entirely confirms this identification, agreeing perfectly with the other Books as rendered by Paul of Tella. No doubt the Book of Judith and the Maccabees (three Books) were comprised in this version, and also the Additions

[1] See Elrington's 'Life of Ussher,' Letter 125; and Payne Smith's 'Catalogus' of the Syrian MSS. in the Bodleian Library, p. 10. Walton (*ut supr.*) wrongly describes this MS. as copied from one in the possession of the Patriarch of *Alexandria.*

[1] For other MSS. of the Syriac O. T. containing the apocryphal books, see Rosen-Forshall's 'Catalogue' of the Syriac MSS. of the British Museum (pp. 3–7); Wright's 'Catalogue' (pp. 1–3); and Zotenberg's of those belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (pp. 1, 2).

to Esther, and probably the Prayer of Manasses; but there is no reason to suppose that 2 Esdras was known to Origen or translated by Paul.

The Psalter in this version includes the apocryphal Ps. 151, which has passed hence into many Syriac Psalters. It is printed in the Paris and London Polyglots.

3. *Printed editions of the Syriac Apocrypha.*—The first printed edition of the Syriac O. T. is that contained in the Paris Polyglot of Le Jay (1645). It included, of our Apocrypha, only Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, 1 Maccabees, the Prayer (but not the Song) of the Three Children, and Bel and the Dragon, together with Ps. cli., and the above-mentioned "Epistle of Baruch" which is not found in Greek, distinguished as "the *first* Epistle." Walton, in the London Polyglot (1657), by the aid of Ussher's and Pococke's MSS., supplied all the wanting books, except 2 Esdras, the supplement to Esther, and the Prayer of Manasses; and also added the Third Book of Maccabees. Thus this edition gives two "Epistles of Baruch." It also gives two distinct recensions of Susanna, of which fuller particulars are added below.

The apocryphal Books as given in Walton have been reprinted, with emendations and various readings, by Lagarde (Leipzig and London, 1861).

The Ambrosian Peshitto MS. above mentioned (B. 21 *inf.*) has been published by Dr. Ceriani in photolithographic reproduction.

The Ambrosian Syro-Hexaplar MS. (C. 313 *inf.*) has also been issued by him in similar form. But no book of the Apocrypha in this version has been printed except Ps. cli., as already mentioned, Baruch (see below), and the Greek additions to Daniel, which are included in Bugati's 'Daniel Syriacè' (Milan, 1788), —also 1 Esdras and Tobit (see below).

4. *Notes on the several books of the Apocrypha in the Syriac Versions.*—Subjoined are a few additional notes on the Syriac versions of the Apocrypha, taking the books in their English order:—

1. 1 Esdras. This Book not being included in the Paris Polyglot, Walton's edition of it, based on the two MSS. above noted, is the first. It is also found in the Brit. Mus. MS. Egerton 704, and in the great Cambridge copy, Oo. i. 17.

2. 2 Esdras. Contained only in the Milan MS. as above, but wanting the first two and last two chapters. This Book has been printed by Dr. Ceriani in 'Monumenta Sacra et Profana,' tom. v. fasc. i. p. 45.

3. All that is said above concerning MSS. and edition of 1 Esdras applies equally to Tobit. The text as we have it is Hexaplar down to ch. vii. 11; but the rest is of an earlier version.

4. For Judith, see above.

5. The apocryphal additions to Esther do not seem to exist in any Syriac MS. of either version.

6. Wisdom. Is headed in Cod. Ambr., 'The latter Book of the Great Wisdom;' in Uss., 'Book of the Great Wisdom, as to which it is doubtful whether it was written by Solomon or by some of the Hebrew wise men under his name.' But at the end we read, "Here ends the Great Wisdom of Solomon son of David king of Israel."

7. Ecclesiasticus. Deviates considerably from the Greek, as does also Wisdom;—both seeming as if they followed a different recension from any now known in Greek.

8. Baruch (including Ep. of Jeremy). The Peshitto version offers no points of note; but the Hexaplar is remarkable as having marginal readings marked as from Theodotion, which fact seems to imply the existence of a Hebrew original for the Book. This latter version has been printed by Dr. Ceriani in his 'Monumenta S. et P.,' tom. i. fasc. 1. The Syriac "1st Epistle of Baruch" is quite distinct. It is not found in Greek, and seems to have been extracted from the "Apocalypse of Baruch" (mentioned above among the contents of the Ambrosian Peshitto), in which it is found with immaterial variations; or perhaps that Apocalypse may have been a later work in which this Epistle was incorporated.

9. Song of the Three Children. This stands, in both versions, as part of Daniel iii. The older version substantially agrees with that of Theodotion as usually given in Greek Bibles. The later version is literally rendered from the Origenian (so-called Septuagint) version, as given in Cod. Chisianus. This agreement extends through the whole of Daniel, canonical or apocryphal; and the subscription of the Chisian Greek copy is word for word the same as that of this Syriac —"Written from the Tetrapla, whence also it was collated." As regards this Song, and the Prayer preceding, the two Greek texts agree closely, except in verses 22–25, 46–51, where the Tetraplar Greek, and the Syriac following it, are fuller.

10. Susanna. The case of this Book is peculiar. Not only is there a Tetraplar text,

given in Cod. Chis. and rendered in the version of Paul, distinct from that of Theodotion, but there is a double Syriac text, which must be (in part at least) of great antiquity. From the MS. noted by Walton "Poc.," he printed in his Polyglot two versions of this Book,—the first (also contained in his "Uss.") following pretty closely on Theodotion's text, the second varying from it not merely in language but in substance, to such a degree as to amount to a distinct recension. And, to add to the complication, the ancient text of the Ambrosian MS. seems to be a compromise between the two: for while its first 40 verses agree with the first of the two given by Walton from "Poc.," the next 10 partly agree and partly disagree with both; and from *v.* 51 to end it gives the text of Walton's second version. This version appears to be a later recension than the former, adding many details, and expanding considerably (in the latter part, though not in the earlier). Dr. Westcott's opinion that the Susanna and Bel and the Dragon of Theodotion are marked by "improvements in style and language" on the LXX. (Chisian) version, and "contain large additions which complete and embellish the story,"[1] is very open to question, and the contrary opinion might well be maintained. But that the second Syriac version of Susanna is an embellished and enlarged recension of that of Theodotion, or of an older original underlying Theodotion, seems certain. This second version is headed in "Poc.," the "Harkleian;" and some have therefore ascribed it to Paul of Tella's contemporary, Thomas of Harkel, the retranslator of the New Testament into Syriac. But the internal evidence is quite against this. The version bears no trace of the mannerism of Thomas, whose aim it was (like that of Paul) to force the Syriac into artificial conformity with the Greek. And the fact above noted, that part of this version is found in the Ambrosian Peshitto, is conclusive on the same side; for that MS. was written in the 6th century, whereas Thomas is known to have made his version of the New Testament in 616.

[1] Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' vol. i. p. 396.

The chief points peculiar to this second recension are:—(1) Daniel is *twelve years* old [*vv.* 1, 45]. (2) Helcana (in Hexapl. Chelcias), Susanna's father, is a *priest* [*v.* 2]. (3) She has withdrawn from *conjugal relations* with Joakim her husband [*v.* 4]. (4) The *synagogue* is held *in their house* [*ib.*]. (5) The elders are *named* Amid and Abid [*v.* 5]. (6) They are usually styled "*rulers of the synagogue*" [*v.* 16 and *passim;* once, "*chief priests*," *v.* 41], whereas in the other versions they are mostly described as "elders," which title in this recension is found only in *vv.* 51, 54. (7) Their *resort to Joakim's house* is thus accounted for [*v.* 6]. (8) The *accusation* is laid *before* "*the synagogue*" [*v.* 28 and throughout] in this and the Hexaplar; but in the other version, before "the people," except in *v.* 41. (9) She is *chained* [*v.* 27]. (10) After *three days* she is brought to trial [*v.* 28], not on the same day, as in the other versions. (11) Sentence is passed at the *ninth hour* [*v.* 41]. (12) She is to be *stoned* [*ib.*]. (13) Daniel declares himself a *prophet* [*v.* 48]. (14) *A chair* is brought for him from the Treasury, but he declines to sit [*vv.* 50, 51]. (15) The *names of the trees* differ from those given in the former version, and the Hexaplar differs from both [*vv.* 54, 58]. (16) The *invidious contrast* drawn in the other versions, especially in the ordinary one, between the daughters of Judah and those of Israel, is left out [*v.* 57]. (17) The concluding sentence, concerning *Daniel's growing fame*, is much enlarged [*v.* 64].

Of these points the first and last look like the result of a Christian rehandling (cp. St. Luke ii. 42, 52). Possibly the same may be said of the third, which savours of the asceticism of some sects of the early Church.

The age of *twelve* is assigned to Daniel by Ignatius, 'Ad Magn.' iii.; and by Sulpicius Severus, 'Hist. Sacra,' ii. 1.

11. Bel and the Dragon. See last.

12. Prayer of Manasses. Is found in a. Paris MS. (Anc. fonds 2, Biblioth. Nat.). See Zotenberg's 'Catal.' p. 5. It seems never to have been printed.

13, 14. 1 and 2 Maccabees. See above.

APOCRYPHA.

THE FIRST BOOK OF ESDRAS.

INTRODUCTION.

§ I. Title and Reception of the Work.

THE name and position assigned to this book have varied at different times. In our Authorized Version, as in the Genevan which preceded it, it is called the 'First Book of Esdras,' and is placed at the head of the Apocryphal Books. But in the list inserted in the sixth Article, it is called the 'Third Book of Esdras.' This difference corresponds, in the main, to that observed in the arrangement of the Greek and Latin Bibles respectively. In the former, as it may be well to remark at the outset, by 'First of Esdras' is denoted the present Apocryphal Book, and by 'Second of Esdras' our canonical Ezra and Nehemiah together.

It will be convenient to trace briefly the changes in name and order, as they appear (*a*) in the oldest MSS., (*b*) in early Versions, (*c*) in lists of Councils, (*d*) in printed editions.

(*a*.) In what was believed by its discoverer to be the most ancient MS. of the Greek Bible known, the Codex Friderico-Augustanus, and Sinaiticus,[1] it is not found, but apparently so only through the fault of a transcriber. The error is so singular a one as to deserve noticing in some detail. The part of the MS. known as the Friderico-Augustanus begins with the quire numbered λε (35), and bears at the top of the first page the heading εϲδραϲ β̅, or 'Second Book of Esdras.' But, instead of containing this book, the first four leaves, down to line 26 of the fourth column on leaf 4 *verso*, are filled with a portion of the First Book of Chronicles, xi. 22—xix. 17. In the middle of that line, without any break or division whatever,[1] the text passes on to Ezra ix. 9, and is continued to the end of the canonical Ezra. The book we call Nehemiah then succeeds, with no more break than

[1] The first name was given by Dr. Tischendorf to the detached portion, consisting of 43 leaves, discovered by him in 1844, and published in facsimile in 1846. The rest of the MS., not obtained till 1859, was called Sinaiticus. The peculiar defect, referred to in the text, is noticed in the Prolegomena to the Cod. Frid.-Aug., p. 14; and also in Westcott's 'Bible in the Church,' App. B, p. 307.

[1] How abrupt and unexpected the transition is, can hardly be understood, except by a transcript of the actual lines:—

ΑϹΔΑ̅ΔΚΑΙΕΠΟΛΕ
ΜΗϹΕΝΑΥΤΟΝΚ̅Ϲ̅

where the last word, Κ̅Ϲ̅ (*κύριος*), is a word in the middle of Ezra ix. 9.

that of a single line. A note in a later hand, at the foot of the fourth column of this leaf 4 *verso*, calls attention to the error of "the seven leaves which are redundant and are not of Esdras." Of these seven, five can now be accounted for, by the first four of the Codex Frid.-Aug. itself, and one leaf of Codex Sinait., containing 1 Chr. ix. 27—xi. 22, which must have stood next before it; and further, by counting the lines requisite to fill the given space, it may be inferred that the first leaf must have begun at some point in 1 Chron. vi. Had the seven leaves, on the other hand, been filled with their proper matter, reckoning back from Ezra ('2 Esdras') ix. 9 at line 26 of leaf 4 *verso*, and assuming 1 Esdras to precede, the first of those leaves would have begun about 1 Esdras viii. By observing that each of these passages, 1 Esdras viii. 1 and 1 Chron. vi. 4, begins a genealogical list, it has been ingeniously conjectured that the scribe who made the mistake "had been led, on reaching the pedigree of Ezra in 1 Esdras viii. 1, to refer back to the genealogy of the High Priests down to the Captivity given in 1 Chron. vi. 4–15, and then inadvertently proceeded to transcribe that passage and what followed;" thus filling the seven leaves after 1 Esdras vii. with a repetition of part of 1 Chronicles.[1] It may thus be fairly presumed that in the archetype from which Cod. Sinait. was immediately derived there was a quire or roll containing 1 Esdras viii. 1—Ezra ix. 9; instead of which portion the transcriber inserted the passage of 1 Chron. equivalent in amount; and then, taking up the section he would have come to, if right, went on so blindly as to make the transition from 1 Chron. xix. 17 to Ezra ix. 9 in the same line, and without the least hint of any dislocation. In any case, the presence of the title 'Esdras B' may be taken as indicating the existence of an 'Esdras A.'

[1] For the conclusion thus drawn I am indebted to the Rev. John Gwynn, D.D., Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity in the University of Dublin, who has also most courteously allowed me to enrich this first section of the Introduction with several other notes prepared by him

In the Vatican MS. (Cod. B) the book is found as 'Esdras A,' and is followed by 'Esdras B,' that is, our Ezra and Nehemiah together; the division between these two latter books being indicated by no more than a small space in the same line.[1] The three stand between Chronicles and Tobit. In the Alexandrine MS. (Cod. A) 1 Esdras is found under the heading of ΟΙΕΡΕΥϹ (ὁ ἱερεύς, "The Priest"), but subscribed ΕΖΡΑϹ Α. It is followed, as in the former instance, by ΕΖΡΑϹ Β (Ezra and Nehemiah), having this title for subscription, but headed ὁ ἱερεύς, as the previous book was. The three stand between Judith and Maccabees. The division between the two parts of 'Esdras B' is here also marked by no more than the beginning of a fresh line.[2] It will thus be seen that in two of the three great MSS. the book is found, without anything to distinguish it, in point of canonicity, from the rest; and that in the remaining one, or rather in its archetype, there is clear evidence to shew that it once was present.[3]

(*b.*) In the Peshito, or old Syriac Version, the book was not found, so far as can be judged from the earliest extant copies. It appears, indeed, in Syriac in Walton's Polyglott, 1657, but had no place in that of Gabriel Sionita (Paris, 1645), the Syriac text of which is the basis of Bishop Walton's.[4] Walton himself does not clearly state from what source the Syriac text he prints is drawn;[5] but a Syriac note translated

[1] This is shewn in the facsimile of Vercellone and Cozza, p. 607 (of MS.), col. 1.

[2] Thanks to the photographed facsimile edited by Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, the student can now turn over what are all but the actual leaves of the venerable MS. itself. 'Esdras A' ends in it on the reverse of leaf 172 (=447).

[3] A list of the later Greek MSS. containing 1 Esdras is given in Fritzsche's 'Einleitung,' § 8, on the authority of Holmes and Parsons.

[4] See Scrivener's Plain Introduction (1883), p. 315.

[5] In his Proleg. § xiii., p. 89, 'De lingua Syriaca,' &c., he speaks of having had the help of four Syriac MSS.,—two lent by Archbishop Ussher; one by Pococke; and the last, "the most ancient of all," belonging to the University of Cambridge. Walton describes this as containing all the Apocrypha, but in reality it contains only the Additions to Daniel. A con-

by him at the beginning of the version states that it was made "ex traditione LXX."[1] It has, however, been ascertained that it is not in the Ambrosian MS. of the Peshito, one of the oldest and best extant; although that MS., curiously enough, contains 2nd (4th) Esdras. And, what is more important than this merely negative evidence, it has been discovered that the Syriac Version in question is taken from the Syro-Hexaplar of Paul of Tella (A.D. 616).[2] "It is cited as his," adds Dr. Gwynn, to whom I owe this information, "in one of the Nitrian MSS. in the British Museum (Add. 12,168), written in the 8th century. And the fact that Paul included it in his version is a strong presumption that it was admitted by Origen as part of the LXX." It is in keeping with this that we find in Origen a quotation from iv. 59 ("From thee cometh victory," &c.) in his 'Homilia ix. in Josuam.'[3]

In the Old Latin the book is also met with,[4] bearing the same name and relative position as in the Greek; and it has been sometimes thought that this is the version now extant in copies of the Vulgate.[5] But the difference between them is apparent.[6] When we come to the work of St. Jerome, we find a distinct displacement of 1 Esdras from the position it has hitherto held. In the preface to his version of Esdras (Ezra) and Nehemiah, addressed to Domnion and Rogatianus,[1] he says: "Tertius annus est quod semper scribitis atque rescribitis, ut Esdræ librum et Esther vobis de Hebræo transferam." After stating various obstacles to the gratification of their wish, he continues: "Nec quenquam moveat quod unus a nobis liber editus est; nec apocryphorum tertii et quarti somniis delectetur: quia et apud Hebræos Esdræ Nehemiæque sermones in unum volumen coarctantur, et quæ non habentur apud illos, nec de viginti-quatuor senibus sunt, procul abjicienda. Si quis autem Septuaginta vobis opposuerit Interpretes, quorum exemplaria varietas ipsa lacerata et inversa demonstrat, nec potest utique verum asseri quod diversum est, mittite eum ad Evangelia," &c.

In this passage three points should be noticed: (1) that Jerome, in the sentence last quoted, appears to allow that this book was in the LXX.; (2) that he makes no difference between the "somnia" of the two apocryphal books of Esdras; (3) that he states that our Ezra and Nehemiah were commonly reckoned as one *volumen*. This last statement is of importance in its bearing on the question of what books were meant under the title of 'Esdræ Libri duo,' found in certain lists. In accordance with Jerome's somewhat arbitrary decision, 1 Esdras appears to be wanting in the older MSS. of the Vulgate.[2]

(*c*.) The only Councils that need be noticed here, as having come to decisions about the books to be included in

spectus of various readings from some of these MSS., drawn up by Herbert Thorndike, is given in vol. vi.

[1] In like manner at the end: "Hic autem liber primus est Ezræ: quem quia non invenimus *in exemplari simplici* (*i.e.* the Peshito), descripsimus secundum eum qui ex LXX. versus est."

[2] For the work of this Monophysite, see Dr. Tregelles' article VERSIONS, ANCIENT (SYRIAC), in 'Dict. of the Bible,' iii. p. 1629.

[3] Eichhorn, 'Einleitung in die apokryph. Schriften' (1795), p. 376.

[4] At least in Sabatier's representation of it, in his 'Bibliorum sacrorum Versio vetus Italica,' &c., 1743-9.

[5] "The text of the remaining books of the *Vetus Latina*, not having been revised by Jerome, is retained in MSS. of the Vulgate." (Prof. Westcott, in art. THE VULGATE in 'Dict. of the Bible,' iii. p. 1692, b.)

[6] A comparison of readings from the Cod. Sangermanensis (containing a text similar to that of the Cod. Colbertinus which Sabatier used), so far as concerns the *Fourth* Book of Esdras, is given in Volkmar's 'Esdra Propheta,' 1863, pp. 304 *sqq*.

[1] This and other Prefaces by St. Jerome are prefixed to many editions of the Vulgate. In the one from which I quote (Paris, 1666) it stands at p. xiii. of the Prolegomena. In his 'Prologus Galeatus in libros Samuel,' &c. (*ib.* p. vii.) he also mentions certain books as not in the Canon ('Sapientia,' &c.), and among them ranks one called 'Pastor.' This has been sometimes thought to denote 1 Esdras, the superscription of which, in the Alexandrian MS., is, as before mentioned, ὁ ἱερεύς.

[2] As in the Codex Amiatinus (on which see Scrivener, *ubi sup.*, p. 353), and the MS. (Brit. Mus. Add. 10,546) known as Charlemagne's Bible, the contents of which are described by Dr. Westcott, in 'Dict. of the Bible,' iii. p. 1704.

the sacred canon, are those of Laodicea (the date of which is fixed by some at about A.D. 363, by others about 394), the Third of Carthage (397), and Trent (1546). In the Laodicean catalogue 'Esdras i. ii.' are enumerated, and are placed between the Books of Chronicles and the Psalms.[1] In the third Council of Carthage, at which Augustine was present, "two books of Esdras" are included in the list of 'Canonical Scriptures,' and are placed between Esther and "two books of the Maccabees."[2] That the first of these two Books of Esdras meant what we call 1 Esdras, and the second our Ezra and Nehemiah together, seems very probable, not merely from the statement of St. Jerome before referred to, but from two passages of St. Augustine ('De Doctr. Christ.' ii. 13, and 'De Civit. Dei,' xviii. 36), in one of which he speaks of *two* Books of Esdras, and in the other quotes a passage from what we call the First.[3]

The decision of the Council of Trent on the subject was promulgated during the fourth session of the Council, April 8th, 1546.[4] By this it was declared that the Synod "pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit et veneratur" "omnes libros tam veteris quam novi Testamenti;" a list of which follows. 'Esdræ primus et secundus qui dicitur Nehemias' are inserted between Chronicles and Tobit; but the definition of 'Esdræ secundus' of course shews that by 'Esdræ primus' the canonical Ezra is meant. The book we are considering was accordingly left out. What were the precise grounds of its rejection we are not distinctly told. Sarpi, in his history of the Council,[1] relates the successive stages through which the subject passed in discussion, but says nothing to make it clear to us why the Additions to Daniel, for instance, were included in the Canon, and not this Book of Esdras. One thing at any rate seems certain. Whatever may have been the reason that weighed with the Tridentine Fathers in their decision, it cannot have been, as is sometimes suggested, that they were unaware of its existence in a Greek original. It stands plainly enough in the Aldine edition of 1518; in the Strasbourg edition of 1526, reprinted, with additions, from the former; and in the Basle edition of 1545.[2] A more natural conclusion is, that they were content to follow the course pursued by St. Jerome.

(*d.*) With regard to printed editions, we shall expect to find, as a rule, that those which appeared before 1546 contain 1 Esdras, and that those subsequent to that date do not. This is true in the main, but with some noticeable exceptions. The early Latin Bibles (Colon. 1474, Norimb. 1480, &c.) insert the book without remark. In the 'Copia Accentuum' of Franciscus Robles, 1532 (a guide to the pronunciation of the hard words in the Bible), the name and order of the four connected books are as follows:—'Primus liber Esdræ,' 'Secundus Neemiæ,' 'Tertius *Neemiæ*' (our 1 Esdras), 'Quartus Esdræ.' But De Lyra, 1498, while he leaves 1 and 2 Esdras after Nehemiah, notes that "de canone non sunt," and adds "apocryphus" to the title of each. Passing over many other editions, we may observe that in the first of Robert Stephens (Paris, 1528[3]) 1 Esdras comes after Nehemiah, but with

[1] The dispute as to the authenticity of this catalogue cannot here be entered upon. The subject is discussed in Westcott's 'Canon of the N. T.' (1866), pp. 384 *sqq.*

[2] Westcott, *ib.* p. 391. For the wider sense to be attached in this place to the word "canonical," see the Bishop of Bath and Wells' art. ESDRAS, FIRST BOOK OF, in 'Dict. of the Bible.'

[3] The former of these passages is cited at length by Westcott, *ubi sup.*, p. 507. In the latter, Augustine expressly refers to the episode filling chs. iii., iv. of 1 Esdras:—"nisi forte Esdras in eo Christum prophetasse intelligendus est, quod inter juvenes quosdam orta quæstione, quid amplius valeret in rebus," &c. If Augustine, by the way, really understood Zerubbabel to be the third of the σωματοφύλακες there described, his term *juvenes quosdam* sounds strange.

[4] This is the date given in 'Concilii Tridentini . . . Canones et Decreta' (Brux. 1714), p. 20. In Caranza's 'Summa Conciliorum' (1681), p. 420, it is April 5th.

[1] 'Historia,' &c., ed. 1629, lib. ii. p. 157.

[2] A copy of the Aldine edition is in the library of St. Paul's School. It is strange that even Eichhorn (*ubi sup.*, p. 377) should repeat the assertion that 1 Esdras is not in it: "In der aldinischen Ausgabe (Venedig, 1518) findet sich gar nicht."

[3] There is a short notice of this edition in Greswell's 'Early Parisian Greek Press,' i. p. 193.

this title:—'Liber Esdræ tertius, qui inter Apocrypha ponitur.' The same note is prefixed to 2 Esdras; but to no other of the Apocryphal books (as we count them); and as this is repeated in later editions, we may understand how a sort of stigma had come to be attached to these two particular books by the time of the assembling of the Tridentine Council. Still more remarkably, in his edition of 1556–7,[1] which contained an alternative version by Sanctes Pagnini and Vatablus, a note by the latter translator was admitted, to the effect that no one, so far as he knew, had ever met with a Greek MS. of 1 Esdras, much less a Hebrew one.[2] This statement, extraordinary as it may seem, is in keeping with the total omission of both 1 and 2 Esdras from the Complutensian Polyglott (1514–1517), which admits even the Prayer of Manasses, though then supposed not to be extant in Greek.

The decision of the Council of Trent is first distinctly appealed to in the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate (Romæ, 1590). Prefixed to that is a letter of Pope Sixtus V. himself, dated 1588, in which he affirms his adherence to the principles of that decision:—"Merito sacra Tridentina Synodus veteris Vulgatæ editionis libros, non aliter quam prout in Ecclesia legi consueverunt, pro canonicis suscipiendos decrevit. Nos autem, ut hæc editio quæ nunc prodit nostro excusa prelo, ejusdem Synodi præscripto modis omnibus responderet . . . . apocrypha rejecimus, authentica retinuimus. Nam tertium et quartum Esdræ libros inscriptos, et tertium Machabæorum, quos Synodus inter canonicos non annumerat . . . ab hac Editione prorsus explosimus. Orationem etiam Manassæ . . . repudiavimus." And yet, in the edition of the LXX. printed at Rome in 1587, under the authority of Sixtus V., and dedicated to him by its editor, Cardinal Carafa, the present book stands, as the First of Esdras, before the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.[3] The Preface to the Clementine Vulgate of 1592, written by Bellarmin, follows the same line as that of 1588, with the addition of a reason for excluding the Prayer of Manasses, "quæ neque Hebraice neque Græce quidem extat, neque in manuscriptis antiquioribus invenitur, neque pars est ullius Canonici libri." Accordingly, in modern editions of the Vulgate, while 3 Maccabees (specified in the Preface of Sixtus V.) is altogether wanting, the two Books of Esdras and the Prayer of Manasses form a kind of apocryphal appendix by themselves, with a note prefixed to them, setting forth that they are placed "hoc in loco, extra scilicet seriem Canonicorum Librorum . . . ne prorsus interirent, quippe qui a nonnullis sanctis Patribus interdum citantur,[1] et in aliquibus Bibliis Latinis tam manuscriptis quam impressis retinentur."

What remains to be said under this heading may be summed up in a few words. Luther did not translate the book,[2] so that it is entirely absent from the Bible of the Lutheran Church. In our own country, in the 'Great Bible' of 1539, it is placed at the head of "The Volume of the bokes called Hagiographa," under the title of 'The thyrde boke of Esdras,' and followed by the Fourth Book and Tobias. The declaration set before them has often been quoted, from the strange mistake it makes in the definition of "Hagiographa:"—"In consyderacyon that the bokes before are founde in the Hebrue tonge, receaued of all men: & that the other folowyng, which are called Hagiographa (because they were wont to be redde, not openly and in comen, but as it were in secret and aparte), are nether founde in the Hebrue nor in the Calde: in whych tonges they haue not of longe

[1] See Greswell, *ubi sup.*, i. p. 390.

[2] "Hujus libri ne Græcum quidem codicem, nedum Hebræum, nemini, quod sciam, videre contigit."

[3] The reason why, in editions of the LXX., this book bears the title of *First* of Esdras, and is placed before the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah, is probably, as Sixtus Senensis says ('Bibliotheca Sancta,' lib. i. p. 9), because the events it relates precede in point of time, at least in part, those related in the other two.

[1] Citations of 1 Esdras by Origen and St. Augustine have been already referred to. To these may be added Justin Martyr, 'Dial. c. Tryph.,' p. 297; Cyprian, 'Epist. ad Pompeianum' (Ep. lxxiv.); and Athanasius, 'Contra Arianos,' Orat. ii. 20. For a supposed citation by Tertullian, see the note on v. 3 below.

[2] See Gutmann, 'Die Apokryphen des Alten Testaments,' 1841, p. 213.

bene written...we haue separate them, & set them asyde, that they may the better be knowen." In the Geneva Version (1560), and in the Bishops' Bible (1568), 1 Esdras holds the same position as in our Authorized Version. In the notes which follow, the Geneva Version has not seldom been referred to, as in some respects closer to the Greek than that of 1611.[1]

It may be added that while for English readers the title 'First Book of Esdras' is distinctive enough, from our custom of calling the canonical book 'Ezra,' and not 'Esdras,' much confusion unavoidably arises when versions in other languages have to be referred to. On this account, 'The Greek Esdras' has been proposed as a suitable title.[2]

§ II. Form and Contents.

With one notable exception, to be mentioned presently, this book appears at first sight to be little more than a reproduction of parts of the Second Book of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. It begins, somewhat abruptly, with an account of the great Passover held by king Josiah at Jerusalem, in the 18th year of his reign; and it ends, or rather is broken off, in the middle of a sentence apparently beginning a fresh section, after an account of the public reading of the Law by Ezra. It thus includes portions of Jewish History from B.C. 623, before the Babylonish Captivity, to B.C. 445, when the people had been restored to their native land. A short abstract of the contents will make this plainer:—

(*a.*) 1 Esdras i. = 2 Chr. xxxv. 1—xxxvi. 21.

Account of the great Passover held by Josiah in Jerusalem, in the 18th year of his reign. His directions to the priests and Levites. The gifts presented for the occasion by the king and his nobles, helping to make it such a splendid celebration as had not been seen since the days of Samuel. Expedition of Pharaoh king of Egypt against the Assyrians, and Josiah's resolution to attempt to bar his passage. His defeat and death at Megiddo. The lamentations of his people for him. The short succeeding reigns of Joachaz, Joacim, and Zedekiah. Invasion of Judæa by Nabuchodonosor, and carrying away of the people into captivity. Their sins which had brought this judgment upon them. The Jews in bondage to the Assyrians till the reign of the Persians, that the words of Jeremiah might be fulfilled.

(*b.*) ii. 1–15 = 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23; Ezra i. 1–15.

The spirit of Cyrus moved to restore the Jews to their own land. His proclamation. Patriotism of the leaders of the people; their gifts, and those of the people among whom they dwelt. Delivery of the sacred vessels of the Temple by Cyrus, through his treasurer, to "Sanabassar[1] the governor of Judea." Their number and weight.

(*c.*) ii. 16–26 = Ezra iv. 7–24.

Opposition to the rebuilding of the Temple (*v.* 20) and of the city walls (*v.* 24) on the part of officials of the Persian government residing in Samaria. Their letter to king "Artaxerxes." His reply, admitting the justice of their protest, and authorizing the stoppage of the works. Their speedy enforcement of the prohibition. The rebuilding abandoned till the "second year of the reign of Darius the Persian."

(*d.*) iii. 1—v. 6 (has nothing to correspond).

This section of the book is in some respects the most interesting of all, inasmuch as it is an episode, the source of which, whatever it may have been, is no longer known to us. Its beginning is not unlike that of the Book of Esther. Darius king of the Persians makes a great feast. When the guests have all departed, he retires to rest, but after a while is unable to sleep. Thereupon three "young men," the guards of the royal chamber, agree to compose each

[1] The names of the group of translators who shared the Apocryphal books among them, for this version, are given in Westcott, 'Hist. of the English Bible,' 1872, p. 115. The translator of 1 Esdras in the Bishops' Bible was Dr. William Barlow, Bishop of Chichester.

[2] For further details on this subject, see the Introduction to the Second Book of Esdras, § 1. It should here be stated, as explaining some possible repetitions, that the Commentary on 2 Esdras was finished before the present one was undertaken.

[1] The forms of words in the A. V. are kept for convenience in this abstract.

one a "sentence" on a given thesis, and deposit it, written and sealed, under the king's pillow, to be read when he rises in the morning. The proposition maintained by the first is that Wine is the strongest; by the second, that the King is so; and by the third, that Women are strongest, but Truth above all. In the morning the king summons an assembly of his courtiers, and the three recite their "sentences" before them. The arguments for each tenet are given in detail; the supporter of the third ("this was Zorobabel," iv. 13) daring to borrow an illustration from the conduct of the sovereign himself, at which "the king and the princes looked one upon another" (*v.* 33). His conclusion that the truth "endureth and is always strong; it liveth and conquereth for ever," is hailed with applause. The king bids him ask what he will, and he seizes the opportunity to remind the king of a vow he had made at his accession, to restore the Jews. Darius accedes to his wishes, and issues a firman granting licence to the Jews in his dominions to return, with grants of money and many privileges. Departure of the caravan from Babylon, with the names of the leading men who were in charge of it (v. 5).

(*e.*) v. 7–73 = Ezra ii.—iv. 5, 24.

Lists of the people who returned with Zorobabel and Jesus (v. 8), classified under their several heads, and the number of their servants and cattle. The altar of burnt-offering is set up in its old place (v. 48) and sacrifices offered upon it. The feast of Tabernacles is celebrated, and preparations made for the rebuilding of the Temple, by obtaining timber from Lebanon, and the like. The foundation is laid "in the first day of the second month, in the second year after they were come to Jewry" (*v.* 57). Mingled joy and sorrow on the occasion. Offer made by the "enemies" of the people to co-operate in the work, and their hostility when the offer is rejected. Through their opposition the work is hindered all the time of king *Cyrus*, and "for the space of two years" until the reign of Darius (v. 73).

(*f.*) vi., vii. = Ezra v. 1—vi. 22.

In the second year of Darius the work is resumed through the prophesying of Aggeus and Zacharias. The provincial governors of the Persians again interfere, but not in a directly hostile manner, writing to the king for instructions. Darius makes inquiry about the matter, and finds at Ecbatana a copy of the decree of Cyrus. His rescript directs that the government officials in Syria and Phœnicia shall help, and not hinder, the work. And so the Temple is finished "in the sixth year of Darius king of the Persians" (vii. 5). The solemnities at its dedication.

(*g.*) viii., ix. = Ezra vii. 1—x. 44; Neh. viii. 1–13.

Return of the Jews under Esdras, in the reign of Artaxerxes. His qualifications for the office of leader, and the royal commission given him. Privileges and immunities granted by the king. Lists of the families returning in this later migration. Halt at "the river called Theras" (viii. 41), and requisition for a larger number of priests and Levites. Safe arrival of the caravan at Jerusalem, with their silver and gold. Appeal of the rulers of the people to Ezra on the painful subject of mixed marriages. His grief at the intelligence, and the resolution taken (viii. 93). A national assembly called to hear the address of Ezra. The people agree to accept his decision, and to put away all wives of alien race. The arrangements for this purpose, and lists of those who had transgressed. After this, on the first day of the seventh month (ix. 37) the people desire Ezra to read to them the Law of Moses. This is publicly done in the open space before the porch at the east side of the Temple. The names are given of the Levites and others who assisted in the exposition. "Attharates" bids the people now turn from their mourning to gladness, for the day is "holy unto the Lord" (ix. 50). So they go their way, making merry, and sending portions to the needy ones, and rejoicing "because they understood the words wherein they were instructed, and for the which they had been assembled."[1]

[1] This might appear a complete and natural ending; but in the original the last words are *ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασιν οἷς ἐδιδάχθησαν. καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν* . . . The punctuation is, of course, arbitrary, but that such is the right construction

The chronological and other difficulties involved in this account, and the connection with it of the episode iii. 1—v. 6, will be briefly discussed in the next section.

§ III. Composition and Design.

Before any sound theory can be formed of the nature and object of the work before us, we must have some conception of the incongruities, apparently not to be reconciled with any true version of history, which it presents.

Passing over, for the moment, the account of Josiah, which it is conceivable might be meant as a fitting prelude to some epoch of Jewish history, we have, rather touched upon than narrated, the reigns of his successors and the final captivity. Then, without a word as to the sojourn in Babylon, we have (ii. 1) the movement for deliverance in the first year[1] of Cyrus, B.C. 536. The first convoy of Jews, with their sacred vessels and treasures, is brought back by Sanabassar[2] (ii. 15). We are not distinctly told that any beginning was then made with the restoration of the Temple; but in ii. 18 a complaint is made of such work being carried on, both as regards the Temple and city walls, by Persian officials in Samaria, in a letter to king "Artaxerxes." A rescript of "Artaxerxes" causes the work to be stopped till the second year of Darius the Persian (ii. 30). Then follows the original episode (iii. 1–v. 6) in which Zorobabel, described as a "young man," is represented as being one of the body-guard in the king's palace at Babylon. By the means briefly related above (§ 2) he gains permission for the Jews to return, and they do so; but among their leaders enumerated in v. 5 Zorobabel is not named as one, and it is apparently his "son" Joacim, and not he, who is now described as the speaker of the "wise sentences" before the court of Darius. Next follows the list of those who returned *with Zorobabel* (v. 8), as it is in Ezra ii., just as though all from ii. 16 to v. 5 were to be effaced from memory. All goes on, as is duly related in Ezra, to the laying the foundation-stone of the Temple (v. 57); the fact being forgotten that in ii. 18 the foundation had been spoken of as already laid. Through the enmity of the rejected Samaritans, the work has to be laid aside till the second year of Darius (v. 73; vi. 1). From this point to the end of the book there is no material discrepancy with the order of events as related in the canonical books, excepting that the reading of the Law (ix. 39) is made to fall, according to the natural sequence (comp. viii. 6 with ix. 7), in the eighth year of Artaxerxes, or B.C. 457; while according to Neh. viii. 2 it was in the time of Nehemiah's governorship at Jerusalem, that is, not earlier than B.C. 444 (comp. Neh. ii. 1).[1]

No theory has been proposed which can satisfactorily account for the confusion of history and chronology here presented to us. De Saulcy[2] would assume that the first expedition was led, not by Zerubbabel, but by the unknown Sheshbazzar of ii. 15. To this first expedition he would refer the names in Neh. xii. But the reasons for identifying this Sheshbazzar, or Sasabazzar, with Zerubbabel are too strong to give way to such an assumption.[3] Reuss,[4] observing that in 1 Esdras v. 6 it is not Zerubbabel, but

appears certain on a comparison with Neh. viii. 13.

[1] That is, his first year as king of Babylonia. See Professor Sayce's 'Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther' (1885), p. 19. The date of the return is there given as 538.

[2] For the evidence to prove that he was Zerubbabel, see the note on ii. 12.

[1] On this point see Fritzsche, 'Das dritte Buch Esra' (1851), Einleit. p. 7; and Rawlinson's 'Introd. to Nehemiah,' p. 425. Fritzsche says that on this question all historical probability is on the side of 1 Esdras. Bertheau, 'Esra, Nechemia,' &c. p. 210, is of the opposite opinion.

[2] 'Étude chronologique des livres d'Esdras,' &c. (1868), p. 7.

[3] They are thus summed up by Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel' (tr. by Carpenter), v. p. 87 n.: "It is certainly never said in the Book of Ezra that this Sasabazzar was identical with Zerubbabel; but since in i. 8, 11 he is called *Nasi*, i.e. royal prince of *Judah*, and in v. 14, 16 is designated by the Assyrian official title *Pacha*, as an equivalent, it is impossible not to consider him and Zerubabbel to be the same." Neteler holds the same view, 'Die Bücher Esdras,' &c. (1877), p. 11.

[4] 'Chronique ecclésiastique,' p. 50. Fritzsche, 'Einleit.' p. 6, takes the same view so far as to maintain that Joachim, and not Zerubbabel, was the real hero of the discussion before Darius.

his son Joachim, who (according to the natural construction of the sentence) was the speaker at the court of Darius, starts the hypothesis that after Zerubbabel had led the first expedition homewards in the reign of Cyrus, a second was led in the reign of Darius by this his son; and that the short passage in ch. v. 1–6, which in style is admittedly unlike the episode in chaps. iii., iv., and yet has nothing to answer to it in the canonical Ezra, is a relic of some fuller account, relating the return of this second band under Joachim.

There are some plausible features in this view of the matter. The assertion in iv. 13 that the speaker was Zerubbabel is inserted in such a parenthetical manner, as to warrant a suspicion that it may be nothing more than a marginal comment which has slipped into the text. In iv. 58 he is again simply "the young man." There would also be an end of the difficulty (about which more will be said presently) arising from the description of Zerubbabel as "a young man." Unfortunately for this supposition, the names of Zerubbabel's children are preserved in 1 Chron. iii. 19, and no Joachim is amongst them. Fritzsche asks whether this proves that he had no such son. But to allow that he might have had, would be only to base an hypothesis upon an hypothesis. And the probability of the passage (v. 6) being in some way or other corrupt is increased by observing that Jeshua (though not Zerubbabel) had in point of fact a son named Joachim (Neh. xii. 10).

It may help to clear the way a little, if we observe that, by taking out as much of the book as lies between ii. 16 and v. 6 inclusive, we have a consecutive account, parallel, so far as it goes, to that in Ezra and Nehemiah. Setting aside, out of this portion, the contents of chaps. iii. and iv., as forming the original episode before referred to, we should then have to account for the section ii. 16–30, describing the opposition under "Artaxerxes," and the short section v. 1–6, which looks like a connecting passage, designed to link on the enumeration of the people which follows to the story of Zerubbabel at the Persian court just recited.

If we are allowed to take this view of the component parts of the book, the charge against the author, or compiler, would amount to little more than his having left us a group of historical documents, not in proper order, and further (unless this be a charge more properly brought against some subsequent arranger of the materials) of having tried to piece two together where the sides did not correspond. For, in the first place, whatever difficulties may be inherent in the section ii. 16–30, regarded as a detached passage, are also found in Ezra iv. 7–24, to which it is parallel. Whether or not it be reasonable to suppose the Pseudo-Smerdis to be meant under the name of Artaxerxes[1] in ii. 16, the same considerations will apply in Ezra iv. 7. In that chapter also the work of restoring the Temple is described (in *v.* 5) as frustrated "even until the reign of Darius king of Persia;" and then, after the events in the reigns of Ahasuerus (*v.* 6) and Artaxerxes (*vv.* 7–23) have been recorded, it is again said (*v.* 24) that the work ceased "unto the second year of the reign of Darius king of Persia."

As for the short passage v. 1–6, that need not trouble us long. There is a Hebrew cast of expression about it, quite different from that of the episode before.[2] Whether we take the view of Reuss above-mentioned, that these few verses may be a relic, in translated form, of some Hebrew original describing a second migration under Darius, or prefer to regard them as merely a connecting passage, more or less unskilfully adapted,

[1] The sovereign known under that name (Artaxerxes Longimanus) did not come to the throne till B.C. 465, sixty-four years after the death of Cyrus. According to Professor Sayce (*ubi sup.* p. 22), "the whole difficulty may be solved by considering that the account in Ezra iv. 6–23 is episodical, and refers merely to the restoration of the walls of Jerusalem, and not to the restoration of the Temple. In strict chronological order the twenty-fourth verse of the chapter would then follow immediately after the fifth—as, indeed, is indicated by the grammatical construction of the original Chaldee." Rawlinson (on Ezra iv. 5, 7) favours the application to Pseudo-Smerdis: Reuss (*ad loc.*) thinks it merely an exchange of one difficulty for another.

[2] This is pointed out by Fritzsche, who instances the expression *μετ' εἰρήνης*, = בְּשָׁלוֹם, rendered in the A. V. "safely," and some others.

in either case we need not allow it, any more than the section ii. 16–30, to disturb the chronological sequence of the rest.

There remains the episode, as I have called it for convenience, referred to several times already, in chaps. iii., iv. It has been described by some commentators as the nucleus, the original part, of the work, round which the rest has been grouped. I would venture not so to regard it. Original it undoubtedly is, in the sense that there is nothing to answer to it in the canonical books; and whatever Persian or Jewish story it may have been based upon, or translated from, is not now known to us. But it seems to me more probable that the writer, telling again the story of his nation's deliverance, and impressed with the traditional greatness of its leader, Zerubbabel, made use of this story which he had met with, either as really believed to refer to Zerubbabel, or as serving to explain the favour shewed to the exiles by the son of Hystaspes.[1]

This leads us to consider what object the compiler may have had in view. And this again cannot be determined satisfactorily, without a better knowledge than we are likely to acquire of the time and circumstances in which he wrote. But, considering that it begins with a description of the great Passover of Josiah, and ends (so far, at least, as it has any formal conclusion) with the reading of the Law by Ezra at one of the Jewish festivals, while the intermediate portion is chiefly concerned with the return from foreign kingdoms, and the favours shewn by foreign potentates,—it seems natural to conclude, that the writer wished alike to stimulate his countrymen to a more zealous observance of the Law, and to win for them the favour of some foreign ruler,—it might be one of the Ptolemies. The subscription "De Templi Restitutione," found in the 'Vetus Latina,'[2] describes accurately what is perhaps the central subject of the book. But some collateral design, at least, must have underlain the exaggerated accounts of the munificence of Cyrus and Darius; and this probably was, as Ewald suggests,[1] "to secure to Judea the favour of a Ptolemaic or other heathen power."

That the work is certainly incomplete at the end, and probably at the beginning as well, encourages a supposition that the writer may have meant his Scenes from Jewish History, if we may so call them, to begin with the reformation of Josiah (2 Chron. xxxiv.) instead of with his Passover (2 Chron. xxxv.), and to continue at any rate to the end of the celebration of the great Feast of Tabernacles (Neh. viii. 13–18).[2] Even if we regarded the book, as it now stands, as beginning where the compiler intended, merely lengthening out its broken termination to the next reasonable pause, there would be a certain completeness in a work on the restoration of the Jewish Church, which begins with the account of a Passover, such as "was not kept in Israel since the time of the prophet Samuel," and would end with the account of a Feast of Tabernacles, kept in such a manner, that "since the days of Jeshua the son of Nun unto that day had not the children of Israel done so" (Neh. viii. 17).

§ IV. Age and Authorship.

The materials we have to work upon in forming an opinion of the date of 1 Esdras are but scanty. That the work was used by Josephus[3] gives us a limit of time in one direction. Why he should have preferred it as an authority to the canonical books is not hard to see. The style of the Greek is more elegant and fluent than that of the LXX.; difficulties and apparent contradictions in the original accounts are smoothed over; and the sequence of the Persian kings, as

[1] See Fritzsche, 'Einleit.' p. 6; and Ewald, *ubi sup.*, p. 125.

[2] After a supplementary verse, numbered 56: "Et coadunati sunt omnes in Hierusalem jocundari, secundum dispositionem Domini Dei Israel."

[1] *Ubi sup.*, p. 127.

[2] This would of course imply that he referred the events of Neh. viii. to the time of Ezra's presence at Jerusalem.

[3] 'Antiqq.' xi. 1 *sqq.* Several instances will be found in the ensuing commentary of the way in which Josephus used this work, and, after his manner, improved upon it. But that he did not always follow it in preference to the canonical books, is shewn by the passages quoted by Dr. Bissell, 'Apocrypha,' p. 70.

it appears in 1 Esdras, better suits the Jewish historian's chronology.[1] The fact, at any rate, of Josephus's employment of the book is undisputed. But there are indications, though faint ones, that we must go some way beyond his time, and look for the origin of the work in the first, or at the latter end of the second, century B.C. The story in chaps. iii., iv. is, of course, the most important for giving us an anterior limit, since there is every presumption to shew that the compiler found it existing, and took and adapted it to his purpose. Now Ewald[2] thinks that there is an indication of this story being read and referred to by the earliest of the extant Sibylline poets. In the oldest section of the Third Book, which Alexandre[3] assigns to the reign of Ptolemy Philometor (B.C. 181–146), there is an allusion to Persian kings helping forwards the restoration of the Holy Temple, in consequence of a dream sent by God in the night.[4] This, he thinks, can only have been suggested by 1 Esdr. iii., iv. The idea is ingenious, but it would have appeared more probable if there had been any distinct reference to a dream in iv. 43, 45, and not merely to a vow.

The resemblance between the story of Zerubbabel and his companions at Darius's court and that of the Jewish elders at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, related in the so-called 'History' of Aristeas,[5] must also form an element in the consideration. Ewald[6] indeed says positively that "the book of Aristeas also must already have been known to the author." It might be safer to say that the story in 1 Esdras is a composition of the same class, and probably of the same time, as the other; and this latter is not considered to be earlier than the first century B.C.

[1] Neteler, *ubi sup.*, p. 5.

[2] 'Abhandlung über . . . der Sibyllinischer Bücher,' p. 36.

[3] 'Orac. Sibyll.' 1869; Introd. p. xxi.

[4] iii. 293–4:—
Αὐτὸς γὰρ δώσει Θεὸς ἔννυχον ἁγνὸν ὄνειρον.
Καὶ τότε δὴ ναὸς πάλιν ἔσσεται, ὡς πάρος ἦν περ.

[5] See the note on iii. 10–12 below. For Aristeas see Tischendorf's 'Proleg.' p. xviii., and the full discussion in Dr. Sp. C. Papageorgios, 'Ueber den Aristeasbrief,' München, 1880.

[6] 'Hist. of Israel,' v. 127, n.

If it could be decided with any certainty whether the compiler lived in Palestine or in Egypt, some little light might be thrown upon the subject of its date, by our knowledge of surrounding events. But here again, even in his adaptation of the Persian court-story, the writer has managed to keep his personality undisclosed.[1] One slight allusion only is thought to point to a residence in Egypt,—the mention in iv. 23 of "sailing upon the sea and upon the rivers" for the purpose of "robbing and stealing."[2] The language, being so largely Septuagintal,[3] does not afford any certain clue. If there were reasons, on any other grounds, for placing the composition somewhat earlier, they might seem strengthened by the character of the events taking place both in Egypt and Syria between 170 and 160 B.C. For about that time Egypt was repeatedly invaded by Antiochus Epiphanes, and, at the close of his second and fourth campaigns in 170 and 168, the Temple at Jerusalem was sacked. Considering how largely the number of the Jewish residents in Egypt was recruited during the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, it might be thought that a work which described the rebuilding of the Temple, and the beneficence of foreign kings to the work, and which also introduced the story of Josiah, slain in an invasion of Syria by the Egyptians, would have a special interest.

But, in particular, an event related by Josephus as occurring about this time,

[1] Fritzsche truly says: "Pragmatischen Sinn hat der Uebersetzer dadurch bewährt, dass er nirgends eine Rücksicht auf seine Zeit hat einfliessen lassen."—*Einleit.* p. 9.

[2] Bissell, *ubi sup.* p. 64, who refers to Graetz, 'Geschichte der Juden,' iii. p. 39 *sq.* As this passage comes in the original story, it would in strictness only tend to shew that the author of *that* lived in Egypt. Hence it has only a secondary and remoter application to the compiler.

[3] Dr. Gwynn thinks that there are some remarkable coincidences of expression between ch. ii. of this book and Dan. i. (in the Hexaplar); sufficient, indeed, to justify a suspicion that one and the same hand dealt with the canonical Ezra and Daniel, rewriting them and interpolating (in Greek); and from them produced this 1 Esdras and the Hexaplar Daniel of the Chisian MS. Eichhorn ('Einleit.' *ubi sup.*, p. 346) had noticed how much the style resembled that of Symmachus.

or a little later,[1] may be thought likely to have suggested the production of such a work. This was the building of a temple, or the restoration in altered form of a ruined Egyptian temple, in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis, for Jewish worship. Onias, the son, or grandson,[2] of Onias III., the High-Priest assassinated by his brother Menelaus in B.C. 171, had taken refuge in Egypt, under the government of Ptolemy Philometor. Being the lawful successor to the Jewish High-priesthood, he seems to have drawn many of his countrymen along with him, and to have formed the idea of giving cohesion, by means of a new centre of national worship, to the numerous Jewish communities throughout the Delta. For this end he petitioned Philometor and his queen Cleopatra for permission to build a temple in some part of Egypt, where he and his countrymen might worship the God of their fathers after their own manner. The result of such an indulgence would be, to animate the Jews still more in their resistance to Antiochus, the destroyer of their temple at Jerusalem, and to attach them more closely to the Egyptian king.[3] What purports to be a copy of the actual letter written by him is preserved by Josephus in another place,[4] together with the answer of the king and queen. From this we learn, that he had seen with regret the divisions growing up among his countrymen from the number of different places for divine worship resorted to by them; and that, having found a convenient spot, a fortress in the Heliopolite nome, with a dilapidated temple sacred to Bubastis, he prayed for leave to cleanse and purify it,[1] and to build a shrine to the most High God, after the pattern of that in Jerusalem. As giving a kind of divine sanction to his work, he ended with a quotation from the prophet Isaiah (xix. 18, 19): "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts; one shall be called THE CITY OF THE SUN. In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord."[2] The reply of Ptolemy and Cleopatra was a permission to undertake the work, with an expression of wonder (which Josephus is careful to note and amplify) that a spot which teemed with associations, to a Jewish mind impure, should be selected for a temple to Jehovah. Accordingly, Onias set about his task of restoration and rebuilding. The sacred enclosure (*ἱερὸν*) he encompassed with a wall of baked tiles, or bricks, relieved by gateways of stone. The inner building, or temple proper (*ναός*), he appears to have built anew, and after the pattern of the Holy Temple in Jerusalem, but "smaller and poorer."[3] The tower was of huge blocks of stone,

[1] Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel' (tr. by Carpenter), v. p. 354, decides on the date B.C. 160 as the most probable. Prideaux, 'Connection' (1720), ii. p. 264, makes it as late as 149. The uncertainty arises from the reading in Josephus, 'Bell. Jud.' vii. 10, § 4 (*ad fin.*), where the temple is said to have stood 343 years to the time of its demolition (*circ.* A.D. 73). Hudson (*n. ib.*) and Ewald both think 233 should probably be the number. This would fix the erection to about B.C. 160, as said above.

[2] In 'Bell. Jud.' vii. 10, § 2, he is called *Ὀνίας Σίμωνος υἱός*. This, as Josephus elsewhere calls him son of Onias, is naturally thought (as by Tanaquil Faber, and others) to be a slip of memory. But Ewald thinks it may point to his being really the grandson of Onias III.

[3] 'Bell. Jud.,' *ubi sup.*, § 2.

[4] 'Antiqq.' xiii. 3, § 1. The author of the art. ONIAS, CITY OF, in the 'Dict. of the Bible,' refers to these letters as "spurious;" but Ewald takes a more favourable view of them. "The correspondence," he says, "may certainly, as in most other cases of the kind, be reproduced freely; but Josephus evidently read it in an older work, and its author certainly relied upon trustworthy ancient narratives."

[1] The language used should be noted: *δέομαι συγχωρῆσαί μοι, τὸ ἀδέσποτον ἀνακαθάραντι ἱερὸν καὶ συμπεπτωκός, οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν τῷ μεγίστῳ Θεῷ, καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, τοῖς αὐτοῖς μέτροις.*—'Antiqq.' xiii. 3, § 1.

[2] This is the rendering of the A. V., except that the words in capitals embody the marginal reading in place of "city of destruction." These of course are the cardinal words. Dr. Tregelles, in his edition of Gesenius (*s. v.*), while admitting that עִיר הַהֶרֶס, "city of destruction," has the better authority, considers the other reading, עִיר הַחֶרֶס, "city of the sun," preferable. It has the support of Symmachus (*πόλις ἡλίου*), and of the Vulgate (*civitas solis*). The LXX. differs from both, having *πόλις ἀσεδέκ*, as if to denote "city of righteousness."

[3] *μικρότερον δὲ καὶ πενιχρότερον.* 'Antiqq.' xiii. 3, § 3. The account has to be combined with 'Bell. Jud.' vii. 10, § 3, for a full description.

like those used in its prototype. The altar, too, with its appendages, was a copy. But there was one remarkable difference. Instead of the seven-branched candlestick, a lamp, "shedding a golden radiance,"[1] was hung by a chain of gold from the ceiling.

Without entering further into details, one or two inferences seem naturally to follow from this account. It points to the fact, known to us from other sources also, of the increase in the number of Jewish communities in Egypt, not only in the capital, but in other parts of the Delta. It discloses the want of religious unity felt among them, and how it occurred to one aspiring mind to attempt to supply this want. Moreover, it shews, I think, distinct traces of an adaptation of the old forms of Jewish worship to meet the demands of altered circumstances; an adaptation that might commend itself, in some measure, to the resident heathen, as well as to the Jewish population. This comes out more clearly if we compare with the record of Josephus what Herodotus tells us of the festivals of Bubastis, the goddess whose deserted temple Onias had chosen for his site. Few passages, even in that historian, are more picturesque than those in which he tells us of the heavily-laden barges dropping down the Nile, on their way to the city named after that goddess; of the crowds of devotees embarking on this joyous pilgrimage; of their music of lotus-pipes and cymbals; of their consumption of wine on the occasion, more than in all the rest of the year together.[2] That Onias should have sought to retain some of the attractions of the old local worship was both natural and politic. He was a Hellenist, holding office under the king;[3] he had the remembrance of bitter wrongs sustained in his native land; he was founding a rival temple.[1] The wider his estrangement from Jerusalem, the more closely he would naturally seek to connect himself with his adopted land. This may help to explain the startling boldness shewn in his choice of a site, and in his adaptation of a disused temple to his purpose. Whatever may have been the exact position of the place called after him,[2] there must have been many points of resemblance between the outward aspect of its earlier temple, and the rites celebrated there, and what existed at Bubastis itself, the great centre of the worship of the goddess Pasht. If, then, we find a certain similarity between the temple of Onias and that at Bubastis, that is enough for the purpose. And such a similarity is plainly to be seen on comparing the descriptions of Josephus and Herodotus. The sacred enclosure, *ἱερόν*, appears to have been left unchanged, only purified, and surrounded, as that in the mother city was, by a wall of tiles.[3] The shrine, or inner temple itself, *ναός*, though Onias professed the intention of rearing it after the pattern of the one in Jerusalem, seems, in the actual construction, to have resembled it in the tower only, as if the old fabric had been made to serve as far as it would go.[4] Especially in his replacement of the seven-branched candlestick by the one sun-like lamp depending from

[1] Others render it "a golden lamp." But the run of the words, *αὐτὸν δὲ χαλκευσάμενος τὸν λύχνον χρυσοῦν ἐπιφαίνοντα σέλας*, seems to favour the above interpretation. To understand the *αὐτόν*, we must bear in mind that the "candlestick" (as we term it) was the *λυχνία*, or "lamp-holder." Though the "lamp-holder" was not there, the lamp itself was.

[2] The city and temple of Bubastis are described in Hdt. ii. 137–8; the processions to it by water in ii. 59, 60.

[3] Josephus, 'Contra Apionem,' ii. 5.

[1] "The Aramean Jews looked on their Egyptian brethren with assumed contempt, but inward jealousy: perhaps the distance only prevented a feud, almost as deadly as that with the Samaritans."—MILMAN, *Hist. of the Jews* (1866), ii. p. 25.

[2] Josephus calls it Leontopolis, and says that it was 180 stades from Memphis, and in the Heliöpolitan nome. But the writer of the article before mentioned ('Dict. of the Bible,' ii. p. 634) shews that this must be an error, Leontopolis being the capital of the nome bearing the same name. Sir Gardner Wilkinson ('Modern Egypt and Thebes,' 1843, i. p. 299) explains the confusion by pointing out that the place was in one nome, but near the other. He would fix its position at the mounds called "Tel el Yehóod," "a little to the E. of N. from Heliopolis, from which it is distant twelve miles."

[3] With the difference that Onias's wall was of *burnt* tiles, or brick, *ὀπτῇ πλίνθῳ*, and that at Bubastis, of *crude* brick. See Wilkinson, *ubi sup.*, p. 427. But comp. Creuzer's note (speaking of "lateribus coctis") on Hdt. ii. 60.

[4] This assumes the reading in 'Bell. Jud.' vii. 10, § 3, to be correct: *τὸν μὲν ναὸν οὐχ ὅμοιον ᾠκοδόμησε τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, κ.τ.λ.*

the roof, Onias would appear to have had in mind the associations of the "city of the sun," and the Λυχνοκαΐη of the Egyptian festivals.[1]

Now, if there is reason to think that this Egyptian Ezra—or rather, as he may well have regarded himself, in the supposed light of Isaiah's prophecy, Ezra and Nehemiah in one—accommodated his new temple to Egyptian ideas, it would be natural to expect that the story of Israel's great temple-restoration, if told afresh then, as at an appropriate time for its republication, would be coloured by the same local associations. And this is what, to some slight degree, we find in 1 Esdras. In judging of its origin, we must fix the attention on the features it presents most distinct from the Old Testament version of the same story. And these, if we omit for the moment the Episode in iii., iv., are the incidents described by the writer as marking the reception by the Jews of the news of the king's favour, and the starting of the convoy homewards (iv. 63—v. 3). The seven days' carousal, with its accompaniment of music and rejoicing; the escort of a thousand horsemen; and the setting out with pipes and timbrels playing,—are features peculiar to this book, and suggestive rather of the Egyptian festivals than of the return from the Babylonian captivity.[2] Even the remarkable scene at the court of the Persian king (chs. iii., iv.), while presenting many features in common with what we observe in the Book of Esther, has also so many points of resemblance to the descriptions in Aristeas, that it might be held to have something of a Ptolemean colouring.[3]

Without seeking to attach undue importance to what may be thought slight indications, I venture to submit that in the invasions of Antiochus Epiphanes, when the Holy Temple was sacked; in the foundation of the temple of Onias, rising, as it might seem, after the ruin of the former; and, it may be added, in the contest for precedence between Jews and Samaritans, which Josephus records as the next subject that occupied the attention of Philometor,[1]—we have a series of events to which the story as told in 1 Esdras might be thought a suitable parallel.

This supposition as to the time, though not as to the occasion, would agree with that of Herzfeld.[2] But it must be admitted that the majority of scholars choose rather to assign the work to the first century B.C.[3]

Authorities.—The chief of these have been cited in the Introduction, or will be found in the notes which follow. Most useful of all has been the commentary of Dr. Otto F. Fritzsche, in the 'Kurzgefasstes Handbuch zu den Apokryphen,' Leipz., 1851. That of Bertheau on Ezra, &c., in the same series (1862), has also been often referred to. A valuable companion to them is Wahl's 'Clavis Librorum . . . Apocryphorum,' 1853. More recent is Dr. B. Neteler's 'Die Bücher Esdras,' &c., Münster, 1877, which gives a German translation of the canonical books Ezra—Esther, interspersed with comments. The section relating to this period of Reuss's work, which he entitles 'Chronique ecclésiastique de Jérusalem' (1878), has been of service. His theory of a continuous Chronicle is, of course, strengthened by the form in which 1 Esdras appears. Of commentaries in English, most use has been

[1] Hdt. ii. 62. Ewald's reason for the non-reproduction of the seven-branched candlestick, namely, that it "seems to have been regarded as too holy to be imitated," is not satisfactory. Why should it have been considered more sacred than the altar, which was exactly copied?

[2] The peculiar word ἐκωθωνίζοντο, iv. 63, is noticed below. The use of it recalls the great consumption of οἶνος ἀμπέλινος noticed by Herodotus. Some lesser points of resemblance might be mentioned, such as the fact that what in Ezra is the district "beyond the river" (vii. 21), or "this side the river" (iv. 16), is in 1 Esdras "Coele-Syria and Phœnicia" (ii. 17; comp. viii. 23); the term used in Onias's petition to Philometor (Joseph. 'Antiqq.,' xiii. 3, § 1).

[3] As one slight instance, compare the dignity of the office of σωματοφύλαξ, if it is to be assigned to Zorobabel (1 Esd. iii. 4), with what Josephus says of the position of τοὺς τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένους at the court of Philadelphus ('c. Apion.' ii. § 4). Other points of similarity are noticed afterwards in the commentary.

[1] 'Antiqq.' xiii. 3, § 4.

[2] "Kam diese Compilation noch vor den Makkabäerkriegen zu Stande."—*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 73.

[3] So De Wette, 'Lehrbuch,' &c. (1869), p. 566; Ewald, and Fritzsche.

made of Canon Rawlinson's edition of Kings—Esther in the 'Speaker's Commentary.' This is often cited in the notes by the simple letter R., as that of Fritzsche is by the letter F. The American edition of the Apocrypha, by Dr. E. C. Bissell (1880), must be spoken of with respect, for the industry and research it shews. It gives a revised version of the English text, and also comparative tables of the names and numbers[1] in 1 Esdras and in the canonical books. With the exception of this work, the writer has avoided consulting any modern English commentaries on the Apocrypha. His great obligation to Dr. Gwynn, for notes and references made use of in the first section of this Introduction, must be once more repeated.

[1] It has not been thought necessary to furnish such comparisons of numbers for the present commentary; especially as the discrepancies are noticed by Rawlinson. On the other hand, some effort has been made to clear up the confusion in the lists of proper names. There remains a mine to be worked out, even in the corrupted forms of the Vulgate.

J. H. L.

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL,
Dec. 31st, 1885.

I. ESDRAS.

B.C. cir. 623.

CHAPTER I.

1 Josias his charge to the priests and Levites. 7 A great passover is kept. 32 His death is much lamented. 34 His successors. 53 The temple, city, and people are destroyed. 56 The rest are carried unto Babylon.

[a] 2 Kings 23. 21. 2 Chr. 35. 1, &c.

AND Josias held the [a] feast of the passover in Jerusalem unto his Lord, and offered the passover the fourteenth day of the first month;

2 Having set the priests according to their daily courses, being arrayed in long garments, in the temple of the Lord.

3 And he spake unto the Levites, the holy ministers of Israel, that they should hallow themselves unto the Lord, to set the holy ark of the Lord in the house that king Solomon the son of David had built:

4 *And said*, Ye shall no more bear the ark upon your shoulders: now therefore serve the Lord your God, and minister unto his people Israel,

CHAPTER I.

1. *And Josias.*] The abruptness of the beginning is to be noticed; about which more has been said in the Introduction. But the reader need not infer, from the first word "and," that anything is deficient at the beginning of this section of the history. The particle so rendered is one of the most frequent occurrence in Septuagint Greek, and used with many shades of connecting force. In its simplest meaning it is seen at the beginning of each of the *vv.* 7–13 of this chapter; but it is equally present, though disguised under other renderings, at the beginning of each of the *vv.* 15–20.

held the feast of the passover.] A brief account of this is given in 2 Kings xxiii. 21–23, and a much fuller one in 2 Chron. xxxv. 1–19, to which the present one runs parallel. The words "feast of the" are unnecessary; "kept the passover" (as in the Geneva Version) being an exact rendering of the Greek. For the use of ἄγειν (= ποιεῖν in the LXX.) comp. Hdt. i. 147. As the word "passover" may be used of the paschal victim, as well as of the feast, it is also said to be "offered" (lit. "sacrificed") in the present passage.

of the first month.] *I.e.* of Nisan: see Ex. xii. 6. This passover was held in B.C. 623, being the 18th year of the reign of Josiah, who succeeded his father Amon in 641.

2. *daily courses.*] For the institution of these by David, see 1 Chron. xxiii. 6; and, for their liability to derangement when the Temple service was interrupted, the note on 2 Chron. xxxi. 2. The same word, ἐφημερία, is rendered "ordinary service" in *v.* 16 below.

arrayed in long garments.] Or, more simply, "robed," ἐστολισμένους. The same word in v. 59 and vii. 9 is rendered "arrayed in their vestments."

3. *the holy ministers.*] Rather, "as holy ministers," or ministers of the Temple; there being no article in the Greek. Elsewhere, as in v. 29, 35, the word (ἱερόδουλοι) is used in its more restricted sense to express the Nethinim, or servants of the Levites (Ezra viii. 20), whose position appears to have somewhat risen after the Captivity.

to set.] Lit. "in the setting of," &c. It is not clear whether we are to understand that the ark of the covenant had been removed from the Temple (by the act of the late king, or otherwise), or whether we are to suppose that it had become the custom to carry it about in procession. In either case, it was now to be stationary. See Reuss on 2 Chron. xxxv. 3; and comp. 1 Chron. xv. 2.

4. *prepare you.*] So in 2 Chron. xxxv. 4, "prepare *yourselves*." But the Geneva Version was probably right in rendering the word by "prepare" alone (*i.e.* the Passover), as in Matt. xxvi. 17, 19, where the same word ἑτοιμάζειν, "make ready," is used.

B.C. cir. 623.

and prepare you after your families and kindreds,

5 According as David the king of Israel prescribed, and according to the magnificence of Solomon his son: and standing in the temple according to the several dignity of the families of you the Levites, who minister in the presence of your brethren the children of Israel,

6 Offer the passover in order, and make ready the sacrifices for your brethren, and keep the passover according to the commandment of the Lord, which was given unto Moses.

7 And unto the people that was found there Josias gave thirty thousand lambs and kids, and three thousand calves: these things were given of the king's allowance, according as he promised, to the people, to the priests, and to the Levites.

8 And Helkias, Zacharias, and [1] Syelus, the governors of the temple, gave to the priests for the passover two thousand and six hundred sheep, and three hundred calves.

9 And Jeconias, and Samaias, and Nathanael his brother, and Assabias, and Ochiel, and Joram, captains over thousands, gave to the Levites for the passover five thousand sheep, and [1] seven hundred calves.

10 And when these things were

[1] Or, *Jehiel*, 2 Chron. 35. 8.

[1] Or, *five hundred calves*, 2 Chron. 35. 9.

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families and kindreds.] Rather, "families and tribes." The "family," or "house," πατριά, had a wider signification than with us. Comp. Tobit i. 8, where it is rendered "kindred;" and see the art. GENEALOGY in the 'Dict. of the Bible.'

5. *as David . . . prescribed.*] More literally, "according to the writing of David," &c., nearly as in the Geneva Version. So in 2 Chron. xxx. 4, where there is the noticeable variation, "and according to the *writing* of Solomon his son," instead of, as here, "according to the *magnificence*." The phrase in the LXX. is there διὰ χειρὸς Σ., instead of κατὰ τὴν γραφήν, but the change was probably due to a wish on the part of the later writer to convey the idea of greater magnificence. To the minds of Israelites in later generations, as Fritzsche remarks, comparing Matt. vi. 29, Solomon was the very ideal of splendour.

and standing.] A fresh sentence should begin here, as in 2 Chron. xxxv. 5.

the several dignity, &c.] The Greek is κατὰ τὴν μεριδαρχίαν τὴν πατρικὴν ὑμῶν. In 1 Macc. x. 65 the word μεριδάρχης is used to express the office to which Johanan was raised, rendered in the margin of our version "governor of a province." But here the expression seems rather to mean "according to the several family headships of you the Levites," agreeably with the LXX. in 2 Chron. xxxv. 4, κατὰ τὰς διαιρέσεις οἴκων πατριῶν ὑμῶν.

6. *in order.*] These two words, according to F., should be coupled with the previous verse.

7. *that was found there.*] That is, "who were present;" so rendered in *v.* 19. Εὑρεθῆναι in this usage is much like the French *se trouver*. Comp. Winer, P. iii. s. lxv. § 8, and Reuss's translation of the parallel expression in 2 Chron., "qui se trouvaient là."

of the king's allowance.] Rather, "of the royal treasury," or "royal stores." So F., who compares τὸ βασιλικὸν in 1 Macc. xiii. 15.

8. *Helkias, &c.*] This Helkias, or Hilchiah, was probably the High-priest of Josiah's reign, who found the Book of the Law (2 Kings xxii. 8). Zacharias is thought by R. to have been the "second priest" (an office mentioned in 2 Kings xxv. 18); while Syelus, or Jehiel, may be identical with the Jeiel (2 Chron. xxxv. 9) or Ochiel (*infra*, *v.* 9), a chief of the Levites. The variations in his name are traceable to the different equivalents given in MSS. of the LXX. to the Hebrew יְחִיאֵל, as Ὀζιῆλος, Ὀχιῆλος, Ἡσυῆλος, and the like.

governors of the temple.] If the term is here used in a general sense, we may understand it to include all the three just mentioned. But F. takes it to refer only to the two latter, Helkias, as High-priest, being separate. The office would seem to answer to that of the προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ in 2 Macc. iii. 4, with which may be compared the "captain of the temple" (στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ) of the Acts iv. 1; cf. St. Luke xxii. 4.

9. *Jeconias, &c.*] The names here given will be easily identified with those in 2 Chron. xxxv. 8. For the abbreviation of Jeconiah to Coniah (whence Conaniah), see Jerem. xxii. 24, and the art. HANANIAH (8) in 'Dict. of the Bible.' The only material change is the substitution of Joram for Jozabad.

captains over thousands.] Gk. χιλίαρχοι, rendered in Acts xxi. 31 (in the singular) "chief captain." As a military term it was equivalent to the Roman *tribunus militum*, or commander of one-sixth of a legion, but here it is transferred to the officers of the Temple guard.

B. C. cir. 623.

done, the priests and Levites, having the unleavened bread, stood in very comely order according to the kindreds,

11 And according to the several dignities of the fathers, before the people, to offer to the Lord, as it is written in the book of Moses: [b] and thus did they in the morning.

12 And they [c] roasted the passover with fire, as appertaineth: as for the sacrifices, they sod them in brass pots and pans [1] with a good savour,

13 And set them before all the people: and afterward they prepared for themselves, and for the priests their brethren, the sons of Aaron.

14 For the priests offered the fat until night: and the Levites prepared for themselves, and the priests their brethren, the sons of Aaron.

15 The holy singers also, the sons of Asaph, were in their order, according to the appointment [d] of David, to wit, Asaph, Zacharias, and Jeduthun, who was [e] of the king's retinue.

16 Moreover the porters were at every gate; it was not lawful for any

[b] 2 Chron. 35. 12, *and so of the bullocks.*
[c] Exod. 12. 8.
[1] Or, *with good speed,* or, *willingly,* 2 Chron. 35. 13.
[d] 2 Chron. 35. 15, *of David and Asaph.*
[e] 2 Chron. 35. 15, *the king's seer.*

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10. *in very comely order.*] The word "very" is not needed to render εὐπρεπῶς. The inconvenient division of *vv.* 10 and 11 will be noticed.

11. *the several dignities.*] τὰς μεριδαρχίας, on which see note on *v.* 5.

and thus did they in the morning.] The marginal reading "and so of the bullocks" is what is found in the Geneva Version at the parallel passage in 2 Chron., where the A. V. has "and so *did they* with the oxen." Since the same expression as is here used, τὸ πρωινόν, is found in v. 50, in connection with ὁλοκαύτωμα, it would be most natural to understand it so here. The sense would then be: "and thus they performed (or offered) the morning sacrifice."

12. *as appertaineth.*] Rather, "as is fitting," ὡς καθήκει.

brass pots.] The "brasen vessels" of Mark vii. 4.

with a good savour.] μετ' εὐωδίας. The marginal reading "with good speed" suggests a variant μετ' εὐοδίας, which it might be thought the author of the book would have used in preference, as more nearly corresponding to the expression in 2 Chron. xxxv. 12. Is is possible that εὐωδίας was due to a misunderstanding of the εὐωδώθη there, εὐοδόω being confused with εὐωδέω? But comp. Eph. v. 2. It is noticeable that a like variation is found in the spelling of the name Euŏdia in Phil. iv. 2.

14. *offered, &c.*] More exactly: "for the priests were offering . . . till late at night" (ἕως ἀωρίας). That the priests were thus busied in offering the parts of the different victims to be consumed (τὰ στέατα, pl.) is given as the reason why the Levites should make preparation for them. This is clearly brought out in 2 Chron. xxxv. 14.

15. *holy singers.*] ἱεροψάλται; that is, those of the Levites appointed to conduct the musical portion of the service. The meaning of the parallel passage in 2 Chron. xxxv. 15 is clear; namely, that the singing-men took their station according to the directions left by David, and by his three choir-masters, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun. But in the LXX., there as well as in the present passage, the three names last mentioned are in the nominative case, implying that they were the Levites present. In that case, of course, we must understand representatives of the three musicians so called to be meant. Moreover, instead of Heman, we have in the text Zacharias, and instead of Jeduthun, Eddinus; for such is the reading of the Greek. The identity of Ἐδδινοὺς with Ἰδιθὼμ or Ἰδιθοὺν is not far to seek. Why Zacharias should have been introduced instead of Heman, is, as F. admits, difficult to say. In 1 Chron. xv. 18 there is mention of one Zechariah, as a singer "of the second degree," and there is some difficulty connected with the name there also, as it is followed by "Ben," standing alone as a proper name, but plainly requiring to be rendered "son of"—some one whose name has dropped out, unless the "Ben" itself should be omitted. See Reuss there; and, for the identity of Jeduthun with Ethan, Lord Arthur Hervey in 'Dict. of the Bible,' art. JEDUTHUN.

who was of the king's retinue.] ὁ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως (Ald.), for which F. has οἱ παρά, referring to them all. The phrase may be explained by comparison of 1 Macc. xvi. 16 and similar passages; but, if we observe that the LXX. of 2 Chron. xxxv. 15 has οἱ προφῆται τοῦ β., we may be led to suspect the word παρὰ to be corrupt. By "seer" in the parallel passage no more need be meant than professional adviser.

16. *porters.*] Or, doorkeepers: see 1 Chron. xxvi. 14–18.

ordinary service.] See note on "daily courses," *v.* 2.

B.C. cir. 623.

to go from his ordinary service: for their brethren the Levites prepared for them.

17 Thus were the things that belonged to the sacrifices of the Lord accomplished in that day, that they might hold the passover,

18 And offer sacrifices upon the altar of the Lord, according to the commandment of king Josias.

19 So the children of Israel which were present held the passover at that time, and the feast of sweet bread seven days.

20 And such a passover was not kept in Israel since the time of the prophet Samuel.

21 Yea, all the kings of Israel held not such a passover as Josias, and the priests, and the Levites, and the Jews, held with all Israel that were found dwelling at Jerusalem.

22 In the eighteenth year of the reign of Josias was this passover kept.

23 And the works of Josias were upright before his Lord with an heart full of godliness.

24 As for the things that came to pass in his time, they were written in former times, concerning those that sinned, and [1] did wickedly against the Lord above all people and kingdoms, and how they grieved him [1] exceedingly, so that the words of the Lord rose up against Israel.

[1] Or, *were ungodly.*

[1] Or, *sensibly.*

25 ¶ [f] Now after all these acts of Josias it came to pass, that Pharaoh the king of Egypt came to raise war at Carchamis upon Euphrates: and Josias went out against him.

[f] 2 Chron. 35. 20, &c. cir. 610.

26 But the king of Egypt sent to

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for their brethren, &c.] This gives the reason why there was no need for them to leave their posts. The other Levites prepared the paschal meal for them to eat.

17. *that they might hold.*] Rather, "should be held;" and, in the next verse, "that the sacrifices should be brought;" the verbs in both places being passive.

19. *sweet bread.*] An unusual expression for "unleavened bread," found also in Cranmer's Bible. Compare James iii. 11, 12, where the same word γλυκὺ is rendered "sweet" and "fresh."

20. *such a passover.*] For the points in which it surpassed all earlier ones since the establishment of the kingdom, see R.'s note on 2 Kings xxiii. 22.

21. *with all Israel.*] The word "Israel" is here used in a more limited sense than in the clauses immediately preceding.

23. *And the works.*] This verse and the next contain an addition to the account as it is in 2 Chron., apparently meant to make the transition less abrupt to the very different scenes about to be described.

24. *the things that came to pass in his time.*] Rather, "the events concerning him," τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτόν.

exceedingly.] The Greek is ἐν αἰσθήσει, which will explain the marginal reading, "sensibly." If the reading be genuine, it is a difficult one, and seems to mean "in His feelings;" that is, "to the heart." So Wahl: "Wie sie ihn in seinem Gefühle gekränkt haben." The Geneva Version has "with sensible things," and, in the margin, an explanation of this: "by worshipping sensible creatures." Comp. Ezek. viii. 10. But this would be a forced interpretation.

rose up.] This expression is more than a mere metaphor, like "lifted up his voice," "took up his parable," &c. A personal agency is ascribed to the word of the Lord, as to the ancient *Diræ*. F. compares 1 Ki. xiii. 2, and 2 Ki. xxiii. 16.

25. *after all these acts.*] How long after is not said; but the date is fixed at 608 B.C. See R.'s note on 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. The Pharaoh here spoken of was Pharaoh-Necho (Νεκὼς in Hdt. ii. 158), said by the Greek historian to be son of Psammetichus I., who had at this period newly ascended the throne. Herodotus mentions an engagement of this Necho with the "Syrians" at "Magdolus" (Megiddo?), adding that after the battle he took a great city of Syria named Cadytis,—thought by some to denote Jerusalem itself, by others Gaza. In his passage along the coast of Palestine to seize the fords of the Euphrates at Carchemish, he was encountered by Josiah. Carchemish is identified by Reuss and Fritzsche with the Circesium, or Circusium of the Greeks, which stood at the junction of the Khabour with the Euphrates. But Rawlinson has shewn good reason for believing it to have stood much higher up, near the site of the later Hierapolis.

B.C. cir. 610.

him, saying, What have I to do with thee, O king of Judea?

27 I am not sent out from the Lord God against thee; for my war is upon Euphrates: and now the Lord is with me, yea, the Lord is with me hasting me forward: depart from me, and be not against the Lord.

28 Howbeit Josias did not turn back his chariot from him, but undertook to fight with him, not regarding the words of the prophet Jeremy spoken by the mouth of the Lord:

29 But joined battle with him in the plain of Magiddo, and the princes came against king Josias.

30 Then said the king unto his servants, Carry me away out of the battle; for I am very weak. And immediately his servants took him away out of the battle.

31 Then gat he up upon his second chariot; and being brought back to Jerusalem died, and was buried in his father's sepulchre.

32 And in all Jewry they mourned for Josias, yea, Jeremy the prophet lamented for Josias, and the chief men with the women made lamentation for him unto this day: and this was given out for an ordinance to be done continually in all the nation of Israel.

33 These things are written in the book of the stories of the kings of Judah, and every one of the acts that Josias did, and his glory, and his understanding in the law of the Lord,

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27. *thee.*] The word is emphatical. "Ce n'est pas à toi," &c. (Reuss). The religious tone of the utterances ascribed to the Egyptian king is noticeable. Compare the words of the Assyrian Rabshakeh in 2 Kings xviii. 25.

28. *did not turn back his chariot from him.*] The Greek is literally: "and Josias did not turn himself away to his chariot;" which, taken in connection with what is said about "his second chariot" in *v.* 31, seems to imply that the king would not be induced to return to his travelling chariot, and give up the encounter.

the prophet Jeremy.] In the parallel passage of 2 Chron. the expression is that Josiah would not hearken to the words of *Necho* from the mouth of the Lord. And though in the prophecy of Jeremiah there may be references to this defeat (as in xv. 7–9), yet there is nothing, as F. points out, which can be construed as a dissuasion from the encounter.

29. *Magiddo.*] The "plain of Megiddo" mentioned here is in keeping with the "valley of Megiddo" spoken of in 2 Chron. It would seem that the Egyptians, marching northwards along the coast, had turned off at Mount Carmel into the plain of Esdraelon, the great battle-field of Palestine, and been met by Josiah at the pass of Megiddo, the modern *el-Lejjun.*

the princes.] Rather, "the leaders," οἱ ἄρχοντες. In 1 Macc. ix. 37, where also a military force is spoken of, the word is rendered "governors." For the expression "came against," more literally "came down against," comp. Judith xiv. 13. For some reason, the author has here diverged from the account in 2 Chron. (found in the LXX. as well as the Hebrew), "the archers shot at king Josiah."

30. *I am very weak.*] Rather, "I am grown weak" (ἠσθένησα), or "I have lost strength." It is not here expressly stated that Josiah was wounded, but this is implied in what follows.

31. *his second chariot.*] The word rendered "second," δευτέριον, is late, and rarely found. In the LXX. it is δευτερεῦον. The chariot in question seems to have been the one for travelling (see note on *v.* 28), waiting in attendance while the king was engaged in the combat in his war-chariot (2 Chron. xxxv. 24).

died.] There is no real contradiction between this and 2 Kings xxiii. 30. See R.'s note there, and comp. 2 Kings xxii. 20.

32. *Jeremy the prophet.*] Josephus ('Antiqq.' x. 5. 1) states that Jeremiah composed a funeral dirge for Josiah, which was still extant, —ὃ καὶ μέχρι νῦν διαμένει. But the Book of *Lamentations*, as we have it, does not contain anything that could properly be so described.

33. *the book of the stories.*] In 2 Chron. xiii. 22 we have a mention of "the *story* of the prophet Iddo;" but the word there used, *Midrash*, is rather "interpretation," or "commentary," as in the margin. It might be reasonably thought that the Second Book of Chronicles was here referred to, and the Second Book of Kings in the latter part of the verse. But if so, the writer's language is vague. In *v.* 42 he speaks of the "chronicles of the kings" (ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν χρόνων), while here the expression is ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν ἱστορουμένων περὶ κ. τ. λ. The work so often referred to as an authority in the Books of Kings themselves, as "The Book of the

B.C. cir. 610.

and the things that he had done before, and the things now recited, are reported in the book of the kings of Israel and Judea.

cir. 610. f 2 Kings 23. 30. 2 Chron. 36. 1.

34 f And the people took Joachaz the son of Josias, and made him king instead of Josias his father, when he was twenty and three years old.

35 And he reigned in Judea and in Jerusalem three months: and then the king of Egypt deposed him from reigning in Jerusalem.

36 And he set a tax upon the land of an hundred talents of silver and one talent of gold.

37 The king of Egypt also made king Joacim his brother king of Judea and Jerusalem.

38 And he bound Joacim and the nobles: but Zaraces his brother he apprehended, and brought him out of Egypt.

B.C. cir. 610.

cir. 610. h 2 Chron. 36. 4, 5. Jehoiakim, or Eliakim.

39 Five and twenty years old was h Joacim when he was made king in the land of Judea and Jerusalem; and he did evil before the Lord.

cir. 606.

40 Wherefore against him Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon came up, and bound him with a chain of brass, and carried him into Babylon.

41 Nabuchodonosor also took of the holy vessels of the Lord, and carried them away, and set them in his own temple at Babylon.

42 But those things that are recorded of him, and of his uncleanness and impiety, are written in the chronicles of the kings.

Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," or "of Israel" (1 Kings xiv. 29, xv. 7; 2 Kings x. 34, &c.), is in all those places uniformly described in the LXX. as the Book λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν.

now recited.] The word "recited" should be in Italics. A closer rendering would be, "and the things done now."

34. *Joachaz.*] This is the reading of the Aldine, agreeably with the Hebrew; but the best Greek text has Ἰεχονίαν. The Vulgate has also "Jechonias," and this form is preserved in Matt. i. 11. The error probably arose from a misreading of the Hebrew name, such as has caused frequent confusion between Jehoiakim (Ἰωαχείμ) and Jehoiachin (Ἰωακείμ). See Lord Arthur Hervey's art. JEHOIACHIN in 'Dict. of the Bible.' Jehoahaz (or Shallum, as he is called in Jer. xxii. 11) was the younger brother of Eliakim or Jehoiakim. For his short reign of three months, see R. on 2 Kings xxiii. 30.

37. *king.*] This word seems unnecessarily repeated before Joacim; but it is found in the Greek. Jehoiakim's age at his accession is given below, *v.* 39; and by a comparison of it with *v.* 34 we see that he was older than his half-brother and predecessor Jehoahaz.

38. The statements in this verse seem hopelessly confused. There is no authority for "and" before "the nobles." Indeed there would be no sense in saying that the king of Egypt "bound" the king whom he had just placed on the throne. The literal rendering of the passage is: "and Joakim bound the nobles, but Zaraces his brother he apprehended," &c. If this be right, the reference must be to some despotic proceedings of which we have no other account. The alteration of Zedekiah (who was the king's half-brother, being own brother to Jehoahaz) to Zaraces is not inexplicable, when we think of the resemblance of ר to ד; but a comparison of the statement in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4, "and Necho took Jehoahaz his brother, and carried him to Egypt," makes us suspect some corruption of the text. The reading of the Vulgate suggests a possible explanation: *et alligavit magistratus Ioacim, et Zaracelem fratrem suum, et apprehendens reduxit in Aegyptum.* That Necho should take the own brother of the deposed king, and his chief nobles, as hostages into Egypt, would be natural enough; and there is nothing to forbid our taking Ἰωακὶμ as genitive, though the position would be unusual. But we should be compelled to read εἰς Αἴγυπτον in place of ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, a change for which there is not authority. The Geneva Version makes sense, at the expense of the text, by rendering "he bound Joachaz and his governours." Josephus, following the Hebrew, throws no light on the subject.

41. *in his own temple.*] Compare the expression "the house of his god," used of Nebuchadnezzar in Dan. i. 2; where also the mention of "*part* of the vessels of the house of God" as being carried away will illustrate the language here. For the special devotion of this king to Bel-Merodach, the Babylonian Mars, see R.'s note on 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. That this incident should be mentioned in Chronicles, but not in Kings, accords with the theory of Jeremiah being the compiler of the latter (or its later portion), and Daniel of the former. See also the note on ii. 10.

42. Comp. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8.

B. C. cir. 599.

43 And Joacim his son reigned in his stead: he was made king being eighteen years old;

44 And reigned but three months and ten days in Jerusalem; and did evil before the Lord.

45 So after a year Nabuchodonosor sent and caused him to be brought into Babylon with the holy vessels of the Lord;

599. 46 And made Zedechias king of Judea and Jerusalem, when he was one and twenty years old; and he reigned eleven years:

[f] Jer. 52. 2, &c.

47 And [f] he did evil also in the sight of the Lord, and cared not for the words that were spoken unto him by the prophet Jeremy from the mouth of the Lord.

593. 48 And after that king Nabuchodonosor had made him to swear by the name of the Lord, he forswore himself, and rebelled; and hardening his neck, and his heart, he transgressed the laws of the Lord God of Israel.

49 The governors also of the people and of the priests did many things against the laws, and passed all the pollutions of all nations, and defiled the temple of the Lord, which was sanctified in Jerusalem.

B. C. cir. 593.

50 Nevertheless the God of their fathers sent by his messenger to call them back, because he spared them and his tabernacle also.

51 But they had his messengers in derision; and, look, when the Lord spake unto them, they made a sport of his prophets:

52 So far forth, that he, being wroth with his people for their great ungodliness, commanded the kings of the Chaldees to come up against them;

53 Who slew their young men with the sword, yea, even within the compass of their holy temple, and spared neither young man nor maid, old man nor child, among them; for he delivered all into their hands.

54 And they took all the holy vessels of the Lord, both great and small, with the vessels of the ark of God, and the king's treasures, and carried them away into Babylon.

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43. *Joacim.*] Called in the A. V. of 2 Chron. Jehoiachin. The age here assigned him agrees with 2 Kings xxiv. 8, and is more probable than the *eight* years of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9.

45. *So after a year.*] That is, from the expedition referred to in *v.* 40.

the holy vessels.] That is, such as were left after the partial spoliation related in *v.* 41. The final clearance is mentioned in *v.* 54.

46. *Zedechias.*] The writer avoids the apparent error of calling him the late king's *brother*, as is done in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 11. Being the son of Josiah and Hamutal, he was uncle to Jehoiachin. His timid, vacillating character is well described by Mr. W. A. Wright in his article in 'Dict. of the Bible,' iii. p. 1834.

47. *cared for.*] ἐνετράπη ἀπό. The construction seems worth citing as throwing light on the classical ἐντρέπεσθαί τινος, which cannot surely mean "to turn *towards* a person" (as explained in Liddell and Scott), but rather "to turn in upon oneself *from*," as a snail drawing in its horns, and so "to stand in awe of," "reverence."

Jeremy.] Jer. xxi. 3–7, and many later passages, would apply here.

49. *of the priests.*] That is, the chief of the priests, a suitable word having to be supplied from "governors." For the general subject, see 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14, and the note on *v.* 24 above, in connection with Ezek. viii. 10–16.

50. *messenger.*] In 2 Chron. the word is plural, "messengers;" that is, the prophets. If any stress is here to be laid on the singular, we may suppose Jeremiah to have been meant. Comp. the next verse.

52. *to come up, &c.*] Rather, "to bring up against them the kings," &c.; the verb ἀναβιβάσαι being transitive.

54. *the vessels of the ark.*] This is the reading of the Aldine, τὰ σκεύη κιβωτοῦ. But the best text has καὶ τὰς κιβωτούς, "and the arks," or chests, explained by F. to be treasure-chests. It is against this view that, although the word may have this meaning in other Greek authors (as in the passage of Suidas quoted by F.), in biblical Greek it appears to be used only for the ark of the Covenant, and for Noah's ark (for which the Hebrew terms are not the same). The word

B. C. cir. 588.

55 As for the house of the Lord, they burnt it, and brake down the walls of Jerusalem, and set fire upon her towers:

56 And as for her glorious things, they never ceased till they had consumed and brought them all to nought: and the people that were not slain with the sword he carried unto Babylon:

57 Who became servants to him and his children, till the Persians reigned, to fulfil the [k] word of the Lord spoken by the mouth of Jeremy:

[k] Jer. 25. 11. & 29. 10.

58 Until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths, the whole time of her desolation shall she [1] rest, until the full term of seventy years.

[1] Or, *keep sabbath*.

CHAPTER II.

B. C. cir. 536.

1 Cyrus is moved by God to build the temple, 5 and giveth leave to the Jews to return, and contribute to it. 11 He delivereth again the vessels which had been taken thence. 25 Artaxerxes forbiddeth the Jews to build any more.

IN the [a] first year of Cyrus king of the Persians, that the word of the Lord might be accomplished, that he had promised by the mouth of Jeremy;

cir. 536. [a] 2 Chron. 36. 22, 23. Ezra 1. 1, &c.

2 The Lord raised up the spirit of Cyrus the king of the Persians, and he made proclamation through all his kingdom, and also by writing,

3 Saying, Thus saith Cyrus king of the Persians; The Lord of Israel,

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used in the LXX. for the ark in which Moses was laid, is θίβις.

56. *And as for, &c.*] The English here is somewhat free, for "they finished the work of destroying her glorious things." There may, however, be an imitation of a Hebrew use of the infinitive in the phrase συνετέλεσαν ἀχρειῶσαι, on which see Wahl, *s. v.*

slain with the sword.] The translator was perhaps influenced by the reading of the Aldine, ἀπὸ ῥομφαίας, which would suggest its being coupled with ἐπιλοίπους. But the best reading is μετὰ ῥομφαίας, "with the sword;" that is, "he led them away sword in hand" (*das Schwert in der Hand*, F.), as his captives.

58. It is not certain where the pause in the sense ought to be made. In the Hebrew (2 Chron. xxxvi. 21) the words "until," &c. are coupled with what precedes. Then a fresh sentence would begin thus: "All the time of her desolation shall she rest, up to," &c. If we are to take a year of captivity as representing the compensation for each sabbatical year of rest not enjoyed by the land, then, as Reuss points out, we should have to go back 490 years, or to the time of David, for the beginning of the period of neglect. But, as Dr. Bissell observes, "it is the theological, not the chronological, idea that predominates."

CHAPTER II.

1. *In the first year, &c.*] The writer now passes to the restoration of the Jews in 538 B.C. Like the author of the Second Book of Chronicles, he is silent about all that intervened at Babylon. The abrupt ending of 2 Chron., καὶ ἀναβήτω, is linked on to what follows, in Ezra i. 3 and in *v.* 5 of the present chapter. The abruptness is not so noticeable in the A. V., but in reality, as Reuss observes ('Introd.' p. 10), the proclamation of Cyrus is broken off in the middle of a sentence. For the date, see Sayce's 'Introd. to the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther' (1885), p. 19. By "first year" is meant the first year of his reign in Babylonia.

that he had promised.] These words are not wanted. The Greek is literally: "for the fulfilment of the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah," nearly as it is in the Geneva Version. For the reference, see Jer. xxv. 12, 13; xxix. 10

2. *The Lord raised up.*] On the possible contact of Cyrus with Daniel at Babylon, and the knowledge he may have gained of Hebrew prophecies, see the note on Ezra i. 1. Sayce (p. 17) gives reasons of worldly policy which may have influenced Cyrus:—"Experience had taught Cyrus the danger of allowing a disaffected people to live in the country of their conquerors. He therefore reversed the old policy of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, which consisted in transporting the larger portion of a conquered population to another country, and sought instead to win their gratitude and affection by allowing them to return to their native land. He saw moreover that the Jews, if restored from exile, would not only protect the south-western corner of his empire from the Egyptians, but would form a base for his intended invasion of Egypt itself."

by writing.] Lit. "by letters," or "despatches," διὰ γραπτῶν,—a rare word, found in 2 Macc. xi. 15.

3. *king of the Persians.*] On the propriety of this title, see Sayce, 'Fresh Light from

B. C. cir. 536.

the most high Lord, hath made me king of the whole world,

4 And commanded me to build him an house at Jerusalem in Jewry.

5 If therefore there be any of you that are of his people, let the Lord, even his Lord, be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem that is in Judea, and build the house of the Lord of Israel: for [1] he is the Lord that dwelleth in Jerusalem.

[1] Or, *this*.

6 Whosoever then dwell in the places about, let them help him, those, I say, that are his neighbours, with gold, and with silver,

7 With gifts, with horses, and with cattle, and other things, which have been set forth by vow, for the temple of the Lord at Jerusalem.

8 ¶ Then the chief of the families of Judea and of the tribe of Benjamin stood up; the priests also, and the Levites, and all they whose mind the Lord had moved to go up, and to build an house for the Lord at Jerusalem,

9 And they that dwelt round about them, and helped them in all things with silver and gold, with [1] horses and cattle, and with very many free gifts of a great number whose minds were stirred up thereto.

[1] Heb. *substance*, Ezra 1. 6.

10 King Cyrus also brought forth the holy vessels, which Nabuchodonosor had carried away from Jerusalem, and had set up in his temple of idols.

11 Now when Cyrus king of the Persians had brought them forth, he delivered them to Mithridates his treasurer:

12 And by him they were delivered to [1] Sanabassar the governor of Judea.

[1] Gr. *Shashbasar: the first part of the word is corruptly joined to the word going before.* Ezra 1. 8.

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the ancient Monuments,' 1884, p. 153; and, for the religious tone of his proclamation, R.'s note on Ezra i. 2.

4. *Jewry.*] The fondness of the English translator for variety is shewn in the use of this word here, and of "Judea" in the next verse. In the Geneva Version both were "Judea," as in the Greek.

6. *places.*] τόπους, "districts." The formation of the words τοπάρχης and τοπαρχία seems to shew that the word was acquiring something of a precise and technical meaning. A closer translation would be: "As many therefore as dwell in the districts, let them that are in his district help him," &c.

7. *horses.*] It is observable that in the parallel passage in Ezra there is no mention of horses as part of the gifts. The fame of the Assyrian horses at this time (comp. Hab. i. 8) would make them highly prized; and, as a matter of fact, we find the number of those brought back, 736, carefully recorded in Neh. vii. 68.

8. *Judea.*] This should be "Judah," Ἰούδα.

stood up.] Both here, and in the LXX. of Ezra i. 5, there is the variation of καταστάντες, "standing up," for the better-established reading καταστήσαντες, "settling," or "resolving;" and in both the sentence is incomplete. The A. V. makes the sense easy, by rendering it as a main verb.

whose mind the Lord had moved.] This shews that the desire to return was not universal. Of the Levites, in particular, only seventy-four went back to their native country. Few would remember a land left 68 years ago; and motives can readily be imagined that would make numbers prefer to stay where they were.

9. *free gifts.*] εὐχαῖς, lit. "votive offerings." Comp. *v.* 7.

10. *the holy vessels.*] There would be an obvious discrepancy between this statement and that in iv. 43 *sqq.*, if we had to regard chs. iii., iv. as forming part, along with this, of a continuous historical account. See the Introd. § III. The word rendered "set up" (ἀπηρείσατο, "deposited") is the same as was used in i. 41, and is found also in the Chisian MS. of Dan. i. 2.

11. *Mithridates.*] Another of this name is mentioned in *v.* 16 below. As meaning "given by Mithra," the sun-god, it would be a natural one for Persians to bear. The name of the office borne by this Mithridates, γαζοφύλαξ, or treasurer, explains the curious addition of *filius Gazabar* in the Vulgate, and of Γασβαρηνός in the LXX. of Ezra i. 8. In each case it is simply a misinterpretation of the Hebrew *gizbâr*, or treasurer. See the art. MITHREDATH in 'Dict. of the Bible.'

12. *Sanabassar.*] The form of the name in the Geneva Version, "Abassar," will help to explain the marginal note in the A. V. about the wrong division of words. The Greek is παρεδόθησαν Σαναβασσάρῳ, and it is suggested that the σαν has got redoubled. In the Aldine ἀβασσάρῳ is in fact read. But the reading of the best MSS., Σασαβασάρ,

B.C. cir. 536.

13 And this was the number of them; A thousand golden cups, and a thousand of silver, [1] censers of silver twenty nine, vials of gold thirty, and of silver [b] two thousand four hundred and ten, and a thousand other vessels.

14 So all the vessels of gold and of silver, which were carried away, were [c] five thousand four hundred threescore and nine.

B.C. cir. 522.

15 These were brought back by Sanabassar, together with them of the captivity, from Babylon to Jerusalem.

16 [d] But in the time of Artaxerxes king of the Persians Belemus, and Mithridates, and Tabellius, and

[1] Heb. *knives*, Ezra 1. 9.
[b] Ezra 1. 10, *but four hundred and ten*.
[c] Ezra 1. 11, *but five thousand four hundred*.
[d] Ezra 4. 7.

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or *Σασαβασσάρ*, agreeing with the Hebrew שֵׁשְׁבַּצַּר, makes this improbable. The common opinion that Sheshbazzar is a Babylonian name for Zerubbabel is attacked by De Saulcy, 'Étude chronologique des livres d'Esdras,' &c., 1868, pp. 7, 12, on the ground that the difference of lists given in Ezra ii. and Neh. vii., together with the expression "*first* returned" in *v.* 5 of the latter passage, makes it evident that there was an earlier *convoi* under Sheshbazzar. This argument does not carry much weight. See Ewald's 'Hist. of Israel' (tr. by Carpenter), vol. v. p. 87.

governor.] *προστάτῃ*. His office seems to have been the same in rank as that afterwards held by Nehemiah; namely, that of Pekhah, or ruler of a sub-district, under the satrap, or ruler of a province. The word "governor" is used in the A. V. to render many widely-different terms. See Sayce's 'Ezra,' &c., p. 23; and Ewald, as above, p. 87 *n.*

13. It will be observed that the separate numbers in this passage make up the total of 5469 in *v.* 14; while those in the corresponding place of Ezra do not amount to half the total given. But it does not therefore follow that the later authority is right. Reuss suspects the words rendered "of a second sort" in Ezra i. 10.

cups.] What these and the "censers" really were is difficult to determine, as the Hebrew words for each in Ezra are found nowhere else, while the rendering of the first in the LXX. is *ψυκτῆρες*, "coolers," and in this passage *σπονδεῖα*, "vessels for libation;" and that of the second is in the LXX. *παρηλλαγμένα* (= "plaited work," "baskets"?), and here *θυΐσκαι*, "censers." The Vulgate *athiscæ* is probably only a corruption of *thyiscæ*, *θυΐσκαι*. Reuss renders the last, conjecturally, by *encensoirs*.

16. At this point a fresh section begins, answering to Ezra iv. 7-24, and removed by an interval of time from what has gone before. To understand it at all, the sequence of events as given in Ezra iv. must be kept in mind. We there read that the work of building the *temple* was hindered, through the jealousy of adversaries, "all the days of Cyrus king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius king of Persia" (*v.* 5). In the reign of "Ahasuerus" (*v.* 6) a fresh letter of accusation is sent to the king. In the days of "Artaxerxes," another document, the contents of which are given at length (*vv.* 7-16), was forwarded on the same subject, and an answer from the king received; in consequence of which the Jews were forcibly "made to cease" (*v.* 23) from the work, as it appears, of rebuilding the *city*. Lastly, in *v.* 24 we are told: "Then ceased the work of the *house of God* which is at Jerusalem. So it ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius king of Persia."

To explain this, three theories present themselves. (1) Assuming the Darius first mentioned to be Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 521-485), we may suppose Ahasuerus to be his son and successor Xerxes (for the Persian form of the name see on Esther i. 1), who reigned from 485 to 465; then Artaxerxes will be Longimanus (465-425), and the Darius at the end of the chapter will be Darius Nothus (425-405). The objection to this is that we should have to admit that Jeshua and Zerubbabel, who returned in 538, were still alive at the dedication of the Temple in the sixth year of this last king's reign; which is not credible.

(2) It is assumed that Ahasuerus (Ezra iv. 6) is another name for Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus the Great (529-522), and Artaxerxes a name for the Pseudo-Smerdis (522) who usurped the throne for seven months after him. Thus the Darius of Ezra iv. 24 would be Darius Hystaspis, to whom the narrative which follows would properly apply. This is the supposition approved by Rawlinson, and in a qualified manner by Reuss. The names would then be considered to be dynastic. It is in favour of this that Josephus ('Antiqq.' xi. 2) makes the letter of Belsemus to be addressed to Cambyses.

(3) It is supposed that all between *vv.* 5 and 24 in Ezra iv. is parenthetical; the stoppage of work at the Temple up to the reign of Darius being related in *v.* 5, and its resumption in the second year of that king being again noticed in *v.* 24. In favour of this supposition is the fact, that all the intervening part relates to the building of the *city*, and so might be treated as a long parenthesis, and also that it requires no forced interpretation of the proper names. This theory is adopted by Sayce. If it be the right view, then we must conclude that the writer of

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[1] *Bahumus, and the name which followeth is but an epithet to the former,* Ezra 4. 9.

[1] *Shimshai,* Ezra 4. 8.

[1] Rathumus, and Beeltethmus, and [1] Semellius the secretary, with others that were in commission with them, dwelling in Samaria and other places, wrote unto him against them that dwelt in Judea and Jerusalem these letters following;

17 To king Artaxerxes our lord, Thy servants, Rathumus the story-writer, and Semellius the scribe, and the rest of their council, and the judges that are in Celosyria and Phenice.

18 Be it now known to the lord the king, that the Jews that are come up from you to us, being come into Jerusalem, that rebellious and wicked city, do build the market-places, and repair the walls of it, and do lay the foundation of the temple.

19 Now if this city and the walls thereof be made up again, they will not only refuse to give tribute, but also rebel against kings.

20 And forasmuch as the things pertaining to the temple are now in hand, we think it meet not to neglect such a matter,

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1 Esdras misunderstood his authorities, for in *v.* 18 of the present chapter he includes the work at the Temple as part of the grievances alleged.

16. *Belemus, &c.*] There is some confusion in the proper names here, not made clearer by the marginal misprint of Bahumus for Rathumus. The parallel lists are as follows:—

In Ezra.	In 1 Esdras.
Bishlam.	Belemus.
Mithredath.	Mithridates.
Tabeel.	Tabellius.
Rehum.	Rathumus.
Shimshai.	Beeltethmus.
	Semellius.

Of these, Bishlam does not appear in the LXX. of Ezra as a proper name, but we have instead ἐν εἰρήνῃ, "in peace." This looks as if the translator had been misled by the termination of the name בִּשְׁלָם, *Bishelâm*, and unstood it as שְׁלָם, the Chaldee form of שָׁלוֹם, *shalôm*, "peace;" as if it had been the greeting at the beginning of a letter. Exactly in the same way, in Psalm lxxv.(-vi.) 2, we have in the LXX. ἐγενήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὁ τόπος αὐτοῦ for "at *Salem* is his tabernacle." But the form Βήλεμος found in the present passage supports the view that a proper name is intended. Mithridates and Tabeel (= Tabeal, Isai. vii. 6) need no comment. The former is thought to have been satrap of Syria, and the latter his secretary. Rathumus is a Grecised form of Rehum. Beeltethmus, as the marginal note implies, is not a proper name at all, but a title of Rehum, *Be'êl-Te'êm*, "lord of judgment." In the Greek it is rendered by ὁ τὰ προσπίπτοντα (sc. γράφων), = "the chronicler" or "recorder." In *v.* 17 the A. V. renders it "story-writer," discarding it as a proper name; but in *v.* 25, by a strange confusion, due to the Aldine text, we have "*Rathumus* the story-writer," and *Beeltethmus* as a distinct person. Professor Sayce explains the title as signifying "lord of official intelligence," or "postmaster;" "the word *dh'êm* being the technical word used by the Assyrians and Babylonians to denote the regular reports forwarded to the king by his official correspondents abroad." "Shimshai," he adds, "'he that belongs to the Sun-god,' was Rehum's secretary" ('Ezra,' &c., p. 25).

that were in commission with them.] οἱ τούτοις συντασσόμενοι, *eorum collegæ* (Wahl), seems to answer to "the rest of their council" in the next verse. The geographical names of the various settlements, whose representatives combined in this despatch, are here omitted by the writer.

17. *and the judges.*] καὶ κριταί. These words are omitted in the Alexandrian MS., and F. thinks them due to a misunderstanding of the Hebrew word rendered "Dinaites," the first of the series of local names in Ezra iv. 9. But the expression τάδε ἔκρινε Ῥεοὺμ κ. τ. λ. in the LXX. of Ezra is in favour of κριταὶ in its ordinary sense.

Celosyria.] Properly, the plain lying between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. The name came into use after the time of Alexander the Great. See the art. Coele-Syria in 'Dict. of the Bible.'

18. *that rebellious, &c.*] According to F.'s punctuation of the Greek, the sense would be: "having come into Jerusalem, are building the rebellious and wicked city, are repairing both the market-places and the walls of it, and are laying," &c.

19. *Now if this city.*] There seems little doubt that a word has slipped out here, and that it should be, "Now if this city be built, and the walls," &c. It is so in the Geneva Version, and the Greek requires it: ἐὰν οὖν ἡ πόλις αὕτη οἰκοδομηθῇ.

they will not only refuse.] The Greek is simply "they will not endure," οὐ μὴ ὑπομείνωσι.

20. *are now in hand.*] ἐνεργεῖται, "are

B.C. cir. 522.

21 But to speak unto our lord the king, to the intent that, if it be thy pleasure, it may be sought out in the books of thy fathers:

22 And thou shalt find in the chronicles what is written concerning these things, and shalt understand that that city was rebellious, troubling both kings and cities:

23 And that the Jews were rebellious, and raised always wars therein; for the which cause even this city was made desolate.

24 Wherefore now we do declare unto thee, O lord the king, that if this city be built again, and the walls thereof set up anew, thou shalt from henceforth have no passage into Celosyria and Phenice.

25 Then the king wrote back again to Rathumus the storywriter, to Beeltethmus, to Semellius the scribe, and to the rest that were in commission, and dwellers in Samaria and Syria and Phenice, after this manner;

26 I have read the epistle which ye have sent unto me: therefore I commanded to make diligent search, and it hath been found that that city was from the beginning practising against kings;

27 And the men therein were given to rebellion and war: and that mighty kings and fierce were in Jerusalem, who reigned and exacted tributes in Celosyria and Phenice.

28 Now therefore I have commanded to hinder those men from building the city, and heed to be taken that there be no more done in it;

29 And that those wicked workers proceed no further to the annoyance of kings.

30 Then king Artaxerxes his letters being read, Rathumus, and Semellius the scribe, and the rest that were in commission with them, removing

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being urged on." The word is the same as is rendered "had more force" in Wisd. xvi. 17. The Geneva Version has "goe forward." The writer here deviates from the sense of Ezra iv. 14, for which see the marginal note there.

21. *it may be sought out.*] Rather, "a search may be made," as in Ezra iv. 15. Comp. *v.* 26 below.

of thy fathers.] Rather, "which have come down *from* thy fathers," *ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων*. What these were, may be understood from Esther ii. 23; vi. 1. Such archives are called in the next verse *ὑπομνηματισμοί* (v. l. *ὑπομνήματα*), memorials, or state records. Comp. 2 Macc. ii. 13, and the "book of remembrance" of Mal. iii. 16. By "fathers" may be simply meant predecessors on the throne.

23. *and raised always wars therein.*] *καὶ πολιορκίας συνιστάμενοι ἐν αὐτῇ ἔτι ἐξ αἰῶνος.* The expression is peculiar; lit. "and undertaking sieges in it continually for ever." Dr. Bissell explains it of the Jews causing themselves to be besieged, through their turbulent conduct. But this would be a forced meaning of *συνιστάμενοι*. It seems more natural to connect it with such military expeditions as are alluded to in *v.* 27.

24. *be built again.*] Rather, "be built," *οἰκοδομηθῇ*.

no passage, &c.] The motive for the king's intervention, as given in the Hebrew of Ezra iv. 16, is that he would otherwise "have no portion on this side the river,"—that is, west of the Euphrates; in the LXX. "that he would not have peace;" and here, that his passage into Palestine from the north would be barred.

25. *the storywriter.*] See note on *v.* 16 above. In Ezra iv. 17 it is "Rehum the chancellor," but in the LXX. Ῥεοὺμ Βαλτάμ.

after this manner.] The Greek word implies that the letter is subjoined. In Ezra iv. 17 its formal superscription is given: "Peace, and at such a time;" that is, "Peace, and so on." See R.'s note there.

26. *practising against.*] Gk. *ἀντιπαρατάσσουσα*, "setting itself against." For the word in the A. V. comp. Shaksp. 'L. L. L.' i. 1: "He will practise against thee with poison."

27. *given to.*] Lit. "forming," or "accomplishing," *συντελοῦντες*. Compare the terms used in *v.* 23.

28. *done in it.*] Rather, "that nothing be done contrary hereto."

29. *those wicked workers.*] *τὰ τῆς κακίας*, a Hebraism for *τὰ κακά*, or *αἱ κακίαι*, as in 3 Macc. ii. 25. It should rather be, "and that the mischief proceed no further," &c. If there were any authority for omitting the *τὰ* before *τῆς κακίας*, it would give the simple meaning of proceeding to a further degree of wickedness.

30. *Artaxerxes his letters.*] The "his" is

B.C. cir. 522. in haste toward Jerusalem with a troop of horsemen and [1]a multitude of people in battle array, began to hinder the builders; and the building of the temple in Jerusalem ceased until the second year of the reign of Darius king of the Persians. cir. 520.

[1] Or, a great number of soldiers.

CHAPTER III.

4 Three strive to excel each other in wise speeches. 9 They refer themselves to the judgment of the king. 18 The first declareth the strength of wine.

NOW when Darius reigned, he made a great feast unto all his subjects, and unto all his household, and unto all the princes of Media and Persia,

2 And to all the governors and captains and lieutenants that were under him, from India unto Ethiopia, of an hundred twenty and seven provinces.

3 And when they had eaten and drunken, and being satisfied were gone home, then Darius the king went into his bedchamber, and slept, and soon after awaked.

4 Then three young men, that

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an old equivalent for the *-es* of the genitive, as at the end of the prayer for All Sorts and Conditions of Men.

removing.] ἀναζεύξαντες, a military term, implying that they "marched off," like an armed force. Comp. Thuc. viii. 108.

the second year, &c.] B.C. 520, assuming Darius the son of Hystaspis to be meant. See the note above (p. 25) on *v.* 16.

CHAPTER III.

(iii. 1—v. 6.) The curious episode which follows, composed, as it would seem, partly in imitation of the beginning of the Book of Esther, and partly from some current stories of the Persian Court, appears to have been inserted here as a means of stringing the narrative together; so far, at least, as it professes to account for the readiness of Darius to help the Jews. With the same idea, apparently, of making the order of events seem easy and natural, Josephus, who repeats the story with embellishments of his own ('Antiqq.' xi. 3), relates how Darius, while yet a private person, had vowed that, if he should ever attain the throne, he would send back to Jerusalem all the sacred vessels of the Temple still remaining in Babylon. Further to facilitate matters, Zorobabel, who had been chosen leader (ἡγεμών) of the captive Jews, had lately returned to Babylon from Jerusalem, and being welcomed by Darius (to explain which he is made to have been a friend of old standing) is made one of three body-guards (σωματοφύλακες) in attendance on the king. How clumsily such invented accounts hang together is strikingly illustrated in the present instance.

1. *Now when Darius reigned.*] This rendering is due to the reading of the Aldine, καὶ βασιλεύσας Δ. The best reading is καὶ βασιλεὺς κ. τ. λ., = "and king Darius made," &c.

made a great feast.] As Dr. Bissell points out, this expression is exactly repeated in St. Luke v. 29. It occurs also in the Additions to Esther, i. 9.

household.] Lit. "house-born slaves," τοῖς οἰκογενέσιν. The full term οἰκογενὴς δοῦλος is found in Diodorus Siculus.

Media and Persia.] The order in which the names here occur should be noticed, in connection with the reverse order in *v.* 14.

2. *to all the governors, &c.*] The terms in the original are σατράπαις, στρατηγοῖς, τοπάρχαις. For the "satraps," see R.'s note on Esther i. 3. The στρατηγοί, or "generals," would be the military commanders under them, but responsible to the central government. See Sayce ('Ezra,' &c., p. 55). By "toparchs" we may understand the rulers of districts, such as the three "governments" (*toparchies*) of 1 Macc. xi. 26.

from India, &c.] Comp. Esther i. 1, and R.'s note there. The number of "provinces" is there also given as 127. But though the Greek term used is σατραπείας, we are not to suppose so many *satrapies* in the proper sense of the word. Sub-provinces must be meant to be included. "Darius enumerates twenty-three at Behistun, and twenty-nine on his tomb at Nakhs-i-Rustem." (Sayce, *ubi sup.* p. 54.)

3. *and slept, &c.*] There is a want of skill in the way in which the events are here strung together. No reason is given why the body-guards should propose their competition, and their scroll is placed under the king's pillow (*v.* 8) as if he were still asleep. Josephus, more consistently, makes the king enter into conversation with his attendants, as a relief from wakefulness, and suggest this competition to them.

4. *three young men.*] Rather, "the three young men," οἱ τρεῖς νεανίσκοι. It is difficult to reconcile the use of the term νεανίσκος, as applied to Zerubbabel, with our ideas of historical propriety. That Saul should be

were of the guard that kept the king's body, spake one to another;

5 Let every one of us speak a sentence: he that shall overcome, and whose sentence shall seem wiser than the others, unto him shall the king Darius give great gifts, and great things in token of victory:

6 As, to be clothed in purple, to drink in gold, and to sleep upon gold, and a chariot with bridles of gold, and an headtire of fine linen, and a chain about his neck:

7 And he shall sit next to Darius because of his wisdom, and shall be called Darius his cousin.

8 And then every one wrote his sentence, sealed it, and laid it under king Darius his pillow;

9 And said that, when the king is risen, some will give him the writings; and of whose side the king and the three princes of Persia shall judge that his sentence is the wisest, to him shall the victory be given, as was appointed.

10 The first wrote, Wine is the strongest.

11 The second wrote, The king is strongest.

12 The third wrote, Women are strongest: but ' above all things Truth beareth away the victory.

13 ¶ Now when the king was risen up, they took their writings, and delivered them unto him, and so he read them:

14 And sending forth he called all

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called a νεανίας in Acts vii. 58 is but little to the point. The best defence of it would perhaps be to regard it as a military term, = soldiers, as it is found in Polybius. So probably the "young men," οἱ νεανίσκοι, of Mark xiv. 51, if the reading be genuine; but it is rejected by Westcott and Hort.

5. *he that shall, &c.*] This is a wrong division of the sentence. The sense is "let each of us propound a thesis that shall prevail." The word "sentence" in the A. V. is here used for two different words, λόγος and ῥῆμα, of which the first denotes the proposition to be enunciated (see Wahl, who quotes 4 Macc. i. 1), and the second the *dictum* or argument in support of it.

great things in token of victory.] Simply, "great prizes," ἐπινίκια μέγαλα.

6. *As, to be clothed.*] Lit. "both to wear," &c. Fritzsche illustrates these Persian glories from the Books of the Maccabees; the purple robe from 1 Macc. x. 20, and elsewhere, and the title of Darius's kinsman from *v.* 89 of that same chapter. For the golden drinking-cups comp. 1 Macc. xi. 58. The "headtire of fine linen," κίδαρις βυσσίνη, is elsewhere used of the tiara of the High Priest (Wisd. xlv. 12); while the μανιάκης, or chain about the neck, was sometimes used for the bracelet, or armlet, worn by Gauls and others.

7. *cousin.*] Gk. συγγενής, "kinsman." "Cousin," like its original, *consobrinus*, came to have a more extended signification. Comp. Luke i. 58.

8. *then every one, &c.*] In Josephus, after the king has given them their theses, he goes to rest again. Then, in the morning, he convenes his court to hear their arguments.

9. *some will give him.*] Lit. "they will give him," a common idiom in the Greek of the N. T. Comp. John xv. 6, &c.; and Winer, p. 544.

of whose side, &c.] More simply, "and about whomsoever the king . . . shall decide."

the three princes.] F. points out that according to Ezra vii. 14 and Esther i. 14 there were seven "counsellors" or "princes which saw the king's face" at the court of Persia (on which comp. Herod. iii. 84), and suggests that the mention of three here may have been made with reference to the three competitors.

10–12. A large number of such propositions, with the "resolutions" of them (sixty-six such in all), may be seen in the work of the Pseudo-Aristeas on the 'Ancient History of the Septuagint' (Eng. tr. 1685), pp. 96–154. They are there proposed in the form of questions to the Jewish elders, as they sat at table, put by Ptolemy Philadelphus. If those in the text were regarded as answers to the question "What is strongest?" they would be very similar to them.

12. *but above all things, &c.*] The third appears to have a double thesis to maintain, thus interfering with the symmetry. In Josephus the first is *asked* by the king whether wine is the strongest; the second, whether the king is so; the third, whether women are so, or whether "more than these (=than all these?) is truth."

13. *their writings.*] Rather, "the writing," or document. The word throughout is in the singular.

the princes of Persia and Media, and the governors, and the captains, and the lieutenants, and the chief officers;

15 And sat him down in the [1]royal seat of judgment; and the writings were read before them.

[1] Or, *council.*

16 And he said, Call the young men, and they shall declare their own sentences. So they were called, and came in.

17 And he said unto them, Declare unto us your mind concerning the writings. Then began the first, who had spoken of the strength of wine;

18 And he said thus, O ye men, how exceeding strong is wine! it causeth all men to err that drink it:

19 It maketh the mind of the king and of the fatherless child to be all one; of the bondman and of the freeman, of the poor man and of the rich:

20 It turneth also every thought into jollity and mirth, so that a man remembereth neither sorrow nor debt:

21 And it maketh every heart rich, so that a man remembereth neither king nor governor; and it maketh to speak all things by talents:

22 And when they are in their cups, they forget their love both to friends and brethren, and a little after draw out swords:

23 But when they are from the wine, they remember not what they have done.

24 O ye men, is not wine the strongest, that enforceth to do thus? And when he had so spoken, he held his peace.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *The second declareth the power of a king.* 13 *The third, the force of women,* 33 *and of truth.* 41 *The third is judged to be wisest,* 47 *and obtaineth letters of the king to build Jerusalem.* 58 *He praiseth God, and sheweth his brethren what he had done.*

THEN the second, that had spoken of the strength of the king, began to say,

2 O ye men, do not men excel in strength, that [1]bear rule over sea and land, and all things in them?

[1] Or, *be the command.*

3 But yet the king is more mighty: for he is lord of all these things, and hath dominion over them; and whatsoever he commandeth them they do.

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14. *and the governors, &c.*] Rather, "both satraps, and generals," &c. There is no article with these several terms, so that we may regard them as all included under the heading of "princes" (μεγιστᾶνες) or magnates.

15. *the royal seat of judgment.*] τῷ χρηματιστηρίῳ. Wahl renders this by *Rathszimmer*, "council-chamber."

17. *he said unto them.*] This is the reading of the Aldine. A better text is, "and they said unto them;" *i.e.* the order was given them. For the idiom see note on *v.* 9.

19. *mind.*] διάνοιαν, the same word as is rendered "thought" in the next verse. The Vulgate reading *vanam*, for "one," is in all probability a corruption of *unam*.

21. *remembereth, &c.*] That is, he forgets in whose presence he may be. Josephus gives as an equivalent ἀναισθήτους ἀπεργάζεται, "it renders them unconscious of," &c.

by talents.] Rightly explained by Wahl, "to talk like a millionaire" (*als ob er Millionen besässe*). There is a vein of humour in the description here, to which we might find a parallel in the Scottish poet, but which has no place in the stern portrayal of Prov. xxiii. 29–35, or even in the more tolerant maxims of Ecclus. xxxi. 25–31.

23. *when they are from.*] A better reading is ὅταν . . . ἐγερθῶσιν, "when they have waked from" their drunken slumber (*vom Weinschlafe*, F.). Josephus also represents them as sleeping off the effects of their wine.

CHAPTER IV.

2. *do not men, &c.*] Josephus expands the argument and makes it clearer. Behold the sway that men exercise over land and sea! The king's empire is over *them*. "Reges in ipsos imperium est." The words "that bear rule" should rather be "in bearing rule," there being no article.

3. *of all these things.*] This rendering is due to the πάντων of the Aldine, but it spoils the connection. The right reading is αὐτῶν, = "he is lord of them" (*i.e.* of men). So at the end of the verse, for "they do" (ποιοῦσι) it should be "they obey" (ὑπακούουσι).

4 If he bid them make war the one against the other, they do it: if he send them out against the enemies, they go, and break down mountains, walls, and towers.

5 They slay and are slain, and transgress not the king's commandment: if they get the victory, they bring all to the king, as well the spoil, as all things else.

6 Likewise for those that are no soldiers, and have not to do with wars, but use husbandry, when they have reaped again that which they had sown, they bring it to the king, and compel one another to pay tribute unto the king.

7 And yet he is but one man: if he command to kill, they kill; if he command to spare, they spare;

8 If he command to smite, they smite; if he command to make desolate, they make desolate; if he command to build, they build;

9 If he command to cut down, they cut down; if he command to plant, they plant.

10 So all his people and his armies obey him: furthermore he lieth down, he eateth and drinketh, and taketh his rest:

11 And these keep watch round about him, neither [1]may any one depart, and do his own business, neither disobey they him in any thing.

[1] Or, *can.*

12 O ye men, how should not the king be mightiest, when in such sort he is obeyed? And he held his tongue.

13 ¶ Then the third, who had spoken of women, and of the truth, (this was Zorobabel) began to speak.

14 O ye men, it is not the great king, nor the multitude of men, neither is it wine, that [1]excelleth; who is it then that ruleth them, or hath the lordship over them? are they not women?

[1] Heb. *is of force.*

15 Women have borne the king and all the people that bear rule by sea and land.

16 Even of them came they: and they nourished them up that planted the vineyards, from whence the wine cometh.

17 These also make garments for

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4. *break down mountains.*] The word rendered "break down," κατεργάζονται (*demoliuntur*, Vulg.), does not seem very appropriate to *mountains*. But it is probably meant to apply by a kind of zeugma to all the three objects spoken of. The successive lines of defence,—mountain-chains, walls, towers,—all are forced by the invading army.

5. *as well the spoil, &c.*] More literally: "and they bring all to the king, if they gain a victory, and if they make a raid (ἐὰν προνομεύσωσι), and all else" (in like manner).

6. *compel one another.*] There is a deep vein of irony in this. For the whole description, compare 1 Sam. viii. 11–18.

8. *If he command, &c.*] The Greek has more descriptive power: εἶπε πατάξαι, τύπτουσιν, κ.τ.λ. "He gives the word to smite; they strike," &c. So all through the verse. Compare the Centurion's answer, Matt. viii. 9.

10. *he lieth, &c.*] Rather, "he himself reclineth:" the great potentate himself (αὐτός, *ipse*) is at a banquet.

13. *who had spoken.*] Rather, "who spake."

this was Zorobabel.] It will be noticed in what a parenthetical manner this is introduced. The speaker has not been mentioned by name before, nor is he again, till the end of the account (v. 5), and there too the identification of him with one of the declaimers comes in as a kind of afterthought.

14. *it is not, &c.*] The sentence is interrogative: "is not the king great, and mankind many, and wine mighty? Who then is he that," &c. The Aldine, as well as more critical editions, has οὐ μέγας ὁ βασιλεύς; not, as the translator appears to have read, ὁ μέγας β. The marginal reference "Heb." is also a slip for "Greek."

16. *them that, &c.*] Rather, "the planters of the vineyards themselves" (αὐτούς).

17. *make garments.*] ποιοῦσι τὰς στολὰς, lit. "make the robes of men," the "long clothing" of Mark xii. 38. It seems natural to refer to Prov. xxxi. 22, 24, as Churton does, in illustration of this. And yet, as the making of clothing is a service, or act of ministration, the mention of it comes in somewhat singularly in the midst of an enumeration of the ways in which women have more power and glory than men. Could the words mean "cause their expeditions for men," taking στολὰς in the sense it has in earlier Greek? This would suit the obvious reference to Delilah in *v.* 24; as, to a Greek

men; these bring glory unto men; and without women cannot men be.

18 Yea, and if men have gathered together gold and silver, or any other goodly thing, do they not love a woman which is comely in favour and beauty?

19 And letting all those things go, do they not gape, and even with open mouth fix their eyes fast on her; and have not all men more desire unto her than unto silver or gold, or any goodly thing whatsoever?

20 [a] A man leaveth his own father that brought him up, and his own country, and cleaveth unto his wife.

[a] Gen. 2. 24.

21 He sticketh not to spend his life with his wife, and remembereth neither father, nor mother, nor country.

22 By this also ye must know that women have dominion over you: do ye not labour and toil, and give and bring all to the woman?

23 Yea, a man taketh his sword, and goeth his way to rob and to steal, to sail upon the sea and upon rivers;

24 And looketh upon a lion, and goeth in the darkness; and when he hath stolen, spoiled, and robbed, he bringeth it to his love.

25 Wherefore a man loveth his wife better than father or mother.

26 Yea, many there be that have [1] run out of their wits for women, and become servants for their sakes.

[1] Or, *grown desperate.*

27 Many also have perished, have erred, and sinned, for women.

28 And now do ye not believe me? is not the king great in his power? do not all regions fear to touch him?

29 Yet did I see him and Apame the king's concubine, the daughter of

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mind, it would recall Helen of Troy. But Josephus interprets it of clothing,—τὰς ἐσθῆτας ὑφαίνουσιν ἡμῖν, smoothing the way for what he seems to have felt an abrupt illustration, by first saying that there is nothing which we do not owe to them. So the Old Latin has *vestes*, though the Vulgate retains the original word, *stolas*.

18. *do they not love.*] This follows the reading οὐχὶ ἀγαπῶσι. A better-supported one is καὶ ἴδωσι, thus making the sense continuous: "and if they see a woman, fair in form," &c. The "and" at the beginning of *v.* 19 would then be omitted.

19. *gape.*] Comp. *v.* 31. The word here used in the original, ἐκκέχηναν, is perhaps not found elsewhere. Neither ἐκχαίνω nor ἐκχάσκω is recognised by L. and S. Wahl gives a present ἐκχαίνω, referring to Lucian, 'Timon,' § 21, and Anacr. 'Carm.' xxxiii. 12. But in both these passages it is the simple partic. κεχηνότες which is used. The form of the termination is illustrated by Winer, p. 88.

21. *He sticketh not, &c.*] This rendering seems uncalled for. The Geneva Version has, more simply, "and for the woman he jeopardeth his life." Literally it is: "and along with his wife he giveth up the ghost," καὶ μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς κ.τ.λ. That is, as Dr. Bissell explains it, he remains by his wife till death. The change of the word "woman" to "wife" is awkward (the Greek word being the same), but perhaps unavoidable.

22. *to the woman.*] Rather, "to your wives," ταῖς γυναιξί, pl.

23. *to sail upon the sea.*] εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν πλεῖν. It is difficult to believe that ἐπὶ τὴν κ. τ. λ., the reading of Ald. and some inferior MSS., is not the right one here. Wahl gives Xen. 'Hell.' v. 1, 16 (should be v. 1, 6) as an instance of πλεῖν εἰς, but that is merely the common usage of εἰς with the name of a town reached by sea.

24. *looketh upon a lion.*] Rather, "the lion," τὸν λέοντα. By "looketh upon," θεωρεῖ, is meant "gazes undismayed upon," like Horace's "qui rectis oculis . . . vidit." The reference seems to be, in part at least, to the story of Samson, Judg. xiv. 5 *sqq.*; but it may also be taken as a converse picture to that in Prov. xxii. 13: "The sluggard saith, There is a lion without, I shall be slain in the streets."

26. *have run out, &c.*] See the margin. Perhaps "have grown distracted in their minds" would be a closer rendering. The additional trait of "becoming *slaves*" seems again to indicate Samson. "For," in this verse, means strictly "on account of," not "for the sake of," which would better suit such an example as that of Jacob serving for Rachel.

28. *to touch.*] That is, "to meddle with," as in Ps. cv. 15: "*Touch* not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm."

29. *did I see.*] More exactly, "I was watching," "I was a spectator of," ἐθεώρουν, the word used in Luke x. 18, which is made much more expressive by that rendering.

the admirable [1] Bartacus, sitting at the right hand of the king,

30 And taking the crown from the king's head, and setting it upon her own head; she also struck the king with her left hand.

31 And yet [1] for all this the king gaped and gazed upon her with open mouth: if she laughed upon him, he laughed also: but if she took any displeasure at him, the king was fain to flatter, that she might [1] be reconciled to him again.

32 O ye men, how can it be but women should be strong, seeing they do thus?

33 Then the king and the princes looked one upon another: so he began to speak of the truth.

34 O ye men, are not women strong? great is the earth, high is the heaven, swift is the sun in his course, for he compasseth the heavens round about, and fetcheth his course again to his own place in one day.

35 Is he not great that maketh these things? therefore great is the truth, and stronger than all things.

36 All the earth [1] calleth upon the truth, and the heaven blesseth it: all works shake and tremble at it, and with it is no unrighteous thing.

37 Wine is wicked, the king is wicked, women are wicked, all the children of men are wicked, and such are all their wicked works; and there is no truth in them; in their unrighteousness also they shall perish.

38 As for the truth, it endureth, and is always strong; it liveth and conquereth for evermore.

39 With her there is no accepting of persons or rewards; but she doeth the things that are just, and refraineth

[1] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 3. *Rabasaces Themasius.*

[1] Or, *beside.*

[1] Or, *be friends with him.*

[1] Or, *praiseth the truth,* Athanasius.

Apame.] This name is known to have been borne by more than one lady of rank in antiquity. The mother and daughter of Antiochus Soter were both so called. In Josephus this Apame is said to have been the daughter of Ῥαβεζάκης ὁ Θεμάσιος. If that reading could be depended upon, Rabezaces would probably be no more than Rabshakeh, the title of office. Petitus (quoted by Hudson *in loc.*) thinks that the word rendered "admirable," θαυμαστοῦ, really means "from Mount Thaumasius," meaning, I suppose, the place in Thessaly, so called from its wonderful prospect. If so, he must have migrated to Persia. It is more natural to take θαυμάσιος as an epithet of rank or office. The name Bartacus recalls the Ἀρταχαίης of Hdt. vii. 22.

right hand.] Comp. Ps. xlv. 9.

30. *struck.*] Lit., "was slapping," or striking with the open hand.

31. *And yet for all this.*] Rather, "and in addition to this," καὶ πρὸς τούτοις. Ewald ('Hist. of Isr.' v. p. 127, n.) notices "the ridiculous attitude" in which Darius is here portrayed, the anecdote being taken, as he thinks, from "some book of Persian court-stories."

34. *fetcheth his course again.*] πάλιν ἀποτρέχει, lit. "runneth back again." Comp. Ps. xix. 6 (O. V.): "It goeth forth from the uttermost part of the heaven, and *runneth about* unto the end of it again."

35. *he . . . that maketh.*] ὁ ποιῶν, "the Maker." The connection of thought in what follows, which the translator has tried to indicate by rendering καὶ "therefore," is made more easy to follow by Josephus, as his manner is throughout this narrative:—"Now all these things are set in motion according to the will of God. And he is true and just," &c. Hence truth, as an attribute of God, shares His greatness.

36. *calleth upon.*] Gk. καλεῖ, Vulg. *invocat.* It is not quite clear in what sense the word is used. That of "invoking" or "appealing to" would perhaps be the best. F. prefers the sense of "inviting" (*ladet sie ein*). Athanasius, in the passage referred to in the margin ('Or. ii. c. Arian.' c. xx.) explained it by ὑμνεῖ, "singeth of:" εἰ δὲ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ τὸν δημιουργὸν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑμνεῖ καὶ εὐλογεῖ καὶ τρέμει, κ. τ. λ.

37. *and such are, &c.*] The literal rendering is: "and unrighteous are all their works, all such." The addition of πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα at the end looks like a gloss. "Unrighteous" or "unjust" would be a better equivalent for ἄδικος than "wicked," all through this verse.

38–40. This passage, with the exception of the latter part of *v.* 39, is quoted by Cyprian, 'Ep.' lxxiv. Compare also August. 'De Civit. Dei,' xviii., c. 36.

39. *or rewards.*] οὐδὲ διαφορά, lit. "nor difference," as it is correctly rendered in the Geneva Version; that is, with Truth there is no partiality. She "*indifferently* ministers justice," in the old sense of the word:—

"Looks on (men's) wrongs with an *indifferent* eye."

from all unjust and wicked things; and all men do well like of her works.

40 Neither in her judgment is any unrighteousness; and she is the strength, kingdom, power, and majesty, of all ages. Blessed be the God of truth.

41 And with that he held his peace. And all the people then shouted, and said, Great is Truth, and mighty above all things.

42 Then said the king unto him, Ask what thou wilt more than is appointed in the writing, and we will give it thee, because thou art found wisest; and thou shalt sit next me, and shalt be called my cousin.

43 Then said he unto the king, Remember thy vow, which thou hast vowed to build Jerusalem, in the day when thou camest to thy kingdom,

44 And to send away all the vessels that were taken away out of Jerusalem, which Cyrus set apart, when he vowed to destroy Babylon, and to send them again thither.

45 Thou also hast vowed to build up the temple, [b] which the Edomites burned when Judea was made desolate by the Chaldees.

[b] Ps. 137. 7. Ezek. 25. 12.

46 And now, O lord the king, this is that which I require, and which I desire of thee, and this is the princely liberality proceeding from thyself: I desire therefore that thou make good the vow, the performance whereof with thine own mouth thou hast vowed to the King of heaven.

47 Then Darius the king stood up, and kissed him, and wrote letters for him unto all the treasurers and lieutenants and captains and governors,

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and refraineth from, &c.] The reading of the Aldine, ἀπέχεται, rendered here "refraineth from," makes the sense very simple; but it lacks MS. authority.

40. *the strength, kingdom, &c.*] In his desire, often shewn elsewhere, to avoid the repetition of "and," so frequent in this book, the translator has spoilt the rhythm of this passage. It was much better in the Geneva Version: "and she is the strength, and the kingdom, and the power," &c. Compare also the similar doxology in 1 Chron. xxix. 11: "Thine, O Lord, is the greatness," &c.

41. *Great is Truth, &c.*] The Vulgate rendering of this sentence has passed, with a slight change, into the common proverb: *Magna est veritas, et prævalebit.* In the Vulg. it is *prævalet.* For the applause which followed this declamation, compare the similar instances in Aristeas, as for example: "And when he ceased, there was a burst of applause, with shouting and joy, for a considerable time." ('Hist. lxxii. Interpretum,' 1692, p. 95.)

42. *cousin.*] See note on iii. 7.

43. *hast vowed.*] Rather, "vowedst;" and so in *v.* 45. This vow has not been hinted at hitherto. Josephus, framing a more connected story, begins by mentioning this vow as made by Darius before he came to the throne. ('Antiqq.' xi. 3. 1.) The unreasonableness of representing the early kings of Persia as thus thinking of the restoration of the Israelites "at every critical moment of their lives," is pointed out by Ewald, *ubi sup.*, p. 126.

44. *And to send away.*] The "and" is better omitted. The vow was "to send away," &c. For the circumstances, comp. ii. 10. As Josephus expresses it, Darius "arranged to do all that Cyrus before him wished to do, with respect to the restoration of the Jews."

45. *the Edomites.*] That they had a share in the burning of the Temple, as F. observes, is not an empty supposition. The bitter feeling which long rankled in the breasts of the Jews towards this "vindictive and ungenerous race" (as Stanley calls them) breaks out in many passages of the later writings of the O. T. "Remember, O Lord, against the children of Edom the day of Jerusalem; who said, Rase it, Rase it, even to the foundation thereof" (Ps. cxxxvii. 9, Rev. Ver.), is but one such instance. Having been allowed by the Chaldeans to occupy some portion of the conquered country, they spread westwards during the Captivity, and encroached upon Southern Palestine as well. Some parts of these acquisitions they are now spoken of as being compelled to restore (*v.* 50). Comp. also Ezek. xxvi. 5; 1 Macc. v. 3.

46. *princely liberality.*] μεγαλωσύνη, answering to the word rendered "majesty" in Dan. iv. 36. The Geneva Version has "magnificence."

47. *letters.*] Gk. τὰς ἐπιστολάς, "*the* letters;" *i.e.*, those which he desired.

governors.] Lit. "satraps." See on iii. 2. The word rendered "treasurers" should rather be "stewards," as in the margin of *v.* 49. In Rom. xvi. 23 the same word was rendered "chamberlain," and the choice of the word "treasurer" as a substitute, in the Rev. Ver., obscures the identity of the

that they should safely convey on their way both him, and all those that go up with him to build Jerusalem.

48 He wrote letters also unto the lieutenants that were in Celosyria and Phenice, and unto them in Libanus, that they should bring cedar wood from Libanus unto Jerusalem, and that they should build the city with him.

49 Moreover he wrote for all the Jews that went out of his realm up into Jewry, concerning their freedom, that no officer, no ruler, no lieutenant, nor [1]treasurer, should forcibly enter into their doors;

[1] Or, *steward.*

50 And that all the country which they hold should be free without tribute; and that the Edomites should give over the villages of the Jews which then they held:

51 Yea, that there should be yearly given twenty talents to the building of the temple, until the time that it were built;

52 And other ten talents yearly, to maintain the burnt offerings upon the altar every day, as they had a commandment to offer seventeen:

53 And that all they that went from Babylon to build the city should have free liberty, as well they as their posterity, and all the priests that went away.

54 He wrote also concerning the charges, and the priests' vestments wherein they minister;

55 And likewise for the charges of the Levites, to be given them until the day that the house were finished, and Jerusalem builded up.

56 And he commanded to give to all that kept the city [1]pensions and wages.

[1] Or, *portions of land.*

57 He sent away also all the vessels from Babylon, that Cyrus had set apart; and all that Cyrus had given in commandment, the same charged he also to be done, and sent unto Jerusalem.

58 Now when this young man was gone forth, he lifted up his face to heaven toward Jerusalem, and praised the King of heaven,

59 And said, From thee cometh victory, from thee cometh wisdom, and thine is the glory, and I am thy servant.

60 Blessed art thou, who hast given me wisdom: for to thee I give thanks, O Lord of our fathers.

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word with that still rendered "steward" in 1 Cor. iv. 1, 1 Pet. iv. 10, &c.

that go.] Rather, "that were going."

48. *Libanus.*] See Ezra iii. 7.

52. *And other ten, &c.*] The sense of this passage is obscure. Perhaps on that account it is omitted by Josephus. The Geneva Version exhibits the order of the Greek: "And, to maintain the burnt offerings upon the altar every day (as they had a commandment to offer seventeen), other ten talents every year." The verb καρποῦσθαι, however, cannot signify to "maintain." If we could suppose that τῷ had been lost before τὸ θυσιαστήριον, the construction would be simple: "and, to the intent that the altar should receive (or enjoy) burnt-offerings day by day, as they have a commandment to offer seventeen, other ten talents yearly." On the number 17 see an additional note at the end.

54. *concerning the charges.*] Lit. "And he wrote also (that is, prescribed) the contribution." The term χορηγία, used in classical Greek to signify the defrayal of the cost of one of the public choruses, is meant here to denote the cost of supporting the officiating priests, just as in the next verse it is applied in like manner to the Levites. In the Vulgate, somewhat strangely, it is rendered in the first instance by *quantitatem*, and in the second by *præcepta*.

56. *kept.*] *I.e.* "guarded." The word rendered "pensions," κλήρους, means rather "allotments." This would provide them with a dwelling, in addition to their ὀψώνια, "rations," or "wages."

57. *from Babylon.*] In the original, these words go more naturally with "set apart," referring to the act of Cyrus in keeping them separate from the rest of the spoil. See *v.* 44.

58. *this young man.*] See note on iii. 4.

toward Jerusalem.] Comp. Dan. vi. 10.

59. *From thee, &c.*] This passage, with part of *v.* 40, is cited by Origen, 'Hom. ix. in Josuam' (ed. Lommatzsch, t. xi. p. 100): "Illo etenim duce semper vincent milites sui, ita ut et nos dicamus, sicut in Esdra scriptum

61 And so he took the letters, and went out, and came unto Babylon, and told it all his brethren.

62 And they praised the God of their fathers, because he had given them freedom and liberty

63 To go up, and to build Jerusalem, and the temple which is called by his name: and they feasted with instruments of musick and gladness seven days.

CHAPTER V.

4 The names and number of the Jews that returned home. 50 The altar is set up in his place. 57 The foundation of the temple is laid. 73 The work is hindered for a time.

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AFTER this were the principal men of the families chosen according to their tribes, to go up with their wives and sons and daughters, with their menservants and maidservants, and their cattle.

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2 And Darius sent with them a thousand horsemen, till they had brought them back to Jerusalem safely, and with musical [instruments] tabrets and flutes.

3 And all their brethren played, and he made them go up together with them.

4 And these are the names of the men which went up, according to their families among their tribes, after their several heads.

5 The priests, the sons of Phinees the son of Aaron: Jesus the son of Josedec, the son of Saraias, and [1] Joacim the son of Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the house of David, out of the kindred of Phares, of the tribe of Judah;

6 [a] Who spake wise sentences before Darius the king of Persia in the second year of his reign, in the

[1] *Joachim and Zorobabel*: This place is corrupt, for Joachim was the son of Josedech Neh. 12. 10, and not Zorobabel, who was of the tribe of Judah.

[a] *Zorobabel.*

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est, quia *a te, Domine, est victoria, et ego servus tuus: benedictus es, Deus veritatis.*"

61. *unto Babylon.*] Rather, "into Babylon," into the city from the king's palace.

62. *freedom and liberty.*] Lit. "a loosening and letting go," *ἄνεσιν καὶ ἄφεσιν*. So *ἄφεσις καὶ ἀπαλλαγή* are used to express a complete release, or quittance.

63. *they feasted.*] *ἐκωθωνίζοντο*, lit. "were carousing," from *κώθων*, the Laconian drinking-vessel. Comp. Esther iii. 5. *τῶν μουσικῶν* may simply mean "music," as in Xen. 'Cyr.' i. 6, 38, but more probably means "musical instruments," as in the text. Comp. v. 59.

CHAPTER V.

1–6. The relation in which this passage stands to the preceding narrative, or to the lists that follow, has been discussed in the Introduction, § III.

1. *the principal men.*] Rather, "leaders," *ἀρχηγοί*.

2. *safely.*] Gk. *μετ' εἰρήνης*, lit. "with peace," in imitation of the Hebrew. Comp. the note on ii. 16.

3. *played.*] This conducting the procession to the sound of music is thought by F. to be a token of Hebrew authorship. Comp. Gen. xxxi. 27; 1 Kings i. 40; 1 Chron. xiii. 8. But this seems doubtful. Tertullian has been thought to refer to this passage in his 'De Cor. Milit.,' c. ix., since there is no allusion to such accompaniments of the return in the canonical Ezra. His words are: "facilius cum tympanis et tibiis et psalteriis revertens de captivitate Babyloniæ, quam cum coronis, &c."

5. *Jesus.*] The Jeshua of Ezra ii. 2, iii. 2, and Zech. iii. 1, Hag. i. 1.

Joacim the son of Zorobabel.] As the marginal note says, this place is corrupt; but the correction there made is itself misleading. In the passage referred to, Neh. xii. 10, Joacim is called the son of Jeshua. See also *v.* 26. There is the further difficulty, that while Joacim is here described as the one who "spake wise sentences before (or in the time of) Darius," this part was before assigned to Zorobabel (iv. 13). Burrington would leave out the words in the Greek, answering to "Joacim the son of," but there is no authority for this in the MSS. Herzfeld (see Fritzsche's 'Einleitung,' p. 6) would emend: *τοῦ Ἰωακὶμ καὶ Ζοροβάβελ*. For this there is some little countenance in two inferior MSS. Fritzsche himself is inclined to defend the reading as it stands. Though no son of Zorobabel named Joacim is found in the list given in 1 Chron. iii. 20, that is not, he thinks, a proof that no such son ever existed. But this is hazardous reasoning. If his view were adopted, it would make Joacim, and not Zorobabel, the main actor in the debate before Darius.

Phares.] From Pharez, who succeeded to the rank of second son of the patriarch Judah, David and ultimately Christ himself were descended. Lord A. Hervey ('Dict. of the Bible,' art. PHAREZ) thinks that we may

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month Nisan, which is the first month.

7 And these are they of Jewry that came up from the captivity, where they dwelt as strangers, whom Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon had carried away unto Babylon.

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8 And they returned unto Jerusalem, and to the other parts of Jewry, every man to his own city, who came with Zorobabel, with Jesus, Nehemias, and [b] Zacharias, and Reesaias, Enenius, Mardocheus, Beelsarus, [c] Aspharasus, [d] Reelius, Roimus, and Baana, their guides.

9 The number of them of the nation, and their governors, sons of [e] Phoros, two thousand an hundred seventy and two; the sons of [f] Saphat, [g] four hundred seventy and two:

10 The sons of Ares, seven hundred fifty and six:

11 The sons of Phaath Moab, two thousand eight hundred and twelve:

12 The sons of Elam, a thousand

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[b] Saraiah. [c] Or, Mispar. [d] Or, Reelaiah. [e] Parosh, Ezra 2. 3. Neh. 7. 8, where for brevity look for the true numbers of the particulars following: for here they vary much, and the names much more. [f] Shephatiah. [g] Or, three hundred seventy two.

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trace to the lineage of Pharez the children of Bani, Bigvai, Jorah or Hariph, Bethlehem and Netophah, Kirjath-arim, Harim, as well as many intermediate families, afterwards mentioned.

6. *in the month Nisan, &c.*] The Greek is peculiar: μηνὶ Νισὰν τοῦ πρώτου μηνός. F. thinks it a misrendering of a Hebrew original. The Vulgate has *mense Nisam primo*, but the Old Latin, *numenia primi mensis*, "on the first day of the first month." τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς looks like a gloss on Νισάν.

7. At this point the account begins to run parallel to Ezra ii. 1 *sqq.*, and Neh. vii. 7 *sqq.*

8. *Nehemias.*] An earlier one than the contemporary of Ezra. It will be observed that twelve names are here given as those of the leaders, probably to represent the twelve tribes. So in Neh. vii. 7. In Ezra ii. 2, there are only eleven names, possibly (as Neteler thinks, 'Die Bücher Esdras,' &c., p. 13) to represent the tribes, counting Ephraim and Manasses as one. But it is more probable that a name answering to Enenius in this list, and to Nahamani in Neh. vii. 7, has dropped out in Ezra. How liable to error are such lists may be seen from the LXX. of the passage in Nehemiah, where *fourteen* names appear instead of twelve; two, Μασφαρὰθ and Μασφάρ, being plainly duplicates, and Ἔσδρα being probably an inserted marginal reference.

Reesaias.] In Ezra, Reeliah; and in Nehemiah, Raamiah. The variations in case of the two latter may be accounted for by the similarity of ΑΙ to Μ. De Saulcy ('Étude chronol.' p. 10) endeavours to account for changes in the form of other names by the confusion likely to be made between similar Hebrew characters by a Greek scribe. This might explain the change of the first letter of Bigvai (as the name stands in Ezra and Nehemiah) to the R of Reelius, while the further resemblance between Γ and Λ would account for the next consonant. The same cause may have produced the change of Nehum (Ἰναούμ, Nahum) in Nehemiah to Rehum in Ezra, whence its Grecized form of Roimus here. The Vulgate *Emmanio* may serve as a connecting link between the Nahamani of Neh., and the Ἐνηνίου of the present passage. The identity of the other names in the three lists will be perceived without difficulty.

9. *and their governors.*] After this should be a longer stop (:) as the words "sons of Phoros" begin the enumeration. Compare Ezra ii. 3. In the Geneva Version it is rightly punctuated. The words "and their governors" (or rather, "leaders") are, as F. remarks, an unskilful addition made by the Greek writer.

Phoros.] An assimilation of the Hebrew name Pharez or Parosh. So we had Rathumus for Rehum, ii. 16. Another company of the same family are mentioned afterwards (viii. 30) as returning with Ezra.

11. *Phaath Moab.*] After this name comes in the Greek: εἰς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰησοῦ καὶ Ἰωάβ, which seems to mean "for the sons of Jeshua and Joab;" that is, to represent them. It is not clear what Jeshua (or Joshua) and Joab are meant. The name Pahath-Moab, "ruler of Moab," is itself a singular one, and may point, as Lord Arthur Hervey suggests ('Dict. of the Bible,' *s. v.*), to the possessions gained in Moab by the Shilonites, the descendants of Shelah, son of Judah. See 1 Chron iv. 22, where some of the family are described as having had "the dominion in Moab." Pahath-Moab may have been of this lineage. The connection of Joshua or his descendants with Moab (supposing the son of Nun to be referred to) is not obvious, but the descent of Joab from the Moabitess Ruth, through his mother Zeruiah, David's sister, supplies a connecting link in his case.

12. *Elam.*] This is probably the name of a person, not a place. The well-known Elam of Gen. xiv. 1, &c., cannot, of course, be

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two hundred fifty and four: the sons of [h] Zathui, nine hundred forty and five: the sons of [i] Corbe, seven hundred and five: the sons of Bani, six hundred forty and eight:

[h] Zattu.
[i] Zaccai.

13 The sons of Bebai, six hundred twenty and three: the sons of [k] Sadas, three thousand two hundred twenty and two:

[k] Azgar.

14 The sons of Adonikam, six hundred sixty and seven: the sons of [l] Bagoi, two thousand sixty and six: the sons of Adin, four hundred fifty and four:

[l] Bigvai.

15 The sons of [m] Aterezias, ninety and two: the sons of Ceilan and Azetas, threescore and seven: the sons of Azuran, four hundred thirty and two:

[m] Ater-hezekiah.

16 The sons of Ananias, an hundred and one: the sons of Arom, thirty two: and the sons of [n] Bassa, three hundred twenty and three: the sons of Azephurith, an hundred and two:

[n] Bezai.

17 The sons of Meterus, three thousand and five: the sons of [o] Bethlomon, an hundred twenty and three:

[o] Bethlehem.

18 They of Netophah, fifty and five: they of Anathoth, an hundred fifty and eight: they of [p] Bethsamos, forty and two:

[p] Azmaveth.

19 They of [q] Kiriathiarius, twenty and five: they of Caphira and Beroth,

[q] Kiriath-jarim.

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referred to; and as it was itself called after a son of Shem, there is the less difficulty in supposing that Elam here is a personal name. With Bethlomon in *v.* 17, on the other hand, names of places begin. A second person of the name, known as "the other Elam," is mentioned in Ezra ii. 31, with exactly the same number of followers.

Zathui.] In Ezra ii. 8, Zattu; in ch. viii. 32 below, Zathoe.

Corbe.] Greek, Χορβὲ (Ald. Κορβὲ, whence the English form). This name appears to answer to Zaccai in Ezra, the Zacchæus of the New Testament.

13. *Sadas.*] This is the form in Ald. Most MSS. have Astad, which is only a transposition of the same syllables. Ez. and Neh. have Azgad; Vulg., Archad.

15. *Aterezias.*] This form is due to the Aldine, which has ἀτηρεζεκίου in one word. F. reads Ἀτὴρ Ἐζεκίου, which answers to Ezra ii. 16, "Ater of Hezekiah." The addition of the patronymic may have been made to distinguish this Ater from the doorkeeper of the same name, mentioned in Ezra ii. 42.

Ceilan and Azetas.] The spelling again follows the Aldine. The Geneva Version has Azotus. F. gives Κιλὰν καὶ Ἀζηνάν. There is nothing in Ezra ii. to answer to these and the following names down to Arom inclusive.

16. *Bassa.*] Marg. Bezai, as a note of identification with the Bezai of Ezra ii. 17. The form Βασσαί (F.) supplies a connecting link.

Azephurith.] In the Geneva Version, Arsephurith, which is nearer the Greek, Ἀρσιφουρίθ, answering to Hariph in Neh. vii. 24. In Ezra ii. 18 the name is replaced by Jorah.

17. *Meterus.*] This form follows the Aldine. F. has Βαιτηρούς, which looks like a Grecized form of a Hebrew local name beginning with Beth-. Compare Βαιθλωμὼν next following. There is nothing apparently answering to it in the parallel lists.

Bethlomon.] Bethlehem. Local names now follow, distinguished in the Greek by the use of the preposition ἐκ.

18. *Netophah.*] A small town or village near Bethlehem, perhaps the modern Antûbeh, or Om Tûba, about two miles N.E. from that spot. It is not named in the Old Testament, but Netophathites are spoken of, 1 Chron. ii. 54, &c. See Mr. Grove's art. in 'Dict. of the Bible,' *s. v.*

Anathoth.] The city of Benjamin, about three miles from Jerusalem, the native place of the prophet Jeremiah.

Bethsamos.] In the margin, Azmaveth, to agree with Ezra ii. 24. The margin there gives Beth-azmaveth. For the transposition of syllables in Samos and Asma, comp. the note on Sadas, *v.* 13. The place was probably in Benjamin, from the connection in which it stands, and therefore not to be identified with Beth-shemesh in Judah. At the same time Kirjath-Jearim, next mentioned, was a frontier town of Judah.

19. *Kiriathiarius.*] In F. οἱ ἐκ Καριαθιρί. In Ezra ii. 25 the LXX. has Καριαθιαρίμ. Kirjath-Jearim is meant.

Caphira.] In Josh. ix. 17 this is mentioned as one of the four cities of the Gibeonites, and in xviii. 26 as a town of Benjamin. It has been identified with *Kefîr*, about two miles east of Ajalon. Beroth, or Beeroth, was a neighbouring town allotted to Benjamin. It has been identified with *El-Bireh*, about ten miles N. of Jerusalem. See Mr. Grove's arts. in 'Dict. of the Bible.'

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seven hundred forty and three: they of Pira, seven hundred:

20 They of Chadias and Ammidoi, four hundred twenty and two: they of [r] Cirama and [s] Gabdes, six hundred twenty and one:

21 They of [t] Macalon, an hundred twenty and two: they of [u] Betolius, fifty and two: the sons of [x] Nephis, an hundred fifty and six:

22 The sons of [y] Calamolalus and Onus, seven hundred twenty and five: the sons of Jerechus, two hundred forty and five:

23 The sons of [z] Annaas, three thousand three hundred and thirty.

24 The priests: the sons of [a] Jeddu, the son of Jesus, among the sons of Sanasib, nine hundred seventy and two: the sons of [b] Meruth, a thousand fifty and two:

25 The sons of [c] Phassaron, a

[r] Rama. [s] Gaba. [t] Michmas. [u] Bethel. [x] Magbish. [y] Lod, Hadid. [z] Senaah. [a] Jedaiah. [b] Immer. [c] Pashur.

Pira.] This name is taken from the Aldine, οἱ ἐκ Πίρας. But as it is wanting in the best MSS., it has been thought with probability to be only a repetition of the last two syllables of the preceding name Καφείρας. If so, the numerical symbol for 700 has been repeated also.

20. *They of Chadias and Ammidoi.*] The Aldine has οἱ Χαδίας καὶ Ἀμμίδιοι. A better reading is Χαδιασαί. The Geneva Version has Ammidioi, more correctly than the A. V. Fritzsche thinks that under the former title are meant the people of Kedesh (Josh. xv. 23), and under the latter, the people of Humtah (ib. *v.* 54). As the LXX. (Alex.) for Humtah is Χαμματά, we have a connecting link with Ammidii, or, with its guttural replaced, *Chammidii.*

Cirama and Gabdes.] In Ezra ii. 26, Ramah and Gaba. The form in the Greek, Κιραμά, is probably due to the form of the Hebrew name with the definite article prefixed, הָרָמָה. Ramah is mentioned along with Geba in Is. x. 29. Both were cities of Benjamin.

21. *Macalon.*] This represents the Michmash so well known in the history of Saul and Jonathan. The change in the form of the name can be partially traced. In Ezra ii. 27 it is Michmas; in 1 Macc. ix. 73 it is Machmas, as in the LXX. of Ezra. The M could easily be altered into ΛΛ, but the termination is difficult to account for.

Betolius is Bethel, for which Ezra has Bethel and Ai.

Nephis.] The marginal reference makes this answer to the Magbish of Ezra ii. 30, but it is possible that it may rather be the equivalent of Nebo in *v.* 29. The collocation with Michmash and Bethel points to Nephis as being in the tribe of Benjamin. The existence of towns with foreign names in the tribe of Benjamin is noticed by Grove in his art. on MICHMASH in 'Dict. of the Bible.'

22. *Calamolalus and Onus.*] In Ezra ii. 33 this appears as "Lod, Hadid, and Ono," where the LXX. has Λοδαδὶ καὶ Ὠνώ. The places in Ezra are easily identified, being towns which the Benjamites had built in the plain of Sharon, westwards of their original boundaries. See the art. LOD in 'Dict. of the Bible.' The first of them is better known to us as the "Lydda nigh unto Joppa" of the New Testament. The difficulty is to account for the strange form Calamolalus, which looks like a running together of two or more of the names in Ezra.

Jerechus.] This form for the name of Jericho seems to have arisen from the translator's taking the Greek Ἱερεχού as a genitive from Ἱερεχός. Instead of 245, the reading should be 345, as it is in Ezra.

23. *Annaas.*] This spelling of the name seems due to the Geneva Version, as the Aldine has Ἀνάας. In the best text it is Σανάας, answering to the Senaah of Ezra. The greatness of the number of people connected with it is so remarkable (compared, for instance, with Jericho), that Michaelis hazarded the conjecture that it was an opprobrious name for Jerusalem itself (סְנָאָה, "thorny"); but this, as F. remarks, is not probable. There is no town named Senaah in the Old Testament, but Eusebius and Jerome (quoted by Grove) mention a Magdal-Senna, or "Great Senna," seven miles N. of Jericho.

24. *Jeddu.*] In the Greek, Ἰεδδού, answering to the LXX. Ἰεδουά of Ezra ii. 36, where the Hebrew form of the name is Jedaiah. A Jedaiah is found in 1 Chron. xxiv. 7 as head of the second course of the priests. Who the Jesus, or Jeshua, here spoken of as his ancestor, was, it is impossible to say.

among the sons, &c.] εἰς τοὺς υἱοὺς Σανασίβ, "for the sons of Sanasib;" that is, to be taken as representing them. See note above on *v.* 11. The name of Sanasib is not found in the O. T., and possibly the Vulgate *Eliasib* may have preserved the true reading. The initial letters ΕΛΙΑ and ΣΑΝΑ would easily be confused. An Eliashib was a priest in the time of David (1 Chron. xxiv. 12).

Meruth.] In this form the A. V. follows the Geneva Version and the Aldine: υἱοὶ ἐκ μηρούθ. But the best reading is υἱοὶ Ἐμμηρούθ. It is doubtful whether the expression υἱοὶ ἐκ below is found. Emmeruth must answer to

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thousand forty and seven: the sons of [d] Carme, [e] a thousand and seventeen.

26 The Levites: the sons of [f] Jessue, and Cadmiel, and Banuas, and Sudias, seventy and four.

27 The holy singers: the sons of Asaph, an hundred twenty and eight.

28 The porters: the sons of [g] Salum, the sons of [h] Jatal, the sons of Talmon, the sons of [i] Dacobi, the sons of [k] Teta, the sons of [l] Sami, in all an hundred thirty and nine.

29 The servants of the temple: the sons of [m] Esau, the sons of

[d] *Harim.*
[e] Or, *two hundred and seventeen*, according to some copies.
[f] Thus it is read, Ezra 2. 40, *the sons of Jeshua, and Cadmiel, of the sons of Hodaviah.*
[g] *Shallum.*
[h] *Ater.*
[i] *Akkub.*
[k] *Hatita.*
[l] *Shobai.*
[m] *Zich.*

Immer of Ezra ii. 37, the same who in ix. 21 below is called Emmer. Immer is mentioned in 1 Chron. xxiv. 14 as head of the sixteenth course of the priests.

25. *Phassaron.*] This form again is from the Aldine, Φασσαρόν. The best reading gives υἱοὶ Φασσούρου. Pashur, the son of Malchiah, was a chief prince at the court of Zedekiah (Jer. xxxviii. 1). Another Pashur, "son" of the Immer mentioned in the preceding verse, was "chief governor in the house of the Lord" in the time of Jeremiah (Jer. xx. 1).

Carme.] More correctly, Charmi, the same as Harim (Ezra ii. 39), head of the third course of the priests (1 Chron. xxiv. 8).

26. *Jessue, &c.*] Jeshua the Levite is called in Neh. x. 9 son of Azaniah. In Ezra ii. 40 he and Kadmiel are described as "of the children of Hodaviah," for which, in iii. 9, we have "children of Judah." Kadmiel, probably a younger member of the same house, is mentioned along with Jeshua as taking a prominent part in the rebuilding of the Temple (Ezra iii. 9). Compare Neh. ix. 4, 5. The form Cadmiel is due to the Alex. Καδμιήλου, for which the Vat. has Καδοήλου, and Ald. Καδμιήλλου. Banuas and Sudias are not recognizable in their present form. Banuas is probably only a misprint for Bannas, as the Geneva Version has Bannu and Suiu, exactly representing Βάννου καὶ Σουΐου of the Aldine. It looks as if the two were a corruption of Bene-Hodaviah, "sons of Hodaviah."

28. *Salum, &c.*] Shallum was chief of a family of gatekeepers at the east gate of the Temple (1 Chron. ix. 17). Jatal, or rather 'Atal, appears to be a variety of the name Ater in Ezra ii. 42. Compare above, *v.* 15. Talmon is mentioned along with Shallum in the passage of 1 Chron. just quoted, as is also Akkub (עַקּוּב), here disguised as Dacobi, Δακοὺβ (Ald. Δακοβί). Teta (Ald. Τῆτα) is in the best texts Ἀτητά, answering to the Hatita of Ezra. Sami, in the form Σαβεί (Alex.), answers to Shobai in Ezra. The Vatican instead of it reads Τωβίς.

29. *The servants of the temple.*] In the Greek, ἱερόδουλοι, a word used of the servants attached to Greek and Asiatic temples. It is here an equivalent for the Nethinims of Ezra ii. 43, the successors of those whom David "gave" for the service of the Levites, as the Levites themselves had been at the first "given" to Aaron and his sons to be their Nethinim. See the art. NETHINIM in 'Dict. of the Bible,' and R.'s note on 1 Chron. ix. 2.

Esau.] This seems to be a corruption of Σηά (Vat. Σουθία, Alex. Σουαά), the Ziha of Ezra ii. 43. The identity of the names of the Nethinim, as here given, with those in Ezra and in Nehemiah (vii. 46–56), will in most cases be seen at once. The following table may serve to shew this in the simplest manner. It should be premised that there are forty-six names in the present passage, thirty-five in Ezra, and thirty-two in Nehemiah.

NAMES OF THE NETHINIM.

1 Esdras v. 29–32.		Ezra ii. 43–54.	
A. V.	LXX.	A. V.	LXX.
1. Esau	Ἡσαύ	Ziha	Σουθία.
2. Asipha	Ἀσιφά	Hasupha	Ἀσουφά.
3. Tabaoth	Ταβαώθ	Tabbaoth	Ταβαώθ.
4. Ceras	Κηράς	Keros	Κάδης, Κηράς.
5. Sud	Σουά, Σουδά	Siaha	Σιαά, Ἀσαά.
6. Phaleas	Φαλαίας	Padon	Φαδών.
7. Labana	Λαβανά	Lebanah	Λαβανώ.
8. Graba	Ἀγγαβά, Ἀγραβά	Hagabah	Ἀγαβά.
9. Acua	Ἀκούδ	Akkub	Ἀκούβ.
10. Uta	Οὐτά	——	——
11. Cetab	Κητάβ	——	——
12. Agaba	Ἀκκαβά	Hagab	Ἀγάβ.
13. Subai	Συβαΐ	Shalmai	Σελαμί.
14. Anan	Ἀνάν	Hanan	Ἀνάν.

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[n] Asipha, the sons of Tabaoth, the sons of [o] Ceras, the sons of [p] Sud, the sons of [q] Phaleas, the sons of Labana, the sons of [r] Graba,

30 The sons of [s] Acua, the sons of Uta, the sons of [t] Cetab, the sons of Agaba, the sons of [u] Subai, the sons of Anan, the sons of [x] Cathua, the sons of [y] Geddur,

31 The sons of [z] Airus, the sons of [a] Daisan, the sons of [b] Noeba, the sons of Chaseba, the sons of [c] Gazera, the sons of [d] Azia, the sons of [e] Phinees, the sons of Azara, the sons of [f] Bastai, the sons of [g] Asana, the sons of [h] Meani, the sons of [i] Naphisi, the sons of [k] Acub, the sons of [l] Acipha, the sons of [m] Assur, the sons of Pharacim, the sons of [n] Basaloth,

32 The sons of [o] Meeda, the sons of Coutha, the sons of [p] Charea, the sons of [q] Charcus, the sons of [r] Aserer, the sons of [s] Thomoi, the sons of [t] Nasith, the sons of Atipha.

33 The sons of the servants of Solomon: the sons of [u] Azaphion, the sons of [x] Pharira, the sons of [y] Jeeli, the sons of [z] Lozon, the sons of [a] Isdael, the sons of [b] Sapheth,

34 The sons of [c] Hagia, the sons

[n] *Hasupha.* [o] *Keros.* [p] *Siaha.* [q] *Padon.* [r] *Agaba.* [s] *Akkub.* [t] *Hagab.* [u] *Shamlai.* [x] *Giddel.* [y] *Gahar.* [z] *Reaiah.* [a] *Rezin.* [b] *Nekodah.* [c] *Gazzam.* [d] *Uzza.* [e] *Paseah.* [f] *Besai.* [g] *Asnah.*

[h] *Meunim.* [i] *Nephusim.* [k] *Bakbuk.* [l] *Hacupa.* [m] *Harhur.* [n] *Bazluth.* [o] *Mehida.* [p] *Harsha.* [q] *Barcos.* [r] *Sisera.* [s] *Thamai.* [t] *Neziah.* [u] *Sophereth.* [x] *Peruda.* [y] *Jaalah.* [z] *Darcon.* [a] *Giddel.* [b] *Shephatiah.* [c] *Hatti.*

NAMES OF THE NETHINIM (*continued*).

1 Esdras v. 29–32. A. V.	LXX.	Ezra ii. 43–54. A. V.	LXX.
15. Cathua	Καθουά	Giddel	Γεδδήλ.
16. Geddur	Γεδδούρ	Gahar	Γαάρ.
17. Airus	Ἰαῖρος	Reaiah	Ῥαϊά.
18. Daisan	Δαισάν	Rezin	Ῥασών.
19. Noeba	Νοεβά	Nekoda	Νεκωδά.
20. Chaseba	Χασεβά	——	——
21. Gazera	Καζηρά	Gazzam	Γαζέμ.
22. Azia	Ὀζίας	Uzza	Ἀζώ.
23. Phinees	Φινοέ	Paseah	Φασή.
24. Azara	Ἀσαρά	——	——
25. Bastai	Βασθαΐ	Bezai	Βασί.
26. Asana	Ἀσσανά	Asnah	Ἀσενά.
27. Meani	Μανί	Mehunim	Μοουνίμ.
28. Naphisi	Ναφισί	Nephusim	Νεφουσίμ.
29. Acub	Ἀκούφ	Bakbuk	Βακβούκ.
30. Acipha	Ἀχιβά	Hakupha	Ἀκουφά.
31. Assur	Ἀσούρ	Harhur	Ἀρούρ.
32. Pharacim	Φαρακέμ	——	——
33. Basaloth	Βασαλώθ	Bazluth	Βασαλώθ.
34. Meeda	Μεεδδά	Mehida	Μαουδά.
35. Coutha	Κουθά	——	——
36. Charea	Χαρέα	Harsha	Ἀρσά.
37. Charcus	Βαρχουέ	Barkos	Βαρκός.
38. Aserer	Σεράρ	Sisera	Σισάρα.
39. Thomoi	Θομοΐ	Thamah	Θεμά.
40. Nasith	Νασί	Neziah	Νασθιέ.
41. Atipha	Ἀτεφά	Hatipha	Ἀτουφά.

Of the above, some have probably differed only in the vowel-points, as Asipha, Hasupha; Acipha, Hakupha. The familiar confusion of D and R in Hebrew (ד and ר) will explain the difference in Daisan and Rezin (No. 18). So we have Ῥεννά in the LXX. for Dannah (Josh. xv. 49). The similarity between D and L in Greek (Δ and Λ) may explain No. 6.

33. *The sons, &c.*] These appear to have been an order of men of still lower rank than the Nethinim. In 1 Kings v. 15 we read that Solomon had 70,000 men employed in bearing burdens, and 80,000 in hewing stone, for the building of the Temple. Those here mentioned were a remnant of their descendants. In the art. SOLOMON'S SERVANTS in 'Dict. of the Bible' it is suggested that, as the Nethinim were originally appointed to be hewers of *wood*, so these men were specially employed as hewers of *stone*; and the enumeration of them here may be due to the importance of skilled labour in that department. It will be noticed that many of the names both of Solomon's servants and of the Nethinim are not Hebrew.

Azaphion, &c.] The list in Ezra ii. 55–57 contains only ten names; the present list appears to contain eighteen. Arranged as before, they are:—

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of [d] Phacareth, the sons of Sabi, the sons of Sarothie, the sons of Masias, the sons of Gar, the sons of Addus, the sons of Suba, the sons of Apherra, the sons of Barodis, the sons of Sabat, the sons of Allom.

35 All the ministers of the temple, and the sons of the servants of Solomon, were three hundred seventy and two.

36 These came up from Thermeleth and Thelersas, Charaathalar leading them, and Aalar;

37 Neither could they shew their families, nor their stock, how they were of Israel: the sons of [e] Ladan, the son of [f] Ban, the sons of [g] Necodan, six hundred fifty and two.

38 And of the priests that usurped the office of the priesthood, and were not found: the sons of [h] Obdia, the sons of [i] Accoz, the sons of [k] Addus,

[d] Phacereth, Hassebaim, Ezra 2. 57.
[e] Delaiah.
[f] Tobiah.
[g] Nekodah.
[h] Habaiah.
[i] Coz.
[k] Barzillai.

1 Esdras.	LXX.	Ezra.	LXX.
1. Azaphion	Ἀσσαπφιώθ	Sophereth	Σεφηρά, Ἀσεφωράθ.
2. Pharira	Φαριρά, Φαριδά	Peruda	Φαδουρά.
3. Jeeli	Ἰεηλί	Jaalah	Ἰεηλά.
4. Lozon	Λόζων	Darkon	Δαρκών.
5. Isdael	Ἰσδαήλ	Giddel	Γεδήλ.
6. Sapheth	Σαφυΐ, Σαφυθί	Shephatiah	Σαφατία.
7. Hagia	Ἁγιά	Hattil	Ἀτίλ, Ἀττίλ.
8. Phacareth	Φαχαρέθ	Pochereth of	Φαχεράθ.
9. Sabi (Gen. Sabie)	Σαβιή	Zebaim	Ἀσεβωείμ.
10. Sarothie	Σαρωθί	[Ami the last, and	Ἠμεί.
11. Masias	Μισαίας	Sotai the first, in	Σωταί.
12. Gar	Γάς	the list, have none	
13. Addus	Ἀδδούς	to answer to them in	
14. Suba	Σουβά	1 Esdras.]	
15. Aspherra	Ἀφερρά		
16. Barodis	Βαρωδίς		
17. Sabat	Σαφάγ, Σαφάτ		
18. Allom	Ἀλλώμ		

In the above list, the first letters of Lozon and Darkon (No. 4) might have been easily interchanged, as explained before; but it is difficult to see any resemblance in the rest of the word. The addition "of Zebaim" to the name of Pochereth (No. 8) suggests the thought that this family may have originally come from Zeboim, the neighbouring city to Sodom. See Mr. Grove's art. in 'Dict. of the Bible.' It is possible also that the Σαβιή in Esdras may represent this Zebaim (Ἀσεβωείμ), so that both lists would agree to the ninth name. The form Gar for Gas (No. 12) is due to the spelling Γάρ in the Aldine.[1] Instead of Ἀλλώμ (No. 18) F. proposes to adopt Ἀλλών, the reading of some MSS., and to understand it as ἄλλων, "of others," like our "etc." But this is not probable.

36. *These.*] *I.e.* those whose names follow, in *v.* 37.

Thermeleth, &c.] In Ezra ii. 59 the places from which they came are given as "Tel-Melah, Tel-Harsa, Cherub, Addan, and Immer;" all supposed to be cities or villages in Babylonia. Rawlinson identifies the first of these with the Thelme of Ptolemy, near the Persian Gulf, and Cherub with Ptolemy's Chiripha, in the same region. The site of the rest is uncertain. By some perversion of the original, as it would appear, the author of 1 Esdras has made out of the last three names of places the clause "Charaathalar leading them, and Aalar," ἡγούμενος αὐτῶν Χαρααθαλὰν καὶ Ἀαλάρ.

37. *Ladan, &c.*] Instead of Ladan the son of Ban, the list in Ezra gives two heads of families: the children of Delaiah and the children of Tobiah. The reading of the Vat., υἱοὶ Δαλὰν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Βαενάν, by giving Dalan for Ladan (Δ for Λ), brings us nearer to Delaiah (LXX. Δαλαϊά), while the LXX. of Ezra ii. 60 has a reading υἱοὶ Βουά after Δαλαϊά, which seems to point to the τοῦ Βαενὰν here.

38. *that usurped.*] This is too strong a term. The Greek is οἱ ἐμποιούμενοι ἱερωσύνης, which Wahl explains as *edocti munus sacerdotale*, "taught the priestly office," justifying the peculiar use of the genit. by the examples given in Winer, iii. 30, § 4, such as κείνης διδακτά (Soph. 'El.' 344), καρδίαν γεγυμνασμένην πλεονεξίας (2 Pet. ii. 14), &c. But none of these seems quite to bear out the construction, and

[1] The writer of the short art. Gar in 'Dict. of the Bible,' and of many similar articles, would have found a reference to the Aldine edition sufficient to explain the difficulty about the spelling of several proper names in the A. V.

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who married Augia one of the daughters of Berzelus, and was named after his name.

39 And when the description of the kindred of these men was sought in the register, and was not found, they were removed from executing the office of the priesthood:

40 For unto them said [1] Nehemias and Atharias, that they should not be partakers of the holy things, till there arose up an high priest clothed with [1] doctrine and truth.

[1] Nehemias, who also is Atharias: two of one: Ezra 2. 63. Neh. 8. 9. & 10. 1.

[1] Heb. Urim and Thummim.

41 So of Israel, from them of twelve years old and upward, they were all in number forty thousand, beside menservants and womenservants two thousand three hundred and sixty.

42 Their [l] menservants and handmaids were seven thousand three hundred forty and seven: the singing men and singing women, two hundred forty and five:

[l] See Neh. 7. 67.

43 [m] Four hundred thirty and five camels, seven thousand thirty and six horses, two hundred forty and five mules, five thousand five hundred twenty and five [1] beasts used to the yoke.

[m] Ezra 2. 67.

[1] asses.

44 And certain of the chief of their families, when they came to the temple of God that is in Jerusalem, vowed to set up the house again in

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it is a question whether οἱ ἐμποιούμενοι here is not meant to be in the sense of οἱ προσποιούμενοι, "that laid claim to."

Obdia, &c.] In Ezra ii. 61 the first name appears as Habaiah. The Alex. Ὀβαία connects the two. Accoz is merely the Koz of Ezra with the definite article left prefixed (הַקּוֹץ). Addus took the name of his father-in-law Barzillai (for whom see 2 Sam. xvii. 27; xix. 31–39), and is thus himself called Barzillai in the parallel passage of Ezra.[1]

39. *the description of the kindred.*] More shortly, "the genealogy," τῆς γενικῆς γραφῆς.

executing, &c.] This is a somewhat lengthy phrase for τοῦ ἱερατεύειν, "from acting as priests."

40. *Nehemias and Atharias.*] As the marginal note indicates, this is making two of one. In Ezra ii. 63 it is "the Tirshatha" (margin, "governour"), meaning Zerubbabel. The Greek word represented by Atharias, Ἀτθαρίας, is almost certainly a corruption of הַתִּרְשָׁתָא, "The Tirshatha." In the LXX. of Ezra ii. 63 the word is Ἀθερσασθά. Why the name of Nehemiah should have been introduced here is not easy to explain, unless we suppose that he was so familiarly known as *the* Tirshatha, that the mention of one word suggested the other. Comp. Neh. viii. 9. Dr. Bissell points out a similar redoubling in vi. 18 below, where Zorobabel and Sanabassarus are made separate persons.

with doctrine and truth.] τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. This is a translation of the terms Urim and Thummim in Ezra ii. 63; on which see the learned article of Dr. Perowne in 'Dict. of the Bible,' and the notes on Exod. xxviii. 30. The text shews that the second Temple did not possess these symbols, and in fact they are not recorded to have been consulted since the days of Abiathar. "Light" or "illumination" would be a better equivalent for Urim than "doctrine."

41. *in number.*] For the respective totals in the three accounts see R. on Ezra ii. 64. It will be observed that the name of Israel is retained, agreeably with the mention of *twelve* leaders in *v.* 8 above. The absence of a comma after "womenservants" makes it less obvious that the continuity of the number, 42,360, is broken by the insertion of the words "besides . . . servants." The margin of the Geneva Version gives it more correctly: "forty and two thousand three hundred and sixtie." There is nothing in the Greek to require this awkward arrangement of the words.

42. *singing men and singing women.*] There is nothing in the Greek, ψάλται καὶ ψαλτῳδοί, to imply this variety of men and women; but it is expressed in the parallel passage of Ezra. The fact of these musicians (who were not slaves) being placed in the list between the servants and cattle, made Michaelis (in a passage quoted by Fritzsche and discussed by Bertheau) speculate whether the original words in the Hebrew might have been two, similar in form to these, signifying "oxen" and "cows." Besides other objections, the smallness of the number would condemn this supposition.

43. *beasts used to the yoke.*] ὑποζύγια. As camels, horses, and mules have been mentioned, these must have been either oxen or asses, and the word used in Ezra ii. 67 shews the marginal interpretation to be right.

44. *of their families.*] Rather, "according to their families."

[1] The names Addus (Ἀδδοὺς) and Augia are both wanting in 'Dict. of the Bible.'

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his own place according to their ability,

45 And to give into the holy treasury of the works a thousand pounds of gold, five thousand of silver, and an hundred priestly vestments.

46 And so dwelt the priests and the Levites and the people in Jerusalem, and in the country, the singers also and the porters; and all Israel in their villages.

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47 But when the seventh month was at hand, and when the children of Israel were every man in his own place, they came altogether with one consent into the open place of the first [1] gate which is toward the east.

[1] Or, *before the east gate.*

48 Then stood up Jesus the son of Josedec, and his brethren the priests, and Zorobabel the son of Salathiel, and his brethren, and made ready the altar of the God of Israel,

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49 To offer burnt sacrifices upon it, according as it is expressly commanded in the book of Moses the man of God.

50 And there were gathered unto them out of the other nations of the land, and they erected the altar upon his own place, because all the nations of the land were at enmity with them, and oppressed them; and they offered sacrifices according to the time, and burnt offerings to the Lord both morning and evening.

51 Also they held the feast of tabernacles, as it is commanded in the law, and *offered* sacrifices daily, as was meet:

52 And after that, the [1] continual

[1] Or, *daily sacrifice.*

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45. *pounds.*] μνᾶς. In Ezra ii. 69 the amounts are distinguished as 61,000 "drams" of gold, and 5000 "pound" of silver. The word in the LXX. for the former is μναῖ (Vat.), δραχμὰς (Alex.); for the latter, μναῖ, as here. Rawlinson, on 1 Chron. xxix. 7, shews reasons for taking "darics," rather than "drams," as the rendering in the former case. Taking the daric at the value commonly given, 1*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*, the sum contributed in gold would answer to between 66,000*l.* and 67,000*l.* of our money. If, in like manner, we take the silver *mina* as worth 4*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*, the contribution in silver would be about 20,300*l.*; making a total (according to Ezra) of nearly 87,000*l.* If we take the 5000 silver "pounds" (*minas*) of the text as before, and the 1000 gold minas as each worth 15½ times the silver one, we get a total not widely differing from that in Ezra; namely, between 83,000*l.* and 84,000*l.* But modern equivalents for ancient money are deceptive, unless other conditions be taken into account.

47. *But when, &c.*] At this point a fresh section begins, answering to Ezra iii. 1 *sqq.* Compare the end of ch. vii. and the beginning of ch. viii. in Nehemiah. The seventh month was Tisri, nearly answering to our September. See R. on Ezra iii. 1.

the open place, &c.] In the parallel passage of Ezra these details are not given, and F. thinks that the writer introduced them from Neh. viii. 1, where mention is made of the people being assembled (on a later occasion) "into the street that was before the water gate." If Fergusson be right in identifying the water-gate with the southern gate of the Temple ('Dict. of the Bible,' i. p. 1027, b), probably the same area may be meant here as in the passage of Nehemiah; namely, that between the East gate and the Water gate (*ib.* Plate ii.), within the modern Haram area. Compare the notes on ix. 6, 41.

48. *son of Salathiel.*] More exactly, nephew, being the son of Pedaiah, the younger brother of Shealtiel or Salathiel. See R.'s note on 1 Chron. iii. 19.

made ready.] ἡτοίμασαν. It had to be built anew (Ezra iii. 2), and was of unhewn stones (1 Macc. iv. 47), and according to tradition (Joseph. 'Antiqq.' xi. 4, § 1) was on the same spot as that on which the one erected by Solomon had stood.

50. *And there were gathered, &c.*] This statement is an addition to the account as given in Ezra, apparently to explain the haste of the Jews in setting up their altar of burnt-offering, and restoring the customary sacrifices, even before the foundations of the Temple were laid.

both morning, &c.] Lit., "both the morning and the evening one;" that is, the lamb for a burnt offering twice every day. See Exod. xxix. 38.

51. *feast of tabernacles.*] This lasted from the 15th to the 22nd of Tisri, the "seventh month" of *v.* 47. See Exod. xxiii. 16; Levit. xxiii. 33 *sqq.* Instead of ἑορτὴ σκηνῶν, the Greek term used here is σκηνοπηγία, the same as in St. John vii. 2.

52. *continual oblations.*] Greek, προσφορὰς ἐνδελεχισμοῦ. The latter word is used adjectivally, after a common Hebrew idiom. By

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oblations, and the sacrifice of the sabbaths, and of the new moons, and of all holy feasts.

53 And all they that had [1]made any vow to God began to offer sacrifices to God from the first day of the seventh month, although the temple of the Lord was not yet built.

[1] Gr. *hallowed.*

54 And they gave unto the masons and carpenters money, meat, and drink, with cheerfulness.

55 Unto them of Zidon also and Tyre they gave carrs, that they should bring cedar trees from Libanus, which should be brought by floats to the haven of Joppe, according as it was commanded them by Cyrus king of the Persians.

56 And in the second year and second month after his coming to the temple of God at Jerusalem began Zorobabel the son of Salathiel, and Jesus the son of Josedec, and their brethren, and the priests, and the Levites, and all they that were come unto Jerusalem out of the captivity:

57 And they laid the foundation of the house of God in the first day of the second month, in the second year after they were come to Jewry and Jerusalem.

58 [a]And they appointed the Levites from twenty years old over the works of the Lord. Then stood up Jesus, and his sons and brethren, and Cadmiel his brother, and the sons of Madiabun, with the sons of Joda the son of Eliadun, with their sons and brethren, all Levites, with one accord

[a] See Ezra 3. 8, 9, &c.

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the "offerings of continuance," or continual oblations, seem to be meant those prescribed in Numb. xxviii. 3–8, except that the chief part of them, the lambs for a burnt-offering, have been already referred to in *v.* 50. The directions for the Sabbaths and new moons, next mentioned, follow in order in Numb. xxviii. 9, 11.

holy.] Rather, "consecrated," ἡγιασμένων.

54. *money, meat, &c.*] The natural order of the words, according to the Greek, would be: "And they gave money to the masons and carpenters, and drink and meat and 'cars' to the men of Sidon and Tyre, for them to bring," &c. This agrees better with the language in Ezra iii. 7. There are two difficulties about the reading of this verse. The A. V. has "with cheerfulness," answering to the Vulgate *cum gaudio*, and to the μετὰ χαρᾶς of some printed editions of the Greek. But the words have no MS. authority, and seem to be derived in some way from the χάρρα which follows. The Aldine has the confused reading καὶ βρώματα καὶ ποτὰ κάρρα κ. τ. λ.; the best text, καὶ ποτὰ καὶ βρωτὰ καὶ χάρρα (Alex. κάρρα) τοῖς κ. τ. λ. No authority is found for χάρρα in the sense of "cars" (Genev. "charets," i.e. *charettes*); and as in Ezra iii. 7 "oil" is named in addition to the meat and drink, it is not improbable, as F. conjectures, that some such word as μύρα, "ointments," may have been the original reading. R. compares the similar arrangements made by king Solomon, 1 Kings v. 6–11, where also "twenty measures of pure *oil*" formed one of the items given as an equivalent for Hiram's assistance. As the word κόρους is used for "measures" in the LXX. of the first part of that verse, it might deserve consideration whether κάρρα here is a corruption of that word.

55. *by floats.*] The Greek has σχεδίας (not σχεδίαις, as in the LXX. of the similar passage 2 Chron. ii. 16); lit. "to convey floats" (or "rafts"). The timber might itself form the rafts.

Joppe.] Then, as it was in Solomon's time, and still is, the seaport of Jerusalem.

56. *Jesus the son of Josedec.*] The name of the father of this Jeshua is the same as that of the father of the High Priest. But it seems clear from *v.* 58 that a chief of the Levites is here meant. Hence we may identify this Jeshua with the one mentioned in *v.* 26 above, where also the name of Cadmiel (or Cadoelus) occurs as that of the head of another Levitical house.

57. *laid the foundation.*] Comp. above, ii. 18; and, for the chronological difficulty involved, the notes on ii. 16 and *v.* 73 below.

58. *his brother.*] That is, in office.

Madiabun.] This is the form of the name in the Aldine. The best text has Ἠμαδαβούν. There is nothing in Ezra to correspond to it. As *three* Levitical families are reckoned in Ezra iii. 9 (where see Reuss's note, shewing reasons for reading "*and* the sons of Henadad"), it is not unlikely that Ἠμαδαβοὺν is a perverted repetition of the words Ἠλιαδοὺδ σὺν which follow, caused by the recurrence of the words καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ, which would mislead a transcriber's eye. The three sets

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[1] setters forward of the business, labouring to advance the works in the house of God. So the workmen built the temple of the Lord.

[1] Or, overseers, or, encouragers of them that wrought in the house of the Lord.

59 And the priests stood arrayed in their vestments with musical instruments and trumpets; and the Levites the sons of Asaph had cymbals,

60 Singing songs of thanksgiving, and praising the Lord, [1] according as David the king of Israel had ordained.

[1] Or, after the manner of David king of Israel.

61 And they sung *with* loud voices songs to the praise of the Lord, because his mercy and glory is for ever in all Israel.

62 And all the people sounded trumpets, and shouted with a loud voice, singing songs of thanksgiving unto the Lord for the rearing up of the house of the Lord.

63 [o] Also of the priests and Levites, and of the chief of their families, the ancients who had seen the former house came to the building of this with weeping and great crying.

[o] Ezra 3. 12, 13.

64 But many with trumpets and joy shouted with loud voice,

65 Insomuch that the trumpets might not be [1] heard for the weeping of the people: yet the multitude sounded marvellously, so that it was heard afar off.

[1] Or, discerned.

66 [p] Wherefore when the enemies of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin heard it, they came to know what that noise of trumpets should mean.

[p] Ezra 4. 1, &c.

67 And they perceived that they that were of the captivity did build the temple unto the Lord God of Israel.

68 So they went to Zorobabel and Jesus, and to the chief of the families, and said unto them, We will build together with you.

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of overseers would thus be the families of Jeshua, Cadmiel, and Eliadud. Joda would then answer to the Judah or Hodaviah of Ezra iii. 9.

setters forward.] ἐργοδιῶκται, "taskmasters;" a rare word. In what follows, the English translator appears to have read πονοῦντες εἰς τὰ ἔργα instead of ποιοῦντες κ. τ. λ.

59. *arrayed, &c.*] The first occasion on which they had ventured to display the ancient magnificence of their religious service. See Stanley's 'Jewish Church,' Lect. xliii.

61. *because his mercy, &c.*] The same words were used at the first dedication under Solomon. It seems most natural to regard them as a quotation from the 136th Psalm; but Reuss, observing the recurrence of the words in 2 Chron. vii. 3, xx. 21, considers them rather a customary liturgical formula.

63. *ancients.*] As the building had not yet begun to rise, the grief of these aged men could not have been caused by any comparison between it and the splendid structure whose destruction they had witnessed some fifty-three years before. Josephus, who amplifies and embellishes the account ('Antiqq.' xi. 4, § 2), seems conscious of this; for he makes the lamentation to take place when the building was completed. In speaking of the first Temple as "very great" as well as "very costly," he is led away by his rhetorical instinct; for the first Temple was smaller by a third, in nearly all its dimensions, than this second. No doubt the recollection of its unparalleled magnificence of adornment, and the consciousness of their present poverty, would weigh on the minds of these survivors of the past generation.

65. *might not be heard.*] More literally, "so that the people did not hear," &c. The whole passage, as it stands in the Greek, is obscure: "And many with trumpets and joy (resounded) with loud voice, so that the people did not hear the trumpets on account of the wailing of the people; for it was the multitude that was trumpeting loudly, so as to be heard afar off." The sense appears to be, that though the joyful sound of trumpets was so great as to attract the attention of people far off (*v.* 66), yet it was overpowered, loud as it was, by the sounds of lamentation. In Ezra. iii. 12, the meaning is much more simply expressed.

66. *the enemies.*] As Reuss remarks (note on Ezra iv. 1), this term is applied to them prospectively. The applicants became enemies, but there is no reason to regard these first overtures as anything but friendly. There might also, no doubt, be a feeling of jealousy, as to the extent to which so many thousands of new comers might disturb their acquisitions of property. The mixed race inhabiting Samaria are probably the "enemies" spoken of. Their various nationalities are specified in Ezra iv. 9, 10.

68. *We will build.*] A better reading is "Let us build," συνοικοδομήσωμεν.

B.C. cir. 535.

69 For we likewise, as ye, do obey your Lord, and do sacrifice unto him from the days of [1]Azbazareth the king of the Assyrians, who brought us hither.

[1] Or, *Asbasaretha*, Ezra 4. 2.

cir. 534.

70 Then Zorobabel and Jesus and the chief of the families of Israel said unto them, It is not for us and you to build together an house unto the Lord our God.

71 We ourselves alone will build unto the Lord of Israel, according as Cyrus the king of the Persians hath commanded us.

72 But the heathen of the land lying heavy upon the inhabitants of Judea, and holding them strait, hindered their building;

B.C. cir. 534

73 And by their secret plots, and popular persuasions and commotions, they hindered the finishing of the building all the time that king Cyrus lived: so they were hindered from building for the space of two years, [1]until the reign of Darius.

[1] Or, *until the second year of Darius*, Ezra 4. 5, 6, 7, 24.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *The prophets stir up the people to build the temple.* 8 *Darius is solicited to hinder it:* 27 *but he doth further it by all means,* 32 *and threateneth those that shall hinder it.*

cir. 520.

NOW [a]in the second year of the reign of Darius Aggeus and

[a] Ezra 4. 24. & 5. 1, &c.

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69. *Azbazareth.*] In Ezra iv. 2 it is Esar-haddon; the name in the LXX. there being Ἀσβακαφάς. It is not easy to account for the corruption of the Assyrian name (though represented by such varying forms as Ἀσορδὰν, Σαχερδονός, and Ἀσαρίδανος) to Ἀσβακαφάς. The great monarch here referred to, the son of Sennacherib, reigned from B.C. 680 to 660. On the three successive colonizations of Samaria, see R.'s note on Ezra iv. 2.

71. *We ourselves alone, &c.*] An answer of this kind will be approved or censured according to the point of view from which it is regarded. Sayce remarks upon it: "It was little wonder that the Jews should have indignantly rejected the companionship of a population so mixed and impure, both in race and religion, as that of Samaria" ('Ezra,' &c., p. 21). Dean Stanley ('Jewish Church,' Lect. xliii.) sees in it "the story again and again repeated in modern times: first, the natural desire of an estranged population—heretical and schismatical as they might be—to partake in a glorious national work; then the rude refusal to admit their co-operation; then the fierce recrimination of the excluded party, and the determination to frustrate the good work in which they cannot share." "The Protestants," he adds, "of the sixteenth, the Puritans of the seventeenth century may see their demands in the innocent, laudable request of the northern settlers: 'Let us build with you, for we seek your God as ye do.' The stiff retort of the Church, whether in Italy or in England, may fortify itself by the response of the 'chief of the fathers of Israel:' 'Ye have nothing to do with us to build an house unto our God; but we ourselves together will build unto the God of Israel.'"

72. *But the, &c.*] Rather, perhaps, "And the," &c.; this conduct being regarded as the consequence of the answer given.

lying heavy upon.] The word in the Greek is a remarkable one, ἐπικοιμώμενα, lit. "sleeping on them," "lying as an incubus on them." It is the word used in the LXX. of the woman overlying her child, in 1 Kings iii. 19.

73. *their secret plots, &c.*] The English is here rather a paraphrase of the original, which, as it stands, is difficult to translate literally. This will be seen from the divergence of the A.V. from the Geneva Version: "and by their ambushments and seditions and conspiracies hindered the finishing of the building."

two years.] As Darius I. did not begin to reign till B.C. 521, eight years after the death of Cyrus, and fourteen years after the foundation of the second Temple, this is an obvious error. It may be due to a confusion with the "second year of the reign of Darius" mentioned just after in vi. 1.

CHAPTER VI.

1. *Now in the second year, &c.*] The account from this point runs parallel to that in Ezra iv. 24; v. 1 *sqq.* The details of the opposition to the Jews during the reigns of "Ahasuerus" and "Artaxerxes," related in Ezra iv. 6–23, are here omitted. On the reasons for thinking that the two kings just mentioned were Cambyses and the Pseudo-Smerdis, see R. on Ezra iv. 5–7.

Aggeus and Zacharias.] "They stand side by side. One is far advanced in years, apparently belonging to that older generation which had wept over the contrast between the first and second Temple—Haggai—who bore a name which no prophet had ever assumed before,

B.C. cir. 520.

Zacharias the son of [1]Addo, the prophets, prophesied unto the Jews in Jewry and Jerusalem in the name of the Lord God of Israel, [1]which was upon them.

[1] Or, *Iddo.*
[1] Or, *which was called on them.*

2 Then stood up Zorobabel the son of Salathiel, and Jesus the son of Josedec, and began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, the prophets of the Lord being with them, *and* helping them.

3 [b]At the same time came unto them [1]Sisinnes the governor of Syria and Phenice, with [1]Sathrabuzanes and his companions, and said unto them,

[b] Ezra 5. 3.
[1] Or, *Tatnai.*
[1] Or, *Shetharboznai.*

4 By whose appointment do ye build this house and this roof, and perform all the other things? and who are the workmen that perform these things?

5 Nevertheless the elders of the Jews obtained favour, because the Lord had visited the captivity;

6 And they were not hindered from building, until such time as signification was given unto Darius concerning them, and an answer received.

7 The copy of the letters which Sisinnes, governor of Syria and Phenice,

cir. 519.

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but which henceforth seems to have become familiar—the 'Messenger, or Angel, of the Eternal' (Haggai i. 13; comp. Mal. iii. 1). The other must have been quite young, being the grandson of one of the returning exiles. Zechariah belonged to the priestly tribe, and is thus remarkable as an example of the union of the two functions, which, being long so widely separated in ancient times, had in the last days of the Monarchy gradually become blended together." (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' Lect. xliii.)

son of Addo.] Strictly speaking, he was son of Berechiah, and grandson of Addo or Iddo. R. compares the case of Jehu the "son of Nimshi" (1 Kings xix. 16; 2 Kings ix. 14).

which was upon them.] That is, by which they were called. This should be the rendering of the parallel clause in Ezra v. i. The LXX. has ἐπ' αὐτοὺς in both.

2. *began to build.*] Resumed, that is, the work long interrupted. What Jeshua and Zerubbabel had been doing in the long interval of fourteen years, or more, we are not told. It would seem, from the tone of Haggai, ch. i., that both leaders and people had lost heart, and become more or less indifferent to the work. They need the "prophesying," or preaching, of the outspoken Haggai, to stimulate them afresh to the task.

3. *Sisinnes.*] In Ezra v. 3 the name is given as Tatnai; in the LXX. Θανθαναΐ, or Θαθθαναΐ. By a common interchange of *sh* and *th*, this might be expressed in Hebrew by Shashnai, or Sheshnai, and so in Greek by Σισίννης or Σισίνης. In like manner Sathrabuzanes (Σαθραβουζάνης; in the LXX. Σαθαρβουζαναΐ) answers to the Shethar-boznai of Ezra. According to Professor Sayce ('Ezra, &c.,' p. 24), "neither Tatnai nor Shethar-boznai seems to be a Persian name. The latter may be Elamite, the former Aramæan."

Rawlinson, however ('Appendix to Ezra,' p. 423), while admitting that Tatnai cannot be identified with any known Persian name, agrees with Lord Arthur Hervey ('Dict. of the Bible,' *s. v.*) in thinking Shethar-boznai Persian, and probably the same as that Grecized by Arrian into Satibarzanes. Tatnai was satrap of Syria and Phœnicia, a great district west of the Euphrates, and hence "on this side of the river" from the Judean point of view. From his office, he was superior to Zerubbabel; and, if of Syrian origin, might well be hostile to the returning Jews.

4. *By whose appointment, &c.*] As R. points out, the edict of "Artaxerxes" forbidding the work (Ezra iv. 23) would by Persian customs be in force in his successor's reign, unless formally repealed; and hence the Jews were acting in one sense illegally. As Darius's hands were greatly tied at this time (see Sayce, *ubi sup.*, p. 53), the moment may have been thought opportune for venturing to begin the building again, without waiting for a special sanction.

roof.] The use of this term seems to point to the advanced state of the framework of the building, with "the timber already laid upon the walls" (*v.* 9). So F. would render it here by *Gebälk.*

6. *an answer received.*] More exactly, "a notice sent," or "an intimation given." Another form of the same word, προσφωνησάτω, is rendered in *v.* 22 "let him signify."

7. *The copy.*] The Vatican text, as Fritzsche and Tischendorf punctuate, reads thus: "The copy of the letter which he (*i.e.* Sisinnes) wrote to Darius, and they sent. 'Sisinnes the governor of Syria, &c., to king Darius, greeting.'"

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and Sathrabuzanes, with their companions, rulers in Syria and Phenice, wrote and sent unto Darius; To king Darius, greeting:

8 Let all things be known unto our lord the king, that being come into the country of Judea, and entered into the city of Jerusalem, we found in the city of Jerusalem the ancients of the Jews that were of the captivity

9 Building an house unto the Lord, great *and* new, of hewn and costly stones, and the timber already laid upon the walls.

10 And those works are done with great speed, and the work goeth on prosperously in their hands, and with all glory and diligence is it made.

11 Then asked we these elders, saying, By whose commandment build ye this house, and lay the foundations of these works?

12 Therefore to the intent that we might give knowledge unto thee by writing, we demanded of them who were the chief doers, and we required of them the names in writing of their principal men.

13 So they gave us this answer, We are the servants of the Lord which made heaven and earth.

14 And as for this house, it was builded many years ago by a king of Israel great and strong, and was finished.

15 But when our fathers provoked God unto wrath, and sinned against the Lord of Israel which is in heaven, he gave them over into the power of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon, of the Chaldees;

16 Who pulled down the house, and burned it, and carried away the people captives unto Babylon.

17 But in the first year that king Cyrus reigned over the country of Babylon Cyrus the king wrote to build up this house.

18 And the holy vessels of gold and of silver, that Nabuchodonosor had carried away out of the house at Jerusalem, and had set them in his own temple, those Cyrus the king brought forth again out of the temple of Babylon, and they were delivered to [1] Zorobabel and to Sanabassarus the ruler,

19 With commandment that he should carry away the same vessels, and put them in the temple at Jerusalem; and that the temple of the Lord should be built in his place.

20 Then the same Sanabassarus, being come hither, laid the foundations of the house of the Lord at Jerusalem; and from that time to this being still a building, it is not yet fully ended.

21 Now therefore, if it seem good unto the king, let search be made among the [1] records of king Cyrus:

[1] Or, *Zorobabel, which is also Sanabassar the ruler,* so as Zorobabel seemeth to be added to the text, Ezra 1. 8.

[1] Or, *rolls.*

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9. *costly stones.*] It is perhaps a better division of the text to take the word "costly" as qualifying "timber" (πολυτελῶν ξύλων τιθεμένων). The reference might then be to the cedar wood mentioned in v. 55. Reuss, however (on Ezra v. 8), thinks the beams or girders to be meant. Comp. the note on *v.* 4, above.

10. *are done.*] Rather, "being done;" the clause depending on "we found." So "going on," just after, for "goeth on;" and "being finished," or "completed," for "is it made."

12. *Therefore, &c.*] More literally: "We questioned them, therefore, for the sake of making known to thee . . . and asked for the list of names of their leaders." The word for "list of names," ὀνοματογραφία, occurs again in viii. 49, where it is rendered "catalogue of names."

15. *of the Chaldees.*] According to the Greek, "king of the Chaldees;" the word "king" being repeated.

16. *Who pulled down.*] Rather, "And they pulled down," &c.

18. *in his own temple.*] See note on i. 41.

to Zorobabel and to Sanabassarus.] The marginal note to v. 40, "two of one," might be repeated here. The specification of Zerubbabel alone, in *vv.* 20, 27, and 29, shews that he is the one referred to. Above, in ii. 12, 15 (where see the note), he was called Sanabassar alone.

21. *records.*] Rather, "record-offices," or

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22 And if it be found that the building of the house of the Lord at Jerusalem hath been done with the consent of king Cyrus, and if our lord the king be so minded, let him signify unto us thereof.

23 [c] Then commanded king Darius to seek among the records at Babylon: and so at Ecbatana the palace, which is in the country of Media, there was found a [1] roll wherein these things were recorded.

c Ezra 6. 1, &c.

1 Or, place.

24 In the first year of the reign of Cyrus king Cyrus commanded that the house of the Lord at Jerusalem should be built again, where they do sacrifice with continual fire:

25 Whose height shall be sixty cubits, and the breadth sixty cubits, with three rows of hewn stones, and one row of new wood of that country; and the expences thereof to be given out of the house of king Cyrus:

26 And that the holy vessels of the house of the Lord, both of gold and silver, that Nabuchodonosor took out of the house at Jerusalem, and brought to Babylon, should be restored to the house at Jerusalem, and be set in the place where they were before.

27 And also he commanded that Sisinnes the governor of Syria and Phenice, and Sathrabuzanes, and their companions, and those which were appointed rulers in Syria and Phenice, should be careful not to meddle with the place, but suffer Zorobabel, the servant of the Lord, and governor of Judea, and the elders of the Jews, to build the house of the Lord in that place.

28 I have commanded also to have it built up whole again; and that they look diligently to help those that be of the captivity of the Jews, till the house of the Lord be finished:

29 And out of the tribute of Celosyria and Phenice a portion carefully to be given these men for the sacrifices of the Lord, *that is*, to Zorobabel the governor, for bullocks, and rams, and lambs;

30 And also corn, salt, wine, and

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"rolls-courts," βιβλιοφυλακίοις. In Ezra v. 17 the LXX. has ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῆς γάζης.

23. *at Ecbatana the palace.*] The simple statement that, after searching at Babylon, they found the document at Ecbatana, is a mark of candid truthfulness in the writer. According to Sayce, the edict "had, in the first instance, no doubt, been inscribed on clay, and stored up among the archives in Babylon; but a copy on papyrus had been afterwards made of it, as of other State documents, for preservation at Ekbatana" (*ubi sup.*, p. 52). Ecbatana, the Balmoral of the Persian kings, is here called "the palace" (τῇ βάρει), rather "the fortress," in Media. Josephus ('Antiqq.' x. 11, § 7) uses the same peculiar word.

roll.] τόμος, for which some MSS. have τόπος, whence the marginal rendering.

24. *where they do sacrifice.*] The sense may perhaps be: "where they shall do," &c. To the same purport R. would read in Ezra vi. 3.

25. *with three rows.*] The meaning of the Greek, διὰ δόμων, is obscure. In Ezra vi. 4 the words are nearly the same, the LXX. in both places having δόμοι, where the A. V. gives "rows." Fergusson ('Dict. of the Bible,' iii. p. 1459) thinks it means "storeys." R. prefers to apply it to the *thickness* of the walls, which was to be that of three blocks of hewn stone, together with the inner lining of timber. The opinion that every three layers, or courses, of stone were to have above them a layer of timber, is objected to by Reuss, who points out that, especially with *new* (and therefore unshrunk) timber, such a mode of building would be a strange one.

27. *And also he commanded.*] The transition from the decree of Cyrus quoted in the rescript, ending with *v.* 26, to the orders given by Darius in the rescript itself, is abrupt. In Ezra vi. 6 it is still more so; Tatnai and the others being there suddenly addressed in the second person. That *v.* 27 cannot be considered as forming part of the decree of Cyrus, seems plain from the fact that Sisinnes and his companions had addressed to Darius their inquiry about such a decree.

28. *whole.*] ὁλοσχερῶς, lit. entirely, or completely, from the very foundations.

29. *portion.*] Or, "contribution," σύνταξιν.

30. *corn, salt, &c.*] Needed for the burnt-offerings. See Exod. xxix. 40.

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oil, and that continually every year without further question, according as the priests that be in Jerusalem shall signify to be daily spent:

31 That [1]offerings may be made to the most high God for the king and for his children, and that they may pray for their lives.

[1] Or, drink offerings.

32 And he commanded that whosoever should transgress, yea, or make light of any thing afore spoken or written, out of his own house should a tree be taken, and he thereon be hanged, and all his goods seized for the king.

33 The Lord therefore, whose name is there called upon, utterly destroy every king and nation, that stretcheth out his hand to hinder or endamage that house of the Lord in Jerusalem.

34 I Darius the king have ordained that according unto these things it be done with diligence.

CHAPTER VII.

B.C. cir. 519.

1 Sisinnes and others help forward the building. 5 The temple is finished, and dedicated. 10 The passover is kept.

THEN [a]Sisinnes the governor of Celosyria and Phenice, and Sathrabuzanes, with their companions, following the commandments of king Darius,

[a] Ezra 6. 13.

2 Did very carefully oversee the holy works, assisting the ancients of the Jews and governors of the temple.

3 And so the holy works prospered, when Aggeus and Zacharias the prophets prophesied.

4 And they finished these things by the commandment of the Lord God of Israel, and with [1]the consent of Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes, kings of Persia.

[1] Or, the decree.

5 And thus was the holy house finished in [1]the three and twentieth day of the month Adar, in the sixth year of Darius king of the Persians.

515.

[1] Heb. the third day, Ezra 6. 15.

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31. *for their lives.*] That is, of the king and his children. As instances of such prayers, Bertheau (on Ezra vi. 10) quotes Jer. xxix. 7, where the exiles in Babylon are exhorted to pray for the welfare of that city; and 1 Macc. xii. 11, where the High-priest Jonathan speaks of remembering the Lacedæmonians in the daily sacrifices and prayers.

32. *hanged.*] Compare the punishment of Bigthan and Teresh (Esth. ii. 23). But R. thinks crucifixion to be meant. Reuss also renders the words in Ezra vi. 11 "qu'il y soit crucifié et cloué." For "tree" comp. Gal. iii. 13.

seized for the king.] Gk. εἶναι βασιλικά, = *publicari*, "to be confiscated." In the parallel passage of Ezra it is "let his house be made a dunghill."

CHAPTER VII.

2. *very carefully.*] Lit. "more diligently," ἐπιμελέστερον, answering to the ἐπιμελῶς, "with diligence," of vi. 34. Their assiduity was increased by the king's command.

governors of the temple.] ἱεροστάταις, a word said to be only found in this place. If genuine, it seems formed on a false analogy with προστάτης. But it may be questioned whether it is not a corruption of ἱεροῦ προστάταις. A προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ is mentioned in 2 Macc. iii. 4, answering to the "captain of the temple" of Luke xxii. 4.

4. *consent.*] Better, as in the margin, "decree," or decision; Gk. γνώμης.

and Artaxerxes.] This third king's name is a source of difficulty. The one so named in Ezra iv. 17, 23, has been assumed to mean the Pseudo-Smerdis. But he forbade, instead of helping, the building of the Temple; and moreover the name here stands after, not before, that of Darius. If, following the sequence of names, we come to the first Artaxerxes who reigned after Darius, we are carried down to a date subsequent to B.C. 465, when Artaxerxes Longimanus ascended the throne. And the work of building the Temple is said in the very next verse to have been finished in the sixth year of Darius, B.C. 516. Various explanations are offered. Reuss thinks that the compiler, or perhaps a later copyist, wishing to place together the three Persian kings who did most for the Jews, added the name of Artaxerxes. Fritzsche considers that he is named already by anticipation, because of the favour shewn by him afterwards (ch. viii. 9 *sqq.*).

5. *in the three and twentieth day.*] In Ezra vi. 15 it is the *third* day. No reason has been suggested to account for this variation, except the fanciful one (see Dr. Bissell's note) that as the later *Encænia*, and the great Mosaic festivals, lasted eight days, the writer thought it more appropriate to make this dedication festival last eight days as well;

B.C. 515.

6 And the children of Israel, the priests, and the Levites, and others that were of the captivity, that were added unto them, did according to the things written in the book of Moses.

7 And to the dedication of the temple of the Lord they offered an hundred bullocks, and two hundred rams, four hundred lambs;

8 And twelve goats for the sin of all Israel, according to the number of the [1]chief of the tribes of Israel.

[1] Or, *tribes.*

9 The priests also and the Levites stood arrayed in their vestments, according to their [1]kindreds, in the service of the Lord God of Israel, according to the book of Moses: and the porters at every gate.

[1] Heb. *divisions,* Ezra 6. 18.

10 And the children of Israel [1]that were of the captivity held the passover the fourteenth day of the first month, after that the priests and the Levites were sanctified.

[1] Or, *with those that, &c.*

11 They that were of the captivity were not all sanctified together: but the Levites were all sanctified together.

B.C. cir. 515.

12 And so they offered the passover for all them of the captivity, and for their brethren the priests, and for themselves.

13 And the children of Israel that came out of the captivity did eat, even all they that had separated themselves from the abominations of the people of the land, and sought the Lord.

14 And they kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days, making merry before the Lord,

15 For that he had turned the [1]counsel of the king of Assyria toward them, to strengthen their hands in the works of the Lord God of Israel.

[1] Or, *mind.*

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *Esdras bringeth the king's commission to build.* 8 *The copy of it.* 28 *He declareth the names and number of those that came with him,* 61 *and his journey.* 71 *He lamenteth the sins of his people,* 96 *and*

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which space of time, as Adar was the last month of the Jewish year, would just complete the old year. The peculiar expression in the Greek συνετελέσθη . . . . ἕως τρίτης κ.τ.λ., is exactly rendered in Neteler's German version: "Und es wurde dieses Haus vollendet bis zum dritten Tage des Monats Adar."

sixth year.] B.C. 516-5. It had thus been twenty years in progress, including the time during which the works were stopped.

6. *others.*] Rather, "the others," οἱ λοιποί. Comp. Ezra vi. 16.

7. *an hundred, &c.*] R. compares this "modest sacrifice," suiting well the day of small things (Zech. iv. 10), with the lavish offering of Solomon (1 Kings viii. 63).

8. *twelve goats, &c.*] This was a recognition of the unity of Israel, after the restoration, as before. In the Greek the reading varies. The A.V. appears to have had πρὸς ἀριθμὸν τῶν φυλῶν, but the best text has (according to F.'s punctuation) δώδεκα πρὸς ἀριθμόν, ἐκ τῶν φυλάρχων κ.τ.λ., "twelve in number, from the twelve leaders of the tribes of Israel."

11. *They that were, &c.*] The reading of the Greek here varies considerably. As given in the last edition of Tischendorf, the sense would literally be: "And the children of Israel, of those that were of the captivity, kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the first month, when the priests and the Levites together and all the children of the captivity were sanctified; (1) for they were sanctified, (2) for the Levites together were sanctified."

The clause marked (2) is omitted in several MSS., and (1) and (2) together in a few; and F. would omit them both. But the best MSS. retain them. The reading of the Vulgate is scarcely more intelligible: "And the children of Israel kept . . . &c., when the priests and Levites were sanctified. All the children of the captivity were not sanctified together, because the Levites were all sanctified together." The text must be corrupt as it stands; but the general drift of the passage seems to be, that the Levites stood in less need of special purification than the rest, even than the priests.

15. *king of Assyria.*] Darius is so called, from a part of his dominions, as Cyrus (in Ezra v. 13) and Artaxerxes (in Neh. xiii. 6) are called kings of Babylon. The Assyrian characters are even said to have been employed by Persian sovereigns in their despatches and inscriptions. See Bp. Wordsworth's note on Ezra vi. 22, and Duker and Arnold on Thuc. iv. 50.

B.C. cir. 457.

Esdras sweareth the priests to put away their strange wives.

AND after these things, when Artaxerxes the king of the Persians reigned, came Esdras the son of Saraias, the son of [a]Ezerias, the son of Helchiah, the son of Salum,

2 The son of Sadduc, the son of Achitob, the son of Amarias, the son of [b]Ezias, the son of [c]Meremoth, the son of Zaraias, the son of [d]Savias, the son of Boccas, the son of Abisum, the son of Phinees, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron [1]the chief priest.

3 This Esdras went up from Babylon, as a scribe, being very ready in the law of Moses, that was given by the God of Israel.

4 And the king did him honour: for he found grace in his sight in all his requests.

5 There went up with him also certain of the children of Israel, of the priests, of the Levites, of the holy singers, porters, and [1]ministers of the temple, unto Jerusalem,

6 In [1]the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, in the fifth month, this was the king's seventh year; for they went from Babylon in the first day of the first month, and came to Jerusalem, according to the [1]prosperous journey which the Lord gave them.

7 For Esdras had very great skill, so that he omitted nothing of the law and commandments of the Lord, but taught all Israel the ordinances and judgments.

8 Now the copy of the [1]commission, which was written from Artaxerxes the king, and came to Esdras the priest and reader of the law of the Lord, is this that followeth;

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9 King Artaxerxes unto Esdras the priest and reader of the law of the Lord sendeth greeting:

10 Having determined to deal graciously, I have given order, that such

[a] Azarias. [b] Ozias. [c] Maraioth. [d] Uzzi: Some copies want these three names. [1] Heb. was first, Ezra 7. 1.

[1] Or, Nethinims. [1] See Ezra 7. 7, 8, 9. [1] Or, success. [1] Or, decree.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. *And after these things.*] Between the end of the last chapter and the beginning of this a long interval has to be placed, from the sixth year of Darius (B.C. 516–5) to the seventh of Artaxerxes (B.C. 459–8). The same occurs between chaps. vi. and vii. of Ezra. This is assuming the Artaxerxes named to be Longimanus (B.C. 465–425), which is the most natural supposition. See R.'s note on Ezra vii. 1.

Esdras, &c.] For Ezra's genealogy, see the note on 2 Esdr. i. 1.

3. *as a scribe, being very ready.*] Rather, "as being a ready (or able) scribe," ὡς γραμματεὺς εὐφυὴς ὤν. The word εὐφυής, *bona indole præditus*, "of a good natural disposition," is replaced in Josephus by ἱκανῶς ἔμπειρος, "well versed." For the gradual development of the scribe's office among the Jews, see R.'s note on Ezra vii. 6.

5. *ministers of the temple.*] The ἱερόδουλοι, or Nethinim; on whom see the note on v. 35.

The sequence of what follows becomes clearer, if no notice is taken of the division of verses, and a longer pause is made after "fifth month."

6. *this was the king's seventh year.*] The way in which this fact is twice stated is noticeable. It is similarly repeated in Ezra vii. 7, 8; where it is also specified that their arrival at Jerusalem was on the *first day* of the fifth month; so that the caravan had been exactly four months on the road, from the first of Nisan (March) to the first of Ab (July).

7. *had very great skill.*] Such an incidental touch as this would shew Ezra himself not to be the writer. Compare the more modest description in Ezra vii. 10.

8. *Now the copy, &c.*] The sense is broken in the original, which runs, literally: "Now when the decree which had been written came from Artaxerxes the king to Esdras the priest and reader of the law of the Lord, of which the subjoined is a copy." The word προσπίπτειν is used in 2 Macc. v. 10 (11), viii. 12, &c. of news coming to one's ears.

10. *Having determined.*] It is probable that some words are missing from the beginning of the decree, as here given, since the Greek begins with καί, "and." It may be that only the customary formula "and so forth," used to shorten the superscription, is wanting (see Ezra vii. 12); or it may be, as F. supposes, that some words of a petition had been recited first, and this "and"

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of the nation of the Jews, and of the priests and Levites, being within our realm, as are willing and desirous, should go with thee unto Jerusalem.

11 As many therefore as have a mind thereunto, let them depart with thee, as it hath seemed good both to me and my seven friends the counsellors;

12 That they may look unto the affairs of Judea and Jerusalem, agreeably to that which is in the law of the Lord;

13 And carry the gifts unto the Lord of Israel to Jerusalem, which I and my friends have vowed, and all the gold and silver that in the country of Babylon can be [1]found, to the Lord in Jerusalem,

[1] Or, *got.*

14 With that also which is given of the people for the temple of the Lord their God at Jerusalem: and that silver and gold may be collected for bullocks, rams, and lambs, and things thereunto appertaining;

15 To the end that they may offer sacrifices unto the Lord upon the altar of the Lord their God, which is in Jerusalem.

16 And whatsoever thou and thy brethren will do [1]with the silver and gold, that do, according to the will of thy God.

[1] Or, *with the rest of,* Ezra 7. 18.

17 And the holy vessels of the Lord, which are given thee for the use of the temple of thy God, which is in Jerusalem, thou shalt set before thy God in Jerusalem.

18 And whatsoever thing else thou shalt remember for the use of the temple of thy God, thou shalt give it out of the king's treasury.

19 And I king Artaxerxes have also commanded the keepers of the treasures in Syria and Phenice, that whatsoever Esdras the priest and the reader of the law of the most high God shall send for, they should give it him with speed,

20 To the sum of an hundred talents of silver, likewise also of wheat even to an hundred [1]cors, and an

[1] Or, *measures, or, salt,* Ezra 7. 22.

(="and so," like "Atque ego" in Cic. 'Epp. ad Div.' iv. 6, quoted by F.) was used to introduce the concession in reply.

11. *my seven friends, &c.*] Rather, "my seven beloved counsellors." All the commentators refer to Esther i. 14, where mention is made of "the seven princes of Persia and Media, which saw the king's face, and which sat the first in the kingdom." Rawlinson quotes in addition the notice in Herod. iii. 84, of seven leading families in Persia, who formed the conspiracy against the Pseudo-Smerdis. Bertheau further quotes Justin, 'Hist.' i. 9, § 19, where these seven conspirators are mentioned.

12. *may look unto.*] Gk. ἐπισκέψωνται, implying an official inspection.

13. *my friends.*] Referring to the "friends the counsellors" of *v.* 11. This is made clear by Ezra vii. 15.

and all the gold, &c.] The construction, as F. points out, is: "and that all gold (or, every piece of gold) and silver that is found in the country of Babylon for the Lord at Jerusalem, along with what has been given by the people for the temple of the Lord their God which is in Jerusalem, be gathered together."

16. *with the silver, &c.*] More literally, "with gold and silver," there being no article. That is, "whatever can be done by money, that do." In Ezra vii. 18, it is "with the rest of," &c., which is more natural.

17. *the holy vessels.*] Referred to in viii. 25 below.

18. *thou shalt remember.*] Gk. ὑποπίπτῃ σοι, like *tibi subvenerint* in the Vulg., taken in the sense of "occur to thee," "come into thy mind." But F. denies that this is the right meaning here, and prefers the general one of "befalling," with which Wahl agrees.

19. *send for, &c.*] Rather, "whatsoever message Esdras, &c., may send," ὅσα ἐὰν ἀποστείλῃ.

with speed.] Rather, "diligently," ἐπιμελῶς. The comparative, ἐπιμελέστερον, is the word used above in vii. 2, where it is rendered, somewhat laxly, "very carefully."

20. *To the sum of, &c.*] This would limit the demand on the provincial treasuries. One hundred talents of silver would amount to about 24,300*l.* The *cor*, or *homer*, is fixed by some at about 86 gallons; by others, at about 44. The *piece*, or butt (French, "une pièce de vin"), Gk. μετρητής, nearly answered to our firkin, being, according to one system,

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hundred pieces of wine, and other things in abundance.

21 Let all things be performed after the law of God diligently unto the most high God, that wrath come not upon the kingdom of the king and his sons.

22 I command you also, that ye require no tax, nor any other imposition, of any of the priests, or Levites, or holy singers, or porters, or ministers of the temple, or of any that have doings in this temple, and that no man have authority to impose any thing upon them.

23 And thou, Esdras, according to the wisdom of God ordain judges and justices, that they may judge in all Syria and Phenice [1] all those that know the law of thy God; and those that know it not thou shalt teach.

24 And [e] whosoever shall transgress the law of thy God, and of the king, shall be punished diligently, whether it be by death, or other punishment, by penalty of money, or by imprisonment.

25 ¶ Then said Esdras the scribe, Blessed be the only Lord God of my fathers, who hath put these things into the heart of the king, to glorify his house that is in Jerusalem:

26 And hath honoured me in the sight of the king, and his counsellors, and all his friends and nobles.

27 Therefore was I encouraged by the help of the Lord my God, and gathered together men of Israel to go up with me.

28 And these are the chief according to their families and several dignities, that went up with me from Babylon in the reign of king Artaxerxes:

29 Of the sons of Phinees, Gerson: of the sons of Ithamar, [f] Gamael: of the sons of David, [g] Lettus [h] the son of Sechenias:

[1] Heb. *of those that know*, Ezra 7. 25.

[e] Ezra 7. 26.

[f] Or, *Daniel.*

[g] Or, *Chattus.*

[h] Ezra 8. 3. *of the sons of Shechaniah, of the sons of Pareosh.*

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between eight and nine gallons. See the art. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES in 'Dict. of the Bible,' iii. p. 1742.

and other things in abundance.] In Ezra vii. 22 it is "and salt without prescribing how much." The variation is due to the confusion between καὶ ἄλλα and καὶ ἅλα. The latter is the better-supported reading. Comp. above, vi. 30.

22. *you also.*] Addressed to the Persian officials in Palestine.

no tax.] This was more liberal than even the edict of Darius (ch. iv. 50). The grant of such great privileges naturally raises the question: To what was this striking indulgence due? Professor Sayce (*ubi sup.*, p. 61) thinks that we may see in it "a recognition that the troubles of the first few years of the reign of Artaxerxes had been due to the anger of the God of Israel. Esther, the Jewess, had been the wife of Xerxes, and it is difficult not to think that she may have had some influence over the religious ideas of the new king."

any that have doings, &c.] Gk. πραγματικοῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, a general term for all servants and others employed about the Temple. The Vulgate *scribis templi* points to a v. l. γραμματικοῖς, for which there is a little authority.

23. *thou shalt teach.*] As Reuss remarks, this is not to be understood as conveying to Ezra a general commission to make proselytes ("pour faire de la propagande") among the heathen residents in Palestine, but only as conferring upon him an ecclesiastical authority over his own countrymen. At the same time it is plain, as R. points out, that Ezra's commission, including in it the power of capital punishment (*v.* 24), must have superseded in some respects that of the regular governors of the province.

24. *or other punishment.*] The alternatives were death and a less penalty; the latter being subdivided into fine and imprisonment (or banishment, ἀπαγωγῇ). In Ezra vii. 26, three forms of the inferior penalty are given.

26. *all his friends.*] As *counsellors* has been already mentioned, *friends* must here be used in a wider sense. See above, *vv.* 11, 13.

28. *And these are, &c.*] Ezra viii. 1 *sqq.*

several dignities.] See the note above, on i. 5.

29. *Gamael.*] So in the Aldine. The best text has Gamaliel. In Ezra it is Daniel, which Bertheau thinks confirmed by Neh. x. 7.

Lettus.] Rather, *Lattus*, Λαττοὺς (Ald.), but the best text has Attus, Ἀττούς, answering to the Hattush of Ezra. He was grandson of Shechaniah (1 Chron. iii. 22). In Ezra viii.

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30 Of the sons of Pharez, Zacharias; and with him were counted an hundred and fifty men:

31 Of the sons of Pahath Moab, Eliaonias, the son of [i] Zaraias, and with him two hundred men:

32 [k] Of the sons of Zathoe, Sechenias the son of Jezelus, and with him three hundred men: of the sons of Adin, Obeth the son of Jonathan, and with him [1] two hundred and fifty men:

33 Of the sons of Elam, Josias son of [l] Gotholias, and with him seventy men:

34 Of the sons of Saphatias, [m] Zaraias son of Michael, and with him [n] threescore and ten men:

35 Of the sons of Joab, [o] Abadias son of [p] Jezelus, and with him two hundred and [q] twelve men:

36 [r] Of the sons of Banid, Assalimoth son of Josaphias, and with him an hundred and threescore men:

37 Of the sons of Babi, Zacharias son of Bebai, and with him twenty and eight men:

38 Of the sons of [s] Astath, Johannes *son of* [t] Acatan, and with him an hundred and ten men:

39 Of the sons of Adonikam the last, and these are the names of them, Eliphalet, Jeuel, and [u] Samaias, and with them [x] seventy men:

40 Of the sons of [1] Bago, Uthi the son of Istalcurus, and with him seventy men.

41 And these I gathered together

[i] *Zerachaiah.*
[k] Or, *of the sons of Shechaniah the son of Jahaziel.*
[1] Heb. *fifty men.*
[l] Or, *Athaliah.*
[m] Or, *Zebadiah.*
[n] Or, *fourscore men.*
[o] Or, *Obadiah.*
[p] Or, *Jehiel.*
[q] Or, *eighteen men.*
[r] Or, *of the sons of Shelomith the son of Josiphiah.*
[s] Or, *Azgad.*
[t] Or, *Catan.*
[u] Or, *Shemaia.*
[x] Or, *sixty men.*
[1] Heb. *Bigvai.*

2, 3, the text wants re-arranging. See R.'s note there.

30. *Pharez.*] The Phoros of v. 9.

31. *Pahath Moab.*] Ch. v. 11.

Eliaonias.] In Ezra, Elihoenai.

32. *Jezelus.*] Called in Ezra, Jahaziel. R. would alter the reading there to agree with the LXX. and this passage. Another Jezelus is mentioned in *v.* 35 below.

Adin.] Comp. v. 14. *Obeth* in Ezra is Ebed. The word means "slave," and is found in compound names, as Ebed-Melech (Jer. xxxviii. 7).

33. *Elam.*] Ch. v. 12. *Josias*, Ἰεσίας, called in Ezra viii. 7 Jeshaiah. On the other hand, the Jeshaiah of Ezra viii. 19 is in this chapter (*v.* 48) called Osaias. *Gotholiah* is the same as the Athaliah (which is also found as a female name) in Ezra, the initial *ayin* being replaced by the Greek guttural.

34. *Saphatias.*] Called in v. 9 Saphat, otherwise Shephatiah.

Zaraias.] To be distinguished from the two of the same name mentioned before in this chapter, *vv.* 2, 31. In Ezra it is Zebadiah.

35. *Joab.*] See the note on ch. v. 11, where a clause containing the name of Joab is omitted in the English Version. It is doubtful whether the one there referred to is the same as this Joab. *Abadias* is in Ezra Obadiah.

36. *Banid.*] This form is from the Aldine, βανίδ, probably a corruption of Βανία (by interchange of Α and Δ). The Vatican has Βανίας. In Ezra viii. 10, where the name should occur, it is thought by R. to have dropped out from its resemblance to *beney*, "sons."

Assalimoth.] In Ezra and in 1 Chron. iii. 19 (where it is a female name) the form is Shelomith: in the Greek here it is Σαλιμώθ. It is not unlikely that the form in the text, Assalimoth, is due to a wrong division of syllables in the names Βανί | ασΣαλιμώθ.

37. *Babi . . . Bebai.*] In Ezra viii. 11 the names are identical. Comp. v. 13.

38. *Astath.*] In v. 13, Sadas; in the Greek, Ἀσγάδ. In Ezra, Azgad. *Acatan*, in Ezra Hakkatan, only differs from the form *Catan*, given in the margin, by having the Hebrew definite article prefixed. Compare the name Accoz in v. 38 with Coz in Ezra ii. 61.

39. *the last.*] That is, "the last of the sons of A." This may mean the last left in Babylon. R. thinks it denotes the younger branches of the family; which would come to the same thing, supposing the older members to have returned with Zerubbabel. Comp. v. 14.

40. *Bago.*] Called Bagoi in v. 14, Bigvai in Ezra. The name Bagoas is said to mean "eunuch" in Persian. See 'Dict. of the Bible,' *s. v.*, where Dr. Westcott quotes Pliny, 'H. N.' xiii. 4, 9, in illustration.

Uthi the son of Istalcurus.] Instead of this we have in Ezra viii. 14, "Uthai and Zabbud," with marginal reading "Zaccur." It is difficult to see how καὶ Ζακκοὺρ could be changed to ὁ τοῦ Ἰσταλκούρου, though there is some

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[a] to the river called Theras, where we pitched our tents three days: and then [a] I surveyed them.

42 But when I had found there none of the priests and Levites,

43 Then sent I unto Eleazar, and [a] Iduel, and [b] Masman,

44 And Alnathan, and Mamaias, and [c] Joribas, and Nathan, Eunatan, Zacharias, and Mosollamon, principal men and learned.

45 And I bade them that they should go unto [d] Saddeus the captain, [e] who was in the place of [f] the treasury:

46 And commanded them that they should speak unto Daddeus, and to [g] his brethren, and to the treasurers

Or, to the river called Ahava, Ezra 8. 15. | Or, he numbered the people and the priests: but found none of the sons of Levi. Ezra 8. 16.

[a] Or, Ariel. [b] Or, Shemaiah. [c] Or, Jarib. These men's names with their generations are rightly distinguished,

[d] Or, Iddo. [e] Or, of. [f] Or, Casiphia. [g] Or, the Nethinims at the place of Casiphia.

resemblance between the last syllables. But the way in which the two previous names appear as one in the Aldine, Βαγουθί, will shew how liable such names are to be corrupted in transcription.

41. *the river called Theras.*] In the parallel passage of Ezra the expression is "the river that runneth to Ahava." And as it is called later on (Ezra viii. 21) "the river *of* Ahava," it would seem that this was the name both of a river and of a place. Rawlinson thinks that the spot can be identified with the modern *Hit*, called in Babylonian *Ibi*, a town on the Euphrates, about 80 miles N.W. from Babylon. Reuss thinks the spot unknown, and the "river" to have been one of the numerous canals, the "waters of Babylon." Why the name should be Theras, Θεράς, in the text, has not been satisfactorily explained. The LXX. at Ezra viii. 15 and 21 gives the forms Εὐΐ and Ἀουέ. F. thinks that Θερὰς or Θερὰ is only a perverted reading of the Hebrew אַהֲוָא. One might almost suspect that Josephus converted it into πέραν, in his equivalent expression εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου.

43. The small number of Levites who were inclined to return was noticed in the first expedition. See above, v. 26. But the priests on that occasion (ib., *v.* 24) were conspicuous by their numbers, and in the parallel passage of Ezra here no mention is made of any failure on their part. But the fact that in *v.* 47 of this chapter "sons of Levi" appear to answer the requirement for men to "execute the priests' office" (*v.* 46), suggests the thought that the distinction between the two might be growing less marked.

43, 44. The following are the parallel lists of names in Ezra and 1 Esdras:—

Ezra viii. 16–19.	1 Esdras viii. 43–4.
1. Eliezer.	1. Eleazar.
2. Ariel.	2. Iduel, Ἰδουῆλος.
3. Shemaiah.	3. Masman, Μαιὰ καὶ Μασμάν.
4. Elnathan I.	4. Alnathan.
5. Jarib.	5. Mamaias, Σαμαίας.
6. Elnathan II.	6. Joribas.
7. Nathan.	7. Nathan.
8. Zechaniah.	8. Eunatan, Ἐννατάν.
9. Meshullam.	9. Zacharias.
10. Joiarib.	10. Mosollamon, Μοσόλλαμος.
11. Elnathan III.	

From the above it will be seen, that if for *Masman* (No. 3 in 1 Esdras) we read with the best Greek text *Maia and Masman*, the number is the same in both lists. No. 1 of Ezra will then answer to 1 of the other, 3 to 6, 4 to 5, 5 to 7, 7 to 8, 8 to 10, 9 to 11, and 11 to 9. The *Maia* (No. 3 of 1 Esdras) may be merely a misreading of the last part of No. 5. The change of *Ariel*, "Lion of God," to *Iduel* is noticeable; and still more so the strange equivalent for the latter in the Vulgate, *Eccelon*. The Ἰδου- in Ἰδουῆλον appears to have been translated by *Ecce*, and the name *Ecce-elon* thus formed, which would naturally become *Eccelon*. *Eunatan* (No. 8 in 1 Esdr.) is simply a misprint for Ennatan, as it stands in the Geneva Version.

45. *Saddeus.*] In the Gk. Λοδδαῖος, Ald Δαδδαῖος; in Ezra, Iddo. The form Λοδδαῖος appears to have arisen from running together אֶל־עִדּוֹ in the Hebrew. See Bertheau's note on Ezra viii. 17. Bertheau suggests that the Nethinim may have been called the "brethren" of the Levites (*ib.*) from their dwelling together. But in the present passage the Nethinim, or "servants of the temple" (*v.* 49), are kept clearly distinct.

in the place of the treasury.] For this, we find in Ezra "at the place Casiphia," but in the LXX. the perverted phrase ἐν τῷ ἀργυρίῳ τοῦ τόπου, corrected in the present version to ἐν τῷ τόπῳ γαζοφυλακίου. As no such place as Casiphia is known, there are various conjectures to account for the name, and for γαζοφυλακίου as its equivalent. Perhaps the simplest way would be to suppose that the Hebrew כֶּסֶף, "silver," had been taken for a proper name, and Grecized in transliteration. Bertheau suggests that Casiphia might be the name of a college, or institution, where Levites were established; over which Iddo or Saddeus "the captain" presided.

46. *Daddeus.*] The same as the Saddeus above.

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in that place, to send us such men as might execute the priests' office in the house of the Lord.

47 And by the mighty hand of our Lord they brought unto us skilful men of the sons of [h] Moli the son of Levi, the son of Israel, [i] Asebebia, and his sons, and his brethren, who were eighteen.

48 [k] And Asebia, and Annuus, and Osaias his brother, of the sons of Channuneus, and their sons, were twenty men.

49 And of the servants of the temple whom David had ordained, and the principal men for the service of the Levites, to wit, the servants of the temple, two hundred and twenty, the catalogue of whose names were shewed.

50 ¶ And there I [1] vowed a fast unto the young men before our Lord, to desire of him a prosperous journey both for us and them that were with us, for our children, and for the [1] cattle:

51 For I was ashamed to ask the king footmen, and horsemen, and conduct for safeguard against our adversaries.

52 For we had said unto the king, that the power of the Lord our God should be with them that seek him, to support them in all ways.

53 And again we besought our Lord as touching these things, and found him favourable unto us.

54 Then I separated twelve of the chief of the priests, [l] Esebrias, and Assanias, and ten men of their brethren with them:

55 And I weighed them the gold, and the silver, and the holy vessels of the house of our Lord, which the king, and his council, and the princes, and all Israel, had given.

56 And when I had weighed it, I delivered unto them six hundred and

[h] Or, *Machli.*

[i] Or, *Sherebiah,* Ezra 8. 18.

[k] Or, *Also Hashabiah, and with him Jeshaiah of the sons of Merari with his brethren,* Ezra 8. 19.

[1] Or, *proclaimed.*

[1] Heb. *substance.*

[l] *Serebias and Hashabias.*

47. *Moli.*] In Ezra, Mahli; Gk. Μοολί. "Son" is here again used for grandson, as in vi. 1, and often. See Ex. vi. 16-19.

Asebebia.] In Ezra viii. 18, it is "they brought us a man, of understanding, of the sons of Mahli, . . . *and* Sherebiah;" which, if correct, would leave us to wonder why the name of one so distinguished should not have been recorded. The Alex. here, too, has the singular, "*a* skilful man," which would point to Asebebia as the one. If so, the "and" before Sherebiah in Ezra should, as R. suggests, be left out. But if we prefer to assume that a name has been lost, and that the "*and* Sherebiah" of Ezra viii. 18 is correct, the first letter of Ἀσερηβίαν may represent such a missing καί, especially as in the Ald. the name appears as Εἰσερηβίαν.

48. *Annuus, &c.*] Gk. Ἄννουος. Some of the names given here are altogether unlike those in Ezra viii. 19. Asebia is of course Hashabiah, and Osaias is Jeshaiah (LXX. Ἰσαΐα); but the other two are very doubtful.

49. *whom David had ordained.*] F. agrees in this punctuation, placing a comma after Δαυίδ. But the sense requires us to read, "whom David and the principal men had ordained (lit. 'gave') for the service," &c., in accordance with Ezra viii. 20, "whom David and the princes had appointed." Comp. above, v. 29, and 1 Chron. ix. 2.

were shewed.] The use of the plural number seems due to the attraction of the word "names" just before.

50. *a fast.*] As Jehoshaphat had done: 2 Chron. xx. 3. Ezra would have many reasons for anxiety. "The passage of the troops to Egypt had no doubt increased the ordinary dangers of a road always infested by Beduins and brigands, and Ezra had been 'ashamed to require of the king an escort of soldiers and horsemen,' for he had told him that 'the hand of our God is upon all them for good that seek him; but his power and his wrath is against all them that forsake him.' The amount of gold and silver, however, which he was carrying with him (Ezra viii. 26, 27), gave him good reason to feel anxious." (Sayce, 'Ezra,' &c., p. 62.)

the young men.] The reason of this special addition to the account in Ezra viii. 21 is not clear. For the term employed, see note on *v.* 91 below, and comp. Neh. viii. 2.

54. *Esebrias.*] Gk. Ἐσερεβίας, Vulg. Sedebias (by interchange of *d* and *r* in Hebrew), the same as Sherebiah (Ezra viii. 18, 24) or Asebebia (above, *v.* 47). As Assanias answers to Hashabiah (Ezra viii. 19), both these were Levites; and the question arises, how they could be described as "chief of the priests." R. thinks that the Hebrew should be read as "to Sherebiah," &c.; that is, Ezra appointed twelve priests to form a joint body

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fifty talents of silver, and silver vessels of an hundred talents, and an hundred talents of gold,

57 And twenty golden vessels, and [1] twelve vessels of brass, even of fine brass, glittering like gold.

[1] Heb. *in wools*, Ezra 8. 27.

58 And I said unto them, Both ye are holy unto the Lord, and the vessels are holy, and the gold and the silver is a vow unto the Lord, the Lord of our fathers.

59 Watch ye, and keep them till ye deliver them to the chief of the priests and Levites, and to the principal men of the families of Israel, in Jerusalem, into the chambers of the house of our God.

60 So the priests and the Levites, who had received the silver and the gold and the vessels, brought them unto Jerusalem, into the temple of the Lord.

61 And from the river Theras we departed the twelfth day of the first month, and came to Jerusalem by the mighty hand of our Lord, which was with us: and from the [1] beginning of our journey the Lord delivered us from every enemy, and *so* we came to Jerusalem.

[1] Or, *dangers in the way.*

62 And when we had been there three days, the gold and silver that was weighed was delivered in the house of our Lord on the fourth day unto [1] Marmoth the priest the son of Iri.

[1] Or, *unto Merimoth the son of Uriah the priest.*

63 And with him was Eleazar the son of Phinees, and with them were Josabad the son of Jesu and [1] Moeth the son of Sabban, Levites: all was *delivered them* by number and weight.

[1] Or, *Noadiah the son of Binnui.*

64 And all the weight of them was written up the same hour.

65 Moreover they that were come out of the captivity offered sacrifice unto the Lord God of Israel, even

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with these twelve Levites. But, as was suggested above (*v.* 46), the distinction between the two orders may have begun to disappear.

56. *talents, &c.*] Reuss interprets the parallel passage in Ezra as expressing the actual weight of the silver in talents: "un poids de six cent cinquante talents," &c., but the twenty golden vessels, or bowls, he gives as "valant mille dariques." Hence it is perhaps best to take all these amounts as representing value, not weight. So Bertheau. The value of the talent of silver was about 243*l.*

57. *brass, &c.*] In Ezra it is "two vessels of fine copper, precious as gold." F. thinks twelve more likely to have been the number. The "fine brass glittering like gold," *χρηστοῦ χαλκοῦ στίλβοντα χρυσοειδῆ* (lit. "good," "genuine," brass or bronze), seems to point, as Dr. Bissell suggests, to the metal known as *orichalcum*. Reuss thinks the vessels were gilded ("d'un métal doré").

59. *into the chambers.*] Rather, "in the," &c., *ἐν τοῖς παστοφορίοις*. These were cells, or chambers in the cloisters surrounding the Temple. See F.'s note, and comp. 1 Kings vi. 5.

60. *unto Jerusalem.*] The Greek is *τὰ ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ*, "which were in Jerusalem." This might by a stretch of interpretation be supposed to mean "which had (before) been in J.," but the *τὰ* is probably faulty. It would be simplest to strike it out; only, as F. points out, it is in all the best MSS.

61. *twelfth day.*] Comp. *vv.* 6 and 41 above.

from the beginning.] The variety in the marginal reading is due to the obscurity of the Greek: *ἀπὸ τῆς εἰσόδου ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐχθροῦ*. F. says that *εἴσοδος* must have the sense of onset, attack; but would any Greek writer use *εἴσοδος ἀπὸ* in such a connection?

62. *that was weighed.*] Rather, "after being weighed," *σταθὲν*, not *τὸ σταθέν*.

Marmoth.] In Ezra viii. 33, "Meremoth the son of Uriah." In the Geneva Version, "Marmoth the priest, the sonne of Iouri," with marginal reading, "Marmoth the son of Iori of Urie." This last may be traced to the Aldine reading *μαρμωθιουρὶ ἱερεῖ*, from which *ἱερεῖ* appears to have been understood as a proper name. Hence possibly the peculiar form *Iri* in the text. Urias is mentioned again in ix. 43.

63. *Jesu.*] The Levite Jessue, or Jeshua, mentioned above, v. 26. "Moeth the son of Sabban" appears in Ezra viii. 33 as "Noadiah the son of Binnui." The name of Binnui (LXX. Βαναΐα) probably lurks in the latter part of Σα-βάννου, and it might be possible to trace the change of Νωαδία to Μωέθ. A prophetess named Noadia is also mentioned in Neh. vi. 14.

64. *hour.*] Rather, "time."

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twelve bullocks for all Israel, fourscore and sixteen rams,

66 [l] Threescore and twelve lambs, goats for a peace offering, twelve; all of them a sacrifice to the Lord.

[l] Heb. *Seventy seven lambs, twelve he goats for a sin offering,* Ezra 8. 35.

67 And they delivered the king's commandments unto the king's stewards, and to the governors of Celosyria and Phenice; and they honoured the people and the temple of God.

68 Now when these things were done, the rulers came unto me, and said,

69 The nation of Israel, the princes, the priests and Levites, have not put away from them the strange people of the land, nor the pollutions of the Gentiles, *to wit*, of the Canaanites, Hittites, Pheresites, Jebusites, and the Moabites, Egyptians, and Edomites.

70 [m] For both they and their sons have married with their daughters, and the holy seed is mixed with the strange people of the land; and from the beginning of this matter the rulers and the great men have been partakers of this iniquity.

[m] Ezra 9. 2.

71 And as soon as I had heard these things, I rent my clothes, and the holy garment, and pulled off the hair from off my head and beard, and sat me down sad and very heavy.

72 So all they that were then moved at the word of the Lord God of Israel assembled unto me, whilst I mourned for the iniquity: but I sat still full of heaviness until the evening sacrifice.

73 Then rising up from the fast with my clothes and the holy garment rent, and bowing my knees, and stretching forth my hands unto the Lord,

74 I said, O Lord, I am confounded and ashamed before thy face;

75 For our sins [1] are multiplied above our heads, and our ignorances have reached up unto heaven.

[1] Or, *have abounded.*

76 For ever since the time of our fathers we *have been* and are in great sin, even unto this day.

77 And for our sins and our fathers' we with our brethren and our kings and our priests were given up unto the kings of the earth, to the

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66. *for a peace offering.*] The Geneva Version, more correctly, "for salvation," ὑπὲρ σωτηρίου, as a thanksgiving for safe preservation on their journey. It will be noticed that all the numbers here are multiples of twelve, again expressive of the unity and completeness of Israel. The number 77 in Ezra viii. 35 does not accord with this. Bertheau regards it as the intensification ("die starke Steigerung") of the number seven.

67. *and they honoured, &c.*] *I.e.* the Persian officials just mentioned. The word "stewards," οἰκονόμοι, answers to the διοίκηται of the LXX. at Ezra viii. 36, where the original word is rendered "lieutenants." Reuss properly translates it by *satrapes royaux*.

68. *Now when, &c.*] Ezra ix. 1 *sqq.* Between this verse and the last an interval must be placed. From Ezra vii. 9 we learn that they reached Jerusalem on the first day of the fifth month (July–Aug.); and from Ezra x. 9, that the meeting on the subject now introduced was held on the twentieth day of the ninth month (Chisleu, = Nov.–Dec.). Hence something like four months must be supposed to have elapsed. During this interval, as Stanley suggests ('Jewish Church,' Lect. xliv.), there would have been time for the residents in Palestine to become acquainted with the copies of the Law brought from Chaldea by Ezra and his followers. Hence the stir which arose.

69. *Egyptians.*] The insertion of this name among those of the Canaanitish races shews, as Reuss observes, the great extent to which a mixture of races had been going on.

71. *pulled off, &c.*] R. notices that while shaving the head was a common sign of mourning among Orientals (Job i. 20; Jer. vii. 29, &c.), plucking off the hair was unusual. Bertheau, however, compares the conduct of Nehemiah (Neh. xiii. 25).

72. *then.*] It would appear that the English translator read τότε here, but the best text (as well as the Aldine) has ποτέ, "as many soever as were," &c.

the evening sacrifice.] Compare the conduct of Elijah on Mount Carmel, 1 Kings xviii. 26.

75. *our sins, &c.*] R. aptly compares Ps.

B.C. 457. sword, and to captivity, and for a prey with shame, unto this day.

78 And now in some measure hath mercy been shewed unto us from thee, O Lord, that there should be left us a root and a name in the place of thy sanctuary;

79 And to discover unto us a light in the house of the Lord our God, and to give us [1] food in the time of our servitude.

[1] Heb. & Ezra 9. 8.

80 Yea, when we were in bondage, we were not forsaken of our Lord; but he made us gracious before the kings of Persia, so that they gave us food;

81 Yea, and honoured the temple of our Lord, and raised up the desolate Sion, that they have given us a sure abiding in Jewry and Jerusalem.

82 And now, O Lord, what shall we say, having these things? for we have transgressed thy commandments, which thou gavest by the hand of thy servants the prophets, saying,

83 That the land, which ye enter into to possess as an heritage, is a land polluted with the pollutions of the strangers of the land, and they have filled it with their uncleanness. B.C. 457.

84 Therefore now shall ye not join your daughters unto their sons, neither shall ye take their daughters unto your sons.

85 Moreover ye shall never seek to have peace with them, that ye may be strong, and eat the good things of the land, and that ye may leave the inheritance of the land unto your children for evermore.

86 And all that is befallen is done unto us for our wicked works and great sins: for thou, O Lord, didst make our sins light,

87 And didst give unto us such a root: but we have turned back again to transgress thy law, and to mingle ourselves with the uncleanness of the nations of the land.

88 [1] Mightest not thou be angry with us to destroy us, till thou hadst left us neither root, seed, nor name?

[1] Or, *Be not angry, &c.*

89 O Lord of Israel, thou art true: for we are left a root this day.

90 Behold, now are we before thee in our iniquities, for we cannot stand

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xxxviii. 4, "mine iniquities are gone over mine head."

78. *in some measure.*] κατὰ ποσόν τι. But Tisch. and F. prefer to accentuate it κατὰ πόσον τι, "in how great a measure!"

a root.] In Ezra ix. 8 the expressive metaphor is used of "*a nail* in his holy place." Comp. Eccles. xii. 11; Isai. xxii. 23. R. thinks that by "holy place" is meant "his holy land;" that is, "the land of Israel," comparing Zech. ii. 12. But surely the present passage shews the Temple to be referred to. Comp. Ps. xxiv. 3, xxvi. 9.

79. *to give us food.*] The words in the Greek thus rendered are the same as are rendered in the next verse "so that they gave us food;" δοῦναι ἡμῖν τροφήν. The latter should probably be altered in the English to coincide with the other. Comp. Ezra ix. 9, where the LXX. has ζωοποίησιν, "quickening," or "keeping alive."

83. *That.*] This word should be omitted; ὅτι being the usual mark of a quotation. For the general form of the reference to the law of Moses (no particular text being quoted, but the sense of several), see Reuss's note. In the next verse there is a reference to Deut. vii. 1 *sqq.*

85. *peace, &c.*] In Ezra ix. 12 still more strongly, "nor seek their peace or their wealth (welfare)." As Bertheau points out, the prohibition in Deut. xxiii. 6 was limited to seeking the peace and prosperity of the Ammonites and Moabites. In *v.* 7 *ib.* the people were distinctly commanded *not* to abhor the Edomite or the Egyptian, for reasons there given; both which peoples are included in the list above, *v.* 69. Ezra, in his zeal for the law, had allowed himself to be carried even beyond the strict letter of it.

86. *didst make...light.*] Dr. Bissell explains this as "didst lighten us of;" but it should rather be, "didst punish less than they deserved." So Wahl, who compares Ezra ix. 13.

88. *Mightest not thou, &c.*] So in the Geneva Version. But there seems no reason for so translating οὐχὶ ὠργίσθης ἡμῖν, "thou becamest not angry with us," the reading of the Vat. and Aldine.

89. *true.*] ἀληθινός, which here appears to be used in the sense of ἀληθής, *verax*. The

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any longer by reason of these things before thee.

a Ezra 10. 1.

91 a And as Esdras in his prayer made his confession, weeping, and lying flat upon the ground before the temple, there gathered unto him from Jerusalem a very great multitude of men and women and children: for there was great weeping among the multitude.

92 Then Jechonias the son of Jeelus, one of the sons of Israel, called out, and said, O Esdras, we have sinned against the Lord God, we have married strange women of the nations of the land, and now is all Israel [1] aloft.

1 Or, exalted, Deut. 28. 13. Baruch 2. 5.

93 Let us make an oath to the Lord, that we will put away all our wives, which we have taken of the heathen, with their children,

94 Like as thou hast decreed, and as many as do obey the law of the Lord.

95 Arise, and put in execution: for to thee doth this matter appertain, and we will be with thee: do valiantly.

96 So Esdras arose, and took an oath of the chief of the priests and Levites [1] of all Israel to do after these things; and *so* they sware.

1 Heb. *and all Israel*, Ezra 10. cir. 45.

CHAPTER IX.

3 *Esdras assembleth all the people.* 10 *They promise to put away the strange wives.* 20 *The names and number of them that did so.* 40 *The law of Moses is read and declared before all the people.* 49 *They weep, and are put in mind of the feast day.*

a THEN Esdras rising from the court of the temple went to the chamber of Joanan the son of Eliasib,

a Ezra 10. 6, &c.

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reasoning, according to F., is this: "Thou, O Lord, art true in thy promises; and therefore it is not according to our works that we are still left remaining at this day."

91. Ezra x. 1 *sqq.* There also a change is made from the first person to the third. For the conclusions as to the authorship to be drawn from the circumstance, see R.'s note there.

children.] The word in the Greek is νεανίαι, "young men," and in Ezra x. 1 (in the LXX.) νεανίσκοι, the word used in *v.* 50 above. The terms "men, women, and children" go so naturally together, that the Greek translator must have had some object in replacing the last by "young men," especially as νεανίας could be used of one no longer what we should call young, as by Xenophon of Agesilaus when he came to the throne at the age of 40. The reason perhaps lay in the nature of the topic discussed, which would concern adults alone.

92. *Jechonias.*] In Ezra, Shechaniah. If Jeelus (Ἰέηλος) his father is the same as Hierehelus of ix. 27 (and both are sons of Elam, Ezra x. 2 and *ib.*), he had himself contracted one of the forbidden marriages.

married.] In the Greek, συνῳκίσαμεν, "cohabited with," a less respectful word.

and now is all Israel aloft.] καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἐπάνω πᾶς Ἰσραήλ. The margin gives the alternative rendering "is exalted." And ἐπάνω is the word used in the LXX. of the passages referred to, Deut. xxviii. 13, "and thou shalt be *above* only, and not beneath," and Baruch ii. 5. But surely this was not a moment to talk of the exaltation of Israel. In Ezra x. 2 it is "yet now there is hope in Israel concerning this thing," which is appropriate, but does not help to clear the present text. As F. points out that some MSS. have παντὸς for πᾶς, this might countenance the Vulgate reading, *et nunc es super omnem Israel:* "and now art thou over all Israel." This would agree with the tone of *vv.* 94, 95, and would only necessitate the change of ἐστὶν to εἶ σύ. Even without any change, reading παντός, we might interpret it "and now is there one over all Israel," whether the application be to Ezra or to God. Comp. the LXX. of Neh. viii. 5.

93. *Let us make, &c.*] The words "in this matter" are wanting either at the beginning or end of this clause, to answer to the ἐν τούτῳ of the Greek. The Geneva Version has "concerning this."

with their children.] On the victory thus gained "over the natural affections of the whole community," see the remarks of Dean Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' Lect. xliv.

95. *Arise, &c.*] The abruptness of the Greek is striking: ἀνάστα, ἐπιτέλει. The ascendency also thus ascribed to Ezra,—what Stanley calls "this acknowledged supremacy of Ezra's personal force,"—accords with the interpretation put upon the last clause of *v.* 92.

CHAPTER IX.

1. *Joanan.*] There was a Joanan, grandson of Eliashib (Neh. xii. 10, 11), who was

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2 And remained there, and did eat no meat nor drink water, mourning for the great iniquities of the multitude.

3 And there was a proclamation in all Jewry and Jerusalem to all them that were of the captivity, that they should be gathered together at Jerusalem:

4 And that whosoever met not there within two or three days, according as the elders that bare rule appointed, their cattle should be seized to the use of the temple, and himself [1]cast out from them that were of the captivity.

5 And in three days were all they of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin gathered together at Jerusalem the twentieth day of the ninth month.

6 And all the multitude sat trembling in the broad court of the temple because of the present foul weather.

7 So Esdras arose up, and said unto them, Ye have transgressed the law in marrying strange wives, thereby to increase the sins of Israel.

8 And now by confessing give glory unto the Lord God of our fathers,

9 And do his will, and separate yourselves from the heathen of the land, and from the strange women.

10 Then cried the whole multitude, and said with a loud voice, Like as thou hast spoken, so will we do.

11 But forasmuch as the people are many, and it is foul weather, so that we cannot stand without, and this is not a work of a day or two, seeing our sin in these things is spread far:

12 Therefore let the rulers of the multitude [1]stay, and let all them of our habitations that have strange wives come at the time appointed,

13 And with them the rulers and

[1] Gr. *be destroyed*, 1 Esd. 10.

[1] Or, *stand*.

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high-priest at a later period (ib., *v.* 22); but as his son Jaddua was high-priest in B.C. 332 (see R.'s note on Neh. xii. 10), he could not, by any reasonable calculation, be the one here referred to.

2. *remained there.*] Or, "lodged there," αὐλισθεὶς ἐκεῖ. The LXX. of Ezra x. 6 has the curious reading of ἐπορεύθη twice repeated, on which see Bertheau's note. But the Aldine has ηὐλίσθη there.

4. *within two or three days.*] In Ezra x. 8, more precisely, "within three days." As so short a time was allowed for the people, wherever resident, to repair to the capital, "it is clear," as Sayce remarks, "that the number of the Jewish inhabitants in the country must have been small."

seized to the use of the temple.] Gk. ἀνιερωθήσονται, for which in Ezra the word is ἀναθεματισθήσεται. Either word might mean simply the being devoted, an "Einziehung zum Besten des Tempels," as Bertheau words it, but the Hebrew of Ezra x. 8 implies something stronger than this, the actual destruction of the cattle or other property. See Gesenius, *s. v.* חָרַם, and F.'s note on the text (where for Numb. xxvii. 28 *sqq.* read Levit. xxvii. 28 *sqq.*).

cast out.] Not banished, but "separated from the congregation" (Ezra x. 8); that is, as R. explains it, "excommunicated."

5. *ninth month.*] See note above, on viii. 68.

6. *the broad court.*] Comp. v. 47, and note. The same place is apparently meant in 2 Chron. xxix. 4 (where Reuss explains it as "la grande cour, devant la façade du temple"), and Neh. viii. 1. Bertheau, on the latter passage, agrees with R. in thinking that the open space or court in question was not immediately in front of the temple porch, between it and the eastern boundary, but between the latter and the water-gate in the town walls.

foul weather.] In the ninth month, Chisleu, answering to part of our November and December, the rainy season would, as a rule, have begun. See Thomson's 'The Land and the Book,' p. 91.

10. *the whole multitude.*] On this decision by the voice of a popular assembly, see Stanley, 'Jewish Church' (*ubi sup.*, p. 108). It is noticeable that the word rendered "congregation" in Ezra x. 1 is in the LXX. ἐκκλησία.

11. *forasmuch as.*] These words are not wanted, the Greek being in the simpler form of Ezra x. 13.

12. *stay.*] Not "stand," as in the margin, but remain in Jerusalem, to form arrangements for carrying out the resolution of the general assembly.

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judges of every place, till we turn away the wrath of the Lord from us for this matter.

14 Then Jonathan the son of Azael and Ezechias the son of Theocanus accordingly took this matter upon them: and Mosollam and Levis and Sabbatheus helped them.

15 And they that were of the captivity did according to all these things.

16 And Esdras the priest chose unto him the principal men of their families, all by name: and in the first day of the tenth month they sat together to examine the matter.

17 So their cause that held strange wives was brought to an end in the first day of the first month.

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18 And of the priests that were come together, and had strange wives, there were found;

19 Of the sons of Jesus the son of Josedec, and his brethren; [b] Mathelas, and Eleazar, and [c] Joribus, and [d] Joadanus.

20 And they gave their hands to put away their wives, and to offer [‖] rams to make reconcilement for their [e] errors.

21 And of the sons of Emmer;

[b] Or, *Maasias.*
[c] Or, *Jarib.*
[d] Or, *Gedaliah.*
[‖] Heb. *a ram.*
[e] Or, *purification.*

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habitations.] Rather, "settlements," κατοικιῶν. The same word is found in *v.* 37 below, for "were in their habitations" (with marg. reading "villages"), referring to the different spots outside Jerusalem where the returning Jews had taken up their abode.

at the time appointed.] Gk. λαβόντες χρόνον, lit. "receiving a time;" that is, apparently, having a time appointed them severally for making any declarations required. This would agree with Ezra x. 13, where the LXX. has ἐλθέτωσαν εἰς καιρούς, but the expression is unusual.

14. *Then Jonathan, &c.*] As in *v.* 16 it is said that Ezra chose the members of the council, it is not clear who these persons were, or what title they had to act in the matter. But Reuss renders the parallel clause in Ezra, "Il n'eut que Jonatan... qui s'opposèrent à cela;" and Neteler, "Nur Jonathan ... standen dagegen auf;" and R. also would make the sense to be, that those here mentioned were the only "opponents" of the measure. It is difficult to reconcile the Greek of the present passage with this meaning: Ἰωνάθας κ.τ.λ. ἐπεδέξαντο κατὰ ταῦτα. In Ezra (x. 15) the LXX. has πλὴν Ἰωνάθαν κ.τ.λ. μετ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτου. The assumption of J. D. Michaelis, that the two first named were chosen by the people as their representatives in the matter, and the others nominated by Ezra as assessors or joint arbiters with them (συνεβράβευσαν αὐτοῖς), has, as F. remarks, no authority in the text. F.'s own conclusion is, that Ezra appointed the regular commission (*v.* 16), but that the persons here named undertook the task [without waiting for any such formal appointment?] when some of those implicated had begun to come to Jerusalem, to take the necessary preliminary steps.

Levis and Sabbatheus.] The Geneva Version leaves out the words "and Levis" altogether. One person alone is probably meant, Sabbatæus, or Shabbethai, the Levite. So in Ezra x. 15; where also Theocanus, or Thocanus, appears as Tikvah.

16. *tenth month.*] Tebeth, answering to parts of our December and January. From this to the first day of the first month (Nisan or Abib) would be three months (not two, as R. on Ezra x. 17); a space of time not too long for the many difficult questions that would have to be settled.

17. *that held.*] Gk. τοὺς ἐπισυνέχοντας. The force of the compound should be noticed, implying that they had something over and above what the law allowed them.

18. *that were come together.*] This is not accurate, as the clause is in the nominative, οἱ ἐπισυναχθέντες (Vat.). But the Aldine has οἱ ἐπισυνεχθόντες, which may be an error either for -έχοντες or -ελθόντες. The Geneva Version translates according to the former: "which had married strange wives." The Vulgate has *permisti*, "mixed up" with the other culprits. Judgment begins at the house of God.

19. *Jesus.*] The former high-priest. In Ezra x. 18 the four names which follow are: Maaseiah, Eliezer, Jarib, and Gedaliah. The difference between the first names in each list is probably due to mistaking *s* for *th* (in Greek, C for Θ). See 'Dict. of the Bible,' *s. v.* The interchange of I and Γ, and of Δ and Λ in the two forms of the last name, are also easy to understand.

20. *gave their hands.*] Gk. ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας, a phrase which in 'Add. ad Esth.' i. 14 is used for "to lay hands on." Here it answers to ἔδωκαν χεῖρα in the LXX. of Ezra, "they pledged themselves."

errors.] The marginal reading "purification" is due to the reading of the Aldine, ἁγνείας for ἀγνοίας.

21. *Emmer.*] In Ezra, Immer. His family,

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Ananias, and Zabdeus, and [f] Eanes, and [g] Sameius, and [h] Hiereel, and [i] Azarias.

22 And of the sons of [k] Phaisur; Elionas, Massias, Ismael, and Nathanael, and [l] Ocidelus, and [m] Talsas.

23 And of the Levites; Jozabad, and Semis, and [n] Colius, who was called [o] Calitas, and [p] Patheus, and Judas, and Jonas.

24 Of the holy singers; [q] Eleazurus, Bacchurus.

25 Of the porters; Sallumus, and [r] Tolbanes.

26 Of them of Israel, of the sons of [s] Phoros; [t] Hiermas, and [u] Eddias, and Melchias, and [x] Maelus, and Eleazar, and [y] Asibias, and Baanias.

27 Of the sons of Ela; Matthanias, Zacharias, and [z] Hierielus, and Hieremoth, and [a] Aedias.

28 And of the sons of [b] Zamoth; [c] Eliadas, [d] Elisimus, [e] Othonias, Jarimoth, and [f] Sabatus, and [g] Sardeus.

29 Of the sons of Bebai; Johannes, and Ananias, and [h] Josabad, and [i] Amatheis.

30 Of the sons of [k] Mani; [l] Olamus, [m] Mamuchus, [n] Jedeus, Jasubus, [o] Jasael, and Hieremoth.

31 ‖ And of the sons of Addi; Naathus, and Moosias, Lacunus, and

[f] Harim. [g] Maaseiah. [h] Jehiel. [i] Uzziah. [k] Pashur. [l] Jozabad. [m] Elasah. [n] Kelaiah. [o] Kelitah. [p] Pethahiah. [q] Eliashib. [r] Telem. [s] Parosh. [t] Ramiah. [u] Jeziah. [x] Miamin. [y] Malchiah. [z] Jehiel. [a] Abdi. [b] Zattu. [c] Elioenai. [d] Eliashib. [e] Mattaniah. [f] Zabad. [g] Aziza. [h] Zabbai. [i] Athlai. [k] Bani. [l] Meshullam. [m] Malluch. [n] Adaiah. [o] Sheal. ‖ Of the names in ver. 31, 32, 34, 35, See Ezra 10. 30, 31, 34, &c.

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and those of Pashur and Harim, were mentioned among the priestly families in Ezra ii. 37-39. Comp. above v. 24. The peculiar spelling of Eanes is due to a misprint of Ἡάνης for Μάνης in the Aldine. The Vat. has Μάνης. According to the marginal note, it answers to Harim in Ezra x. 21, but it really is all that remains to answer to three names in Ezra; and probably something has been lost from the text.

22. *Phaisur.*] In Ezra, Pashur. In v. 25 above, Phassaron. Most of the names in this verse agree with those in Ezra, the only important variations being in the last two. Ocodelus, Ὠκόδηλος (in Ald. Ὠκίδηλος, whence the form in the A.V.) is in place of Jozabad; and Talsas (so Ald.), Σαλθάς, is in place of Elasah.

23. The six names of Levites agree with those in Ezra x. 23, except that Jonas, the last, is in place of Eliezer. In 'Dict. of the Bible,' under ELIEZER (i. p. 527, No. 9) he is mistakenly referred to as Eleazurus, from the next verse.

24. *Eleazurus.*] In the Aldine Ἐλιάζουφος, whence probably the form in the A. V., φ being read as ρ. In the Vat. it is Ἐλιάσιβος, answering to Eliashib in Ezra. It will be noticed that here we have two singers and two porters to answer to one singer and three porters in Ezra. Hence it might be conjectured that the four names originally agreed, the Uri of Ezra having got corrupted into Bacchurus.

26. *Phoros.*] Mentioned first of the ordinary lay people, as above, v. 9. The names of his seven descendants here given nearly agree with those in Ezra x. 25, the form Eddias (for Iezias) being due to Ἐδδίας in the Aldine. The difference is in Asibias replacing Malchijah. But the LXX. gives Ἀσαβία for the latter name in Ezra.

27. *Ela.*] In v. 12, Elam. The absence of the final *m* in the Aldine is no doubt due to the next word beginning with that letter. Of his sons, the names of five only are given in the A. V. (following the Aldine) as against six in Ezra x. 26; that is, Aedias (Ald. Ἀηδίας, Vat. Αἰδίας) answers to Abdi and Eliah together. But the best text has here also Ἰωαβδίος . . . καὶ Αἰδίας. Allowing for the common confusion of Δ and Λ, the last name properly represents Eliah; so that the lists agree.

28. *Zamoth.*] Above, v. 12, where he is called Zathui. Of the six names which follow, Othonias is the equivalent for Mattaniah in Ezra, and Sardeus (Ald. Σαρδαῖος, but Vat. Ζεραλίας) for Aziza.

29. *Bebai.*] v. 13. The fourth of his sons, Amatheis, is called in Ezra x. 28 Athlai. The form in the A. V. is due to the Aldine Ἐμαθείς, Vat. Ἀμαθίας.

30. *Mani.*] In v. 12, Bani, as in Ezra. The names of his sons agree substantially with those in the parallel list, the only apparent exception being Olamus for Meshullam. Olamus (Ὠλαμός) is probably the last two syllables of the Hebrew name, with a Greek termination added. In viii. 44 we have the same name under the form Mosollamon, and in *v.* 14 above, Mosollam. The last mentioned, if one of the council, could not well be the one here named.

31. *Addi.*] The name or title corresponding to this in Ezra x. 30 is Pahath-Moab, on which see the note on v. 11. The name Addi is found in Luke iii. 28, but not in the O. T. The correspondence between the eight names which follow, and those in Ezra, will best

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Naidus, and Mathanias, and Sesthel, Balnuus, and Manasseas.

32 And of the sons of Annas; Elionas, and Aseas, and Melchias, and Sabbeus, and Simon Chosameus.

33 And of the sons of Asom; [p] Altaneus, and [q] Matthias, and [r] Bannaia, Eliphalat, and Manasses, and Semei.

p Mattenai.
q Mattithiah.
r Zabad.

34 And of the sons of Maani; Jeremias, Momdis, Omaerus, Juel, Mabdai, and Pelias, and Anos, Carabasion, and Enasibus, and Mamnitanaimus, Eliasis, Bannus, Eliali, Samis, Selemias, Nathanias: and of the sons of Ozora; Sesis, Esril, Azaelus, Samatus, Zambis, Josephus.

35 And of the sons of Ethma; Mazitias, Zabadaias, Edes, Juel, Banaias.

36 All these had taken strange

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appear by a parallel list, with the order slightly changed:—

1 Esdras.	Ezra x. 30.
1. Naathus.	1. Adna.
2. Moosias.	4. Maaseiah.
3. Lacunus.	2. Chelal.
4. Naidus.	3. Benaiah.
5. Mathanias.	5. Mattaniah.
6. Sesthel.	6. Bezaleel.
7. Balnuus.	7. Binnui.
8. Manasseas.	8. Manasseh.

Of the above (1) appears to be only a transposition, Να-αθ for 'Αδ-να ('Εδνὲ, Vat.); (4) is probably the latter part of Benaiah; (6) in like manner of Bezaleel (Βεσελεήλ). (7) Balnuus is explained by Βανουΐ, the LXX. form of Binnui.

32. *Annas.*] So Ald.; Vat. Anan. The name stands in place of Harim in Ezra x. 31. In v. 25 above, a priest of this name appears in the A. V. as Carme (Χαρμί); but the Harim here referred to is probably the Ares of v. 10 above. The name Ares is wanting in 'Dict. of the Bible.' It would take too much space to set out in parallel lists the names of the more numerous families. The first five names in the text answer fairly well to the first five in Ezra; the remaining name (probably corrupt), Chosameus, Χοσαμαῖος, is all that is left in place of Benjamin, Malluch and Shemariah.

33. *Asom.*] In Ezra x. 33, Hashum. The same name also appears disguised under the form Lothasubus, *v.* 44 below. Six sons here answer to seven in Ezra. The second name, Altaneus ('Αλταναῖος), has probably lost its initial letter *m* from the name preceding ending in that letter. Hence it corresponds to Mattenai. Bannaia is from the Aldine, but the Vat. has Σαβανναῖος, nearer to Zabad. There is nothing to answer to Jeremiah in Ezra's list; but as there is one of this name at the head of the next family (*v.* 34), without anything to correspond in Ezra, it is probable that the word has only got misplaced.

34. *Maani.*] A *Mani* has been mentioned already, *v.* 30. There is a similar duplicate in Ezra's list, in which two *Bani's* appear as heads of families (x. 29, 34). Of the long list of names of sons following, Jeremiah has been accounted for in the last note; Omaerus is from the Ald. 'Ιωμάηρος; Pelias is a mistake for Pedias (Λ for Δ), answering to Bedeiah; Anos answers to Vaniah (Οὐουνία); Carabasion is probably a corruption of καὶ 'Ραβασίων (the form in the Vat.), καὶ being wanted before this name; Enasibus and Eliasis may be duplicate forms answering to Eliashib. Mamnitanaimus is plainly a corruption, the Aldine having the stranger form Μαμνιματαναῖμος, repeated in the Geneva Version. It stands in place of the two names (if they should be two) in Ezra, Mattaniah and Mattenai. The next name in Ezra's list, Jaasau, is not reproduced here, perhaps as being wanting in the LXX. of Ezra (x. 37), where there is an awkward change to καὶ ἐποίησαν κ. τ. λ. instead of the proper name.

of the sons of Ozora.] There is no such indication of a fresh family in Ezra x. 40. From its position, the name appears to answer to Machnadebai in that list, but in form bears some resemblance to Sharai ('Οζωρά, Ald. Σαριού). Sesis answers to Shashai (Σεσεΐ), and Esril ('Εσρὶλ) to Azareel ('Εζριήλ). The form Zambis is due to the Ald. Ζαμβίς. The Vat. has Ζαμβρί. This is seen to correspond to Amariah, when the sibilant at the beginning is removed (the preceding word ending in *s*), and the common insertion of β between μ and ρ is allowed for, as in 'Αμβρὰμ for Amram.

35. *Ethma.*] How this name came to be substituted for the Nebo (Ναβού) of Ezra x. 43, it is hard to conjecture. It is noticeable that in v. 21 above there is nothing but the word Nephis to answer both to Nebo and Magbish in Ezra. As Mr. Grove ('Dict. of the Bible,' art. Nebo) identifies Nebo with the modern *Beit-Nûbah*, it is just conceivable that the first syllable of Ethma is the remnant of βηθ-. The last syllable is also the first of the next word Mazitias, and might thus be accounted for.

Mazitias, &c.] A name is wanting before this, to answer to the Jeiel of Ezra. Its presence is testified to by the Vulg. Idelus.

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wives, and they put them away with their children.

37 And the priests and Levites, and they that were of Israel, dwelt in Jerusalem, and in the country, in the first day of the seventh month: so the children of Israel were in their [1]habitations.

38 [a]And the whole multitude came together with one accord into the broad place of the holy porch toward the east:

39 And they spake unto Esdras the priest and reader, that he would bring the law of Moses, that was given of the Lord God of Israel.

40 So Esdras the chief priest brought the law unto the whole multitude from man to woman, and to all the priests, to hear the law in the first day of the seventh month.

41 And he read in the broad court before the holy porch from morning unto midday, before both men and women; and all the multitude gave heed unto the law.

42 And Esdras the priest and reader of the law stood up upon a pulpit of wood, which was made *for that purpose*.

43 And there stood up by him Mattathias, Sammus, Ananias, Azarias, Urias, [t]Ezecias, [u]Balasamus, upon the right hand:

44 And upon his left hand stood [x]Phaldaius, Misael, Melchias, [y]Lothasubus, and [z]Nabarias.

45 Then took Esdras the book of

[1] Or, villages.
[a] Neh. 8. 1. cir. 445.
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[t] Or, Hilkiah.
[u] Or, Maasiah.
[x] Or, Pedaiah.
[y] Or, Hashum.
[z] See Neh. 8. 4.

Omitting Zebina from Ezra's list (as is done in the Alex.), the other five names on each side agree; Ἠδαΐς being Ἰαδαί.

36. With this verse the part of the account taken from the canonical Book of Ezra, or corresponding to it, comes to an end. The Book of Ezra itself ends with what Stanley calls the "dry words:" "all these had taken strange wives; and some of them had wives by whom they had children;"—a contrast, in its want of human tenderness, to "that pathetic passage of the primitive records of their race which tells how, when their first father drove out the foreign handmaid with her son into the desert, it 'was very grievous in his sight.'"

37. At this point the narrative runs parallel to Neh. vii. 73 *sqq.*; the two last clauses of which should begin ch. viii. See R.'s note there. The language in Neh. vii. 73 (first part) is simply a repetition of Ezra ii. 70; and Neh. viii. 1, as well as the present passage, should begin as Ezra iii. 1 does.

Between the events just related and the public reading of the Law by Ezra, we must place an interval of thirteen years, from the eighth to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, B.C. 457–445. On the question of Ezra's absence from Jerusalem during that period, see the art. EZRA in 'Dict. of the Bible.'

the first day, &c.] The first of Tisri, or Ethanim (= part of Sept. and Oct.), was to be a day of holy convocation (Lev. xxiii. 24). Hence it would be a suitable day for such an assembly as is here described. Neteler, on Neh. viii. 2, tries to shew that by "first day of the seventh month" there must be meant the first day of the Feast (of Tabernacles), and not of the actual month.

38. *the broad place.*] See note on ix. 6.

39. *reader.*] Gk. ἀναγνώστῃ. So in *v.* 42 below. The term is not used in Nehemiah. This last scene of the story, in which Ezra appears, first and foremost, as a reader and expounder of the Law to the people, is of great interest, as containing the beginnings of many important changes. The formation of the canon, the rise and growth of synagogue worship, the extension of the office of the scribe,—these and other great developments were involved in it. See Stanley's 'Jewish Church,' Lect. xliv.

40. *from man, &c.*] In Neh. viii. 3 there is the additional clause "and those that could understand," implying young people, the νεανίαι of viii. 91.

41. *the broad court, &c.*] See above, *vv.* 6, 38. In the Geneva Version this is rendered, "in the *first* broad place of the gate of the temple," an error which seems due to the reading of the Aldine, ἐν τῷ πρότου κ.τ.λ., mistaken for πρώτου or πρώτῳ. In v. 47 (46) the LXX. has τοῦ πρώτου πυλῶνος. There is no difficulty about the Greek text, as Dr. Bissell seems to find; πυλών being not the gate (πυλή), but the porch, as it is properly rendered. See further, Bertheau on Neh. viii. 1.

42. *a pulpit of wood.*] Rather, "upon the wooden pulpit (or platform) that had been prepared;" τοῦ ξυλίνου βήματος, κ.τ.λ. Compare the "stairs" (marg. "scaffold") of the Levites in Neh. ix. 4, and R.'s note there.

43. *there stood, &c.*] In the text twelve names are given, of those who assisted Ezra,

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the law before the multitude: for he sat [1]honourably in the first place in the sight of them all.

46 And when he opened the law, they stood all straight up. So Esdras blessed the Lord God most High, the God of hosts, Almighty.

47 And all the people answered, Amen; and lifting up their hands they fell to the ground, and worshipped the Lord.

48 Also Jesus, Anus, Sarabias, Adinus, Jacubus, Sabateas, [a]Auteas, Maianeas, and Calitas, Azarias, and Joazabdus, and Ananias, Biatas, the Levites, taught the law of the Lord, making them withal to understand it.

[1] Heb. *above them all.*

[a] Or, *Hodijah.*

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seven on his right hand and five on his left. In Neh. viii. 4, thirteen names are given, six of those on the right, and seven of those on the left. Both arrangements seem to offend against our notions of symmetry. The following are the parallel lists; the names from Nehemiah being printed in italics:—

	Right		Left
1.	Mattathias / *Mattithia*	1.	Phaldaius / *Pedaiah*
2.	Sammus / *Shema*	2.	Misael / *Mishael*
3.	Ananias / *Anaiah*	3.	Melchias / *Malchiah*
4.	Azarias / ———	4.	Lothasubus / *Hashum*
5.	Urias / *Urijah*	5.	Nabarias / *Zechariah*
6.	Ezecias / *Hilkiah*	6.	——— / *Hashbadana*
7.	Balasamus / *Maaseiah*	7.	——— / *Meshullam*

From this it will appear that the first three on each side are the same in both lists. The fourth name on the right, in Esdras, namely Azarias, has none to correspond to it in Nehemiah; and it would be the easiest solution of the difficulty to suppose that a name had dropped out in the Hebrew. The fourth on the left in Esdras, Lothasubus (*Λωθάσουβος*, Ald. *Ἀωθάσουβος*), plainly contains the name of Hashum or Hashub (*-άσούβ*). Comp. the note on ix. 33 above. The fifth on the right is the same in both. The fifth on the left, Nabarias, may be a corruption of Zechariah (sixth in Nehemiah). Of the rest I can give no probable explanation. The lists in the Vulgate agree pretty closely with those given above, except that seven names are found for the left side, *Sabus* being inserted after *Abustbas* in the fifth place. It is possible, however, that *Abustbas-sabus* may be nothing more than a further perversion of *Ἀωθάσουβος*.

45. *bonourably.*] Gk. *ἐπιδόξως*, referring to the elevated or conspicuous position in which he was placed. Comp. Neh. viii. 5. The words "he sat" appear at first to disagree with the statement in *v.* 42, that "he stood up" upon the raised platform. Sitting was the proper position for a teacher among the Jews; and hence the expression in *v.* 42 may mean only that he took his place there. In any case, the word "up" should be omitted in *vv.* 42 and 43.

46. *opened the law.*] In the Geneva Version it is: "And they all stood upright *when he expounded* the Law." The expression in Luke xxiv. 32 would seem at first to be a good parallel, "while he opened to us the Scriptures;" but there the word is *διήνοιγεν*; here, *ἐν τῷ λῦσαι*. The Vulgate *absoluisset* is of doubtful import. F. is probably right in explaining it as "unfasten" or "unroll." This will agree best with Neh. viii. 5.

48. The names in the parallel lists are:—

1 Esdras.	Neh. viii. 7.
1. Jesus.	1. Jeshua.
2. Anus.	2. Bani.
3. Sarabias.	3. Sherebiah.
4. Adinus.	4. Jamin.
5. Jacubus.	5. Akkub.
6. Sabateas.	6. Shabbethai.
7. Auteas.	7. Hodijah.
8. Maianeas.	8. Maaseiah.
9. Calitas.	9. Kelita.
10. Azarias.	10. Azariah.
11. Joazabdus.	11. Jozabad.
12. Ananias.	12. Hanan.
13. Biatas.	13. Pelaiah.

Most of them can be easily identified. *Anus* (*Ἀνούς*, Ald.; *Ἀννιούθ*, Vat.) appears to have lost its first consonant; *Adinus* (from the Ald.) is in the Vat. *Ἰαδωός*; *Auteas* (*Αὐταίας*) looks unlike Hodijah, but may have been nearer it in sound; *Biatas* (Ald. *Βιάτας*) is in the best text *Φαλίας*. The LXX. of Neh. viii. 7 gives only the first three names.

the Levites.] This is more correct than the corresponding expression in Nehemiah: "*and* the Levites," as if these thirteen had not been Levites, representatives of the great Levitical families whose names they bear. See R.'s note on Neh. viii. 7.

taught.] Rather, "did teach," or "were teaching." Reuss finds a difficulty in realizing the scene. Did the Levites above mentioned divide the people into so many groups, each instructing one? Or did each Levite rise and speak in turn? If so, how could he be heard? In either case, he adds, it is difficult to imagine a multitude of people standing

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49 [1]Then spake Attharates unto Esdras the chief priest and reader, and to the Levites that taught the multitude, even to all, saying,

50 This day is holy unto the Lord; (for they all wept when they heard the law:)

51 [b]Go then, and eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and send part to [1]them that have nothing;

52 For this day is holy unto the Lord: and be not sorrowful; for the Lord will bring you to honour.

53 So the Levites published all things to the people, saying, This day is holy to the Lord; be not sorrowful.

54 Then went they their way, every one to eat and drink, and make merry, and to give part to them that had nothing, and to make great cheer;

55 Because they understood the words wherein they were instructed, and for the which they had been assembled.

[1] Then Nehemiah, and Esra the priest the scribe, and the Levites that instructed the people, said unto all the people.
[b] Neh. 8. 9. Neh. 8. 10.
[1] Or, the poor.

patiently to listen to an explanation of the Pentateuch, from morn to mid-day. But, besides the novelty and interest of the occasion, we need not suppose the restraint to have been more irksome than it really was. Scottish Covenanters would not have winced under it.

making . . . to understand.] Gk. ἐμφυσιοῦντες, a striking term, which is repeated, in the passive voice, in *v.* 55. A cognate word, ἐμφυσᾶν, is used (as F. points out) in John xx. 22 for "he *breathed on* them." The idea is thus that of *inspiring* or infusing doctrine into the learner's mind.

49. *Attharates.*] In Neh. viii. 9 it is "Nehemiah, which is the Tirshatha." Above, in v. 40 we had "Nehemias and Atharias" (Ἀτθαρίας, here Ἀτθαράτης); where the Persian title had not been understood, and so, as the marginal note says, two had been made of one. For the origin and meaning of Tirshatha, see Sayce, 'Ezra,' &c., p. 23; and comp. R.'s note on Neh. viii. 9.

50. *This day is holy, &c.*] As being the Feast of Trumpets. Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' Lect. xliv. (p. 126), calls it the Feast of Tabernacles; but that was later on in the same month.

51. *part.*] More correctly in the Geneva Version, "presents." The word used, ἀποστολαί, is used in later Greek for gifts at parting, and then, generally, for gifts, as in 1 Macc. ii. 18, &c. In Neh. viii. 10 the word is "portions," which would be as appropriate as any.

55. *and for the which, &c.*] By this rendering the sense appears to be complete, and the book to end naturally. But there is nothing in the Greek to answer to the words "for the which." The sentence really ends with "wherein they were instructed;" after which come the words καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν, "And they were gathered together," as if the beginning of a fresh section. This would correspond with the sequence in Neh. viii. 13, where, after the record of the same events, there follows: "*And* on the second day *were gathered together* the chief of the fathers," &c. The Old Latin and the Vulgate both end the sentence in such a way as to make the account seem complete; and Josephus ('Antiqq.' xi. 5, § 5) winds up with a rhetorical addition about their keeping the feast for eight days (he had called it the Feast of Tabernacles, though the 1st and not the 15th day of the month is spoken of), and about Ezra's dying full of years and honours and being buried at Jerusalem. On the abruptness of the ending, see further Reuss, 'Chronique ecclésiastique,' Introd. p. 48.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON iv. 52.

No satisfactory account of the number seventeen has been proposed. The best MSS. (A and B) agree in reading: καθὰ ἔχουσιν ἐντολὴν ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα προσφέρειν ἄλλα τάλαντα δέκα κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, but, of course, with nothing to shew whether ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα should be taken as one word, or divided. The Old Latin and Vulgate agree in connecting "offerre" (=προσφέρειν) with what precedes; in inserting "et" before "alia per singulos annos;" and in having nothing to represent the numeral ἑπτακαίδεκα. The Syriac also (as Dr. Gwynn informs me) omits it. Hence it seems most natural to conclude, that the ἑπτὰ was first inserted in the margin (perhaps as a reference to the seven lambs of Numb. xxviii. 11, &c.), and thence found its way into the text. The repetition of δέκα, and the subsequent insertion of a καί, could be easily accounted for.

THE

SECOND BOOK OF ESDRAS.

INTRODUCTION.

§ I. Title.

In the earliest citations made by name from this book, the author is called "The Prophet Esdras" (Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης, Clem. Alex. 'Strom.' iii. 16; cf. Ambros. 'De bono Mortis,' c. xii.). The necessity of distinguishing it from the canonical Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, as well as from the Greek Esdras (our 1 Esdras), has led to various modes of classification, some of them rather intricate. In old editions of the Vulgate it appears as the Third Book of Esdras; Ezra and Nehemiah together making the First Book, and our 1 Esdras the Second. In editions published since the Council of Trent (which left on one side as Apocryphal the Prayer of Manasses and the two Books of Esdras), Ezra and Nehemiah count as the First and Second of Esdras, and our two Apocryphal Books as the Third and Fourth. This would be a simple and sufficient method, but for the fact that chaps. i., ii., xv., xvi. of our 2 Esdras are confessedly of a different authorship from that of the integral portion of the Book (chaps. iii.–xiv.). Hence, in one of the two oldest and most important manuscripts which contain it—the Codex Sangermanensis—the first two chapters rank separately as 'Liber Ezræ Secundus,' the main body of the work (chaps. iii.–xiv.) as 'Liber Ezræ Quartus,' and the two concluding chapters as 'Liber Ezræ Quintus.' In this arrangement a part of our 1 Esdras makes the 'Liber Ezræ Tertius.' In our Authorized Version, following the example of the Genevan, the two Apocryphal Books are called the First and Second of Esdras; a title justified, in case of the latter, by the opening words of the book itself: "The second book of the prophet Esdras." A name less liable to confusion would be the "Latin Esdras," as distinguished from the "Greek Esdras" (our 1 Esdras, which exists in a Greek original). The title found in a Greek writer of the sixth century, Anastasius Sinaita, namely Ἔσδρα ἀποκάλυψις, 'The Revelation of Esdras,' is so appropriate, that Dr. Westcott and others have wished it could be restored. But the publication by Tischendorf, in 1866, of a later and inferior work bearing this very title, would render the adoption of that name for the work now before us a source of confusion. See, on this subject, Hilgenfeld, 'Messias Judæorum,' 1869, pp. xviii.–xxii.; Volkmar, 'Das vierte Buch Esra,' in 'Handbuch der Einleit. in die Apokryphen,' 1863, pp. 279 *sqq.*; Bensly, 'The Missing Fragment,' &c., 1875, p. 86; Westcott, art. Esdras, Second Book of, in 'Dict. of the Bible'; Tischendorf, 'Proleg.' to the work just referred to, p. xii.

§ II. Original Language and Versions.

That the original language in which this book was written was Greek admits of no doubt. Two fragments, if not more, have been preserved in Greek: v. 35 in Clement of Alexandria, and viii. 23 in the 'Apostolical Constitutions.' The list of the twelve prophets in i. 39, 40, follows the order of the Greek LXX. But, besides this, the Latin Version, the oldest and most important of all, bears traces of Greek idiom on every page, almost in every line. To select but a few instances. The genitive is found after a comparative, as *horum majora*, v. 13; *majus aliorum capitum*, xi. 14. Genders are used which can only be accounted for by the influence of original forms in Greek, as *signaculum* (= σφραγίς) . . . *tradita est*, x. 23; *caput* (= κεφαλή) . . . *sed et ipsa*, xi. 4. Constructions are found which admit of only the same explanation; as the frequent use of *et* answering to καὶ temporal, *et factum est . . . et cor meum*, &c. vi. 36, x. 2, and often; the accusative for dative after *nocuerunt*, as in xi. 42; the attraction of the relative, as in *ex omnibus istis quibus prædixi tibi*, vi. 25, and the like. In some cases the text may be successfully amended by attention to this fact, as in the ingenious correction of *pater aspice* by reference to περίβλεψον, proposed by Bensly (*ubi sup.*, p. 25 *n.*). On the other hand, there are some peculiarities of construction which cannot be thus accounted for, such as the constant use of the ablative to express duration of time (xiii. 58, *et passim*). One idiom, commonly called a Hebraism, is also very frequently used,—that of the participle joined with the cognate verb to intensify the sense: as in *excedens excessit*, iv. 2; *odiens odisti*, v. 30, and many more. A collection of the most striking Grecisms will be found in Van der Vlis, 'Disputatio critica de Ezræ Libro apocrypho,' &c., 1839, pp. 10–14.

The Latin Version above mentioned deserves to hold the first place, both for antiquity and fidelity to the original. Van der Vlis, indeed (*ubi sup.*, p. 2), gives the preference to the Aethiopic; but when the text of the Latin is corrected and restored, as it still may be to a very considerable extent, there seems no reason to refuse it the precedence claimed for it by one of its most recent editors (Fritzsche, 'Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test.,' 1871, p. xxvi.). That it is closely literal will have been inferred from what was said before of the traces of Greek idiom preserved in it. In Fritzsche's opinion it was made in the third century. Ambrose of Milan (374–379) adopts or paraphrases many passages in it (comp. 'De bono Mortis,' c. x., with 2 Esdr. v. 42, 50–55, and vii. 80*–87*; *ib.* c. xi. with 2 Esdr. vii. 91*–101*; *ib.* c. xii. with 2 Esdr. vii. 39*–42*; 'De excessu Satyri,' i. 2, with 2 Esdr. x. 6–11; 'Epist.' xxix. with 2 Esdr. xvi. 59). Jerome, 'adv. Vigilant.,' refers to it in a passage often quoted, or rather mis-quoted (see Bensly, p. 41 *n.*, and the note on vii. 102* below). More doubtful is the supposed reference to the Latin Esdras in Tertullian, 'De præscrip. Hæret.' c. iii. (see note on viii. 20), and his allusion to xiv. 37 *sqq.* in his 'De habitu mul.' c. iii. Equally vague and uncertain is the reference to v. 50–55 and xiv. 10, 17 (about the world's growing old) in the 'Ad Demetrianum' of Cyprian. It may be added in passing that the references in Volkmar, p. 273, are inaccurate and misleading. Two passages from the original Greek, v. 5 and viii. 3, have been supposed to be cited in the Epistle of Barnabas (c. xii. and c. iv.), but without good grounds. See Charteris, 'Canonicity' (1880), p. vii. *n.*; and Salmon, 'Historical Introd. to the New Test.' (1886), p. 108. On the other hand, there is reason to think that Irenæus ('adv. Hæres.' v. 36) had in mind the words of ii. 31, in the passage which he introduces with a vague "quemadmodum Prophetia ait." See Dr. Salmon, as above, p. 459 *n.*, and Pearson, 'On the Creed,' art. v. (ed. 1723, p. 242). The words of ii. 34, 35 are embodied in the ancient 'Missa pro Defunctis' (see the 'Breviar. ad usum.. Sarum,' edd. Procter and Wordsworth, fasc. ii. p. 527), whence the origin of the common use of the word Requiem (Walcott's 'Sacred Archæol.' *s. v.*). As Canon Eddrup points out, the words of ii. 36, 37 were also used as an Introit for Whitsun Tuesday (Blunt, 'Annotated Book of Com. Prayer,' ed. 1884, p. 302).

Besides the Latin Version, four others (of cc. iii.–xiv.) are in existence: the Syriac, Arabic, Aethiopic, and Armenian. Of these, the best, in Fritzsche's judgment, is the Syriac. Like the Aethiopic, it bears the marks of having been made directly from the Greek, though not so literal a translation as the Latin. It was edited by Ceriani in 1868, in vol. v. of 'Monumenta Sacra et Profana,' from a MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

The existence of the Arabic text was pointed out by an English writer, John Gregory, in 1646 (Bensly, *ubi sup.*, p. 1 *n.*); and a translation of it by Simon Ockley was afterwards published, as an appendix to vol. iv. of Whiston's 'Primitive Christianity Reviv'd,' 1711. The Arabic text itself has only recently been made accessible to scholars. Volkmar, in 1863, made use of Ockley's English version to supply the long passage missing after vii. 35. Hilgenfeld, still later, used a Latin retranslation of Ockley for his 'Messias Judæorum.' But in 1863 Ewald had published the Arabic text, with a German translation, in vol. xi. of the 'Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,' from which it was afterwards reprinted separately. The MS. used by Ewald is the same as that from which Ockley made his translation long before (Bodl. 251), and its date has been added by the scribe at the end as the "year of the holy martyrs 1051;" that is, according to Ewald (p. 21), the year 1354 of our era. Whether made directly from the Greek, as Hilgenfeld thinks, or from the Syriac, as Fritzsche inclines to believe, the Arabic Version is more of a paraphrase than the others, and in consequence less trustworthy. Still more recently, in 1877, the text of the Arabic Version was published by Gildemeister, with a Latin translation, from a manuscript (Ar. 462) in the Vatican. The age of this MS. is considered to be about the same as that of the Bodleian; both being referred to the 14th century. The Version it contains differs in many points from that translated by Ewald, and appears to have been made independently from the Greek. The readings of these two Versions are often quoted in the following notes; but from my ignorance of Arabic I have had to depend entirely on the renderings of Gildemeister and Ewald.

The Aethiopic Version, though cited as early as 1661, in the 'Lexicon Aethiopico-Latinum' of Job Ludolf, was not printed till 1820. In this case also, as in that of the Arabic, the MS. used was in the Bodleian Library. The editor, Dr. Richard Laurence, Professor of Arabic, and afterwards Regius Professor of Hebrew, at Oxford, added a twofold rendering of it, in Latin and English. Van der Vlis (p. 77) finds great fault with this edition, on the ground of its editor having scrupulously preserved the inaccuracies of his MS., and suggests many emendations. A surer basis for revision is afforded by the various readings collected from other MSS. by Aug. Dillmann, and printed at the end of Ewald's edition of the Arabic; and these have been further enriched by a collation of MSS. made by Fr. Prätorius at Frankfort and Berlin. Evidence of the Aethiopic Version having been made directly from the Greek is furnished by Van der Vlis (*ubi sup.*, pp. 77 *sqq.*), and both he and Fritzsche estimate its value highly.

The Armenian Version, though published, according to Bensly, as early as 1666, and found in the Armenian Bible of 1805 (Venetiis, 4 vol.), appears to have been unnoticed by scholars till attention was called to it by Ceriani in 1861. A Latin translation of it was made by J. H. Petermann for Hilgenfeld's 'Messias Judæorum;' but as the Armenian diverges most widely of all from the rest, and, in Fritzsche's opinion, was not made originally from the Greek, its value is comparatively small.

There should be noticed in conclusion an attempt at reproducing the original Greek. This was made by Hilgenfeld, with the assistance of Paul de Lagarde and Hermann Rönsch, and inserted in his 'Messias Judæorum.' The task was executed with undoubted ability, though separate words and phrases are open to question. But it is surely going too far to make this modern retranslation a basis for proving coincidences between the author of 2 Esdras and the writers of the

New Testament. When, for instance, Hilgenfeld (*op. cit.*, p. lxix.) points to the close resemblance between 2 Peter i. 19, "as unto a light that shineth in a dark (*or* squalid) place," and 2 Esdras xii. 42, it is obvious that a good deal will depend on the question whether αὐχμηρῷ was the actual word used for "dark" in both passages, or not.

§ III. State of the Text.

The text of the Latin Version—the only one that will be here noticed—has been disfigured by many errors and corruptions, but these are gradually disappearing in the light of critical inquiry. A short account of the chief manuscripts will make this better understood. Until within the last ten years, the MS. universally regarded as the oldest and most important was that known as Codex Sangermanensis (S.), so called from its having belonged to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Germain des Prés. It is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, being part of the second volume of the Latin Bible numbered MS. 11504–5, fonds Latin (Bensly, *ubi sup.*, p. 5). It bears its own record of date; namely, "the eighth year of Louis le Débonnaire" (= A.D. 822). Without entering into minute details, it may be stated in brief that from this all the later MSS. known appear to have been derived. The two others on which Fritzsche mainly relied, after S., for his critical recension of the text in 1871, were the Codex Turicensis (T.), and the Codex Dresdensis (D.). The dates to which these are referred—the 13th and 15th centuries respectively—will shew how inferior their value is likely to be. Moreover, all three, as well as all others known until recently, had one remarkable omission in common. It had long been observed how abrupt was the transition from *v.* 35 to *v.* 36 of the vii. chapter of this book. Something was plainly wanted to connect the two. And as the Oriental versions became known, it was found that in all of them there was a connecting passage of considerable length. When, further, it was discovered, on a closer examination of S., that a leaf had been at some early time cut out of this MS., which might have contained the missing portion, the field was cleared for a very interesting discovery. This discovery it was the good fortune of a Cambridge scholar to make; or, rather, it came as the due reward of long and patient investigation. Mr. R. L. Bensly, the Reader in Hebrew of Gonville and Caius College, and one of the Old Testament Revision company, had been struck by the description given in a catalogue of a Latin biblical MS. in the Bibliothèque Communale of Amiens, once the property of the neighbouring Benedictine Abbey of Corbie. Its age is given in the catalogue as the 9th century. Space forbids more details; but Mr. Bensly's description of his first examination of the MS. is so full of interest that it must not be omitted. "The perusal of a few verses," he says, "served to shew the great value of this new critical aid; I read on with growing interest till I approached the place of the long-familiar chasm: then, as my eye glided on to the words *et apparebit locus tormenti*, I knew that the oldest and best translation of this passage was at last recovered; that another fragment of the Latin was gathered up; and that now at last—an event which can scarcely happen again in these latter days—a new chapter would be added to the Apocrypha of our Bible." ('Missing Fragment,' p. 7.) It detracts but little from the interest and importance of such a discovery to learn that it was, in a manner, anticipated by the researches of an earlier explorer, the Rev. John Palmer, of St. John's College, Cambridge, Professor of Arabic in that University from 1804 to 1819. In November 1826 Professor Palmer examined, among other MSS. then preserved at Alcalá de Henares (the ancient Complutum), in Spain, a Latin Bible described as 'Biblia Latino-Gothica maximæ molis,' and referred by the editors of the Complutensian Polyglott to about the end of the 8th century. From this Professor Palmer extracted the missing passage of cap. vii., in a form substantially agreeing with that obtained by Mr. Bensly. Professor Palmer's papers, however, lay forgotten after his death in 1840, and his transcript might never have become known but for its publication in vol. vii. of the 'Journal of

Philology,' in 1877, by the Rev. J. S. Wood, of St. John's College. A few readings from this MS., referred to as 'MS. Complut.,' are given in their place; and it will be seen how remarkably this fresh witness confirms, in several instances (ch. vii., *vv.* 55*, 98*, 104*), the conjectural emendations of Mr. Bensly.

The Amiens MS. is denoted by the letter A. It is considered to be of coordinate authority with S., though entirely independent of it; and, what is a noticeable fact, it contains the text from which our own writer Gildas quoted, some centuries before the date of either of the two earliest extant MSS. ('Missing Fragment,' p. 36.) A comparison of the readings in A. and S. with those in the Vulgate, will form a necessary element in the notes following. The reader will thus be able to judge for himself of the condition in which the Latin text has come down to us. He will see further that, in case of the present book, it is not so much in explaining the subject-matter that a commentator's difficulty lies, as in determining what it was that the author actually said.

§ IV. Analysis of the Contents.

Leaving out of consideration, for the moment, chaps. i., ii., xv., xvi., as confessedly of later origin, we find the real Second Book of Esdras to be filled with an account of visions—or, more precisely, three revelations and four visions—granted to Ezra during the Captivity. In the thirtieth year of that Captivity, Ezra is represented as musing on the dealings of God with His people, and troubled to account for their continued affliction. Could Divine justice allow greater wrongdoers still, such as the Babylonians themselves, to bear rule over them? Would not the Almighty weigh both in an impartial balance? (ch. iii.)

First Vision (ch. iv.–ch. v. 14).*—To answer these doubting questions, the angel (or, as he is called in iv. 36, the archangel) Uriel is sent to him, and propounds to him three problems. Can Ezra weigh the flame of fire, or measure the wind, or recall the days that are past? If he can do none of these, how can he presume to challenge the inscrutable dealings of God? By another parable, taken from the sea and the forest, the angel teaches him the same lesson. Does Ezra still doubt? Then a day of reckoning is coming, when all wrongs will be redressed. On the prophet's enquiring whether this day is far off or nigh at hand, its nearness is shewn by "similitudes." Signs of the approaching end make up the rest of this revelation.

Second Vision (ch. v. 20–ch. vi. 34).—After fasting and praying seven days, as the angel had commanded him, the prophet is again troubled in spirit. The lot of the chosen people is still a mystery. He cannot solve the question why the Most High should have suffered them to be led into captivity. The angel Uriel is again commissioned to reason with him, and declares that he will make this clear to him, if he can first perform certain hard conditions which he then proposes. On Ezra professing himself, as before, unable to do so, the angel assures him that it is a far harder thing to understand the judgments of God. The mention of a final judgment suggests to Ezra the thought, whether it were not better to be of the number of those who should be alive when the end of all things drew near. They would at least feel that God was nigh at hand for them. Or again, why should not the Almighty have made all the successive generations of men live at once upon earth, that so none might be far removed from the ultimate rectification of all wrong? The analogy of the successive birth of children is brought forward as an answer to this. Then if the Earth be our mother, and we her children,—so reasons the prophet,—is it the case that the latter generations of men are inferior to the former, even as the last-born child is often more puny

* The arrangement of Van der Vlis is here followed. According to his view, chap. iii. is introductory, and chap. xiv. is an Epilogue. Volkmar divides them rather differently, thus: *First Vision*, iii. 1–v. 20; *Second Vision*, v. 21–vi. 34; *Third Vision*, vi. 35–ix. 25; *Fourth Vision*, ix. 26–x. 59; *Fifth Vision*, x. 60–xii. 50; *Sixth Vision*, xii. 51–xiii. 56; *Seventh Vision*, xiii. 57–xiv. 47.

than the rest? This is declared to be so. Ezra next enquires who it is, through whom God will at last visit His world, and is answered that it is even the speaker himself, the angel Uriel, who here assumes the attributes of the Word of God. All things in the beginning, he says, "were made through me alone, and through none other." To yet further questions as to the signs of the final visitation, a series of tokens and portents is revealed, ending with a short picture of millennial happiness, when "evil shall be put out, and deceit shall be quenched."

Third Vision (ch. vi. 35–ch. ix. 25).—After an interval of seven days, Ezra's heart is again "vexed within him," and he renews his communing with the Lord. Regarding the world as created for the chosen people first of all, he enumerates the works of creation in order, and then asks why, if all other races of mankind were indeed but as outcasts compared to the children of Israel, the chosen race should be dispossessed of their inheritance. The reply to this is, that for Adam's sin "the entrances of this world were made narrow, full of sorrow and travail." But there was this to console the good, that, though now they suffered "strait" things, they might hope in the future for "wide." The signs that should precede this wider and more glorious scene are then again adverted to; and at this point the language becomes very striking, though bearing marks of interpolation: "After these years shall my son Christ die, and all men that have life. And the world shall be turned into the old silence seven days." After that a state of happiness should follow, such as was set forth at the close of the Second Revelation.

At this point (ch. vii. 35) comes in the passage long missed from the Latin Version, in which the final judgment is described. Ezra expresses his fear that very few will obtain the reward of the just; and the angel denies not that it is so, adding reasons why such should be the case. The most precious things of the earth are the rarest. Then if so, the prophet continues, the lot of man is indeed a hard one, and it would have been better for him to be even as the beasts that perish. The next question that arises is, whether a state of rewards and punishments follows immediately after death. The soul of man, is the answer, on leaving the body, comes to do homage before the throne of the Most High. If it be the soul of one who has despised His law, it finds no resting-place, but is visited with seven dolours. In like manner there are seven consolations to refresh the souls of those who have died in the fear of God. The time for experiencing each of these allotted portions is the mystical seven days; after which they pass to the habitations prepared for them. Ezra goes on to enquire whether a man may intercede with God at the final judgment for a fellow-man, and is told that at that time no man may make intercession for another, but each shall bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness. The examples of intercession cited by Ezra from the Scriptures, as of Abraham for the people of Sodom, and the like, are not allowed to stand as arguments to the contrary. They had reference to a temporal state; the kind of intercession which Ezra asks about would affect an eternal state. This drives Ezra to exclaim that it would have been better not to create Adam, with freedom of will to sin, than to leave the race of men thus prone to fall, with the prospect of punishment after death. The angel can but answer that such are the conditions of the fight; but that the joy over those who attain salvation is greater than the sorrow for those who fail. Ezra confesses that God is merciful and patient, or the world could not continue. Owning the truth of what the angel declares to him, that there is much common earth in the world and but little gold, he still extols the goodness of Him who preserves the works of His hands. Passing from man in general, as God's handiwork, to his own fellow-countrymen, Ezra again prays for himself and them, that God would not look upon the sins of His people. The angel (speaking here, as elsewhere, as if himself God) encourages Ezra in his prayer. As the husbandman sows much seed, but only a part comes up; so out of the multitude of created men, part only should be saved. But for such as Ezra there need be no fear. For them rest was prepared.

To the prophet's wish to learn something of the time, as well as the signs, of the last judgment, the angel replies by discouraging vain curiosity: "Be thou not curious how the ungodly shall be punished, and when." This Revelation ends with a repetition of Ezra's sorrow that so many more should be lost than are saved, and a parable of a vine by way of answer.

Fourth Vision (ch. ix. 26–ch. x. 59).—Ezra is communing with himself in "the field which is called Ardath," and gives utterance to the thought that, whereas a ship in the sea or a seed in the ground may perish, without the sea or the ground suffering loss, yet with his countrymen it was not so. They had received the Law, and had not kept it. But in their case the receivers had been made to suffer; while the Law, corresponding to the seed sown, had remained unharmed. These reflections are interrupted by the appearance of a woman in distress on his right hand. She is lamenting with a loud voice, and, when questioned, makes known to him that the cause of her mourning was the death of an only son, born after thirty years of sterility, who had died on the very day of his wedding. The prophet strives to comfort her, by shewing how small her loss is, compared with that which had befallen the chosen people as a nation. While bidding her shake off her heaviness, a marvellous change takes place before his eyes. The woman is seen no more; but, where she stood, there arises a great city, Sion itself, whose story had been foreshadowed in the sufferings of the bereaved mother. A vision of future glory is promised by Uriel to the prophet, as a reward for his virtues.

Fifth Vision (ch. xi. 1–ch. xii. 39).—The night following, Ezra sees in a dream an eagle rising from the sea, with twelve wings and three heads. While her wings overshadowed the earth, there grew out of them eight "contrary feathers," or pinions. The middle head of the three was the greatest, but all the heads alike remained at rest. When a voice came forth, it was from the midst of the body. Presently a wing arose on the right side, and reigned over all the earth. But it passed away, and gave place to another, which endured for a longer time; so that a voice came, saying, "There shall none after thee attain unto thy time, neither unto the half thereof." So it was with all the wings in succession: all rose up in turn to reign, though some were deposed without reigning. With the twelve wings there came to an end two of the pinions. Of the remaining six, two placed themselves under the protection of the head on the right-hand side, the other four "continuing in their place." Of these latter, two soon perished, but the other two "thought in themselves to reign." Upon this, the middle head, that was the greatest, took to itself the other two heads, and together with them devoured these two remaining pinions. The middle head then exercised dominion over the earth, and cruelly oppressed it, till it suddenly disappeared, and there were left only the two side heads. These in like manner bare rule, till the one on the right hand devoured that on the left; so that now there remained only the right-hand head, and the two pinions that had put themselves under its protection. At this point, a roaring lion comes forth from a wood, and with human voice upbraids the eagle with its tyranny, and commands it to appear no more. Upon this, the head still remaining passes away, and the two pinions, after attempting to reign by themselves, pass away also; so that now there is an end of the monster altogether.

On Ezra's praying for an interpretation of this vision, the angel shews him that this eagle represents the fourth kingdom seen by Daniel. The twelve wings were twelve kings, who should reign in succession, the reign of the second being the longest of them all. The voice from out of the midst of the body signified the outbreak of civil discord. The eight pinions, in like manner, were so many kings, whose reigns should be brief and unprosperous. The three heads were also three kings, of whom the middlemost and greatest would die a natural death, the other two falling by the sword. The lion was the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the "anointed" one, who should reprove the kingdoms of the world for their unrighteousness and cruelty, and

on the other hand bring a joyful deliverance for His own. This interpretation Ezra is to write in a book, and teach it to the wise among the people.

Sixth Vision (ch. xii. 40–ch. xiii. 58).—For seven days Ezra remains in the open field, as the angel commanded him. Seeing that he does not return, his fellow-countrymen come and expostulate with him. He only is left to them, and they repine at being forsaken. He reassures them and bids them depart, and then at the end of the seven days a vision of the night is sent to him. He sees in his dream a wind arising from the sea. The form of a man appears, and all things tremble at the look of him. But presently a multitude of men are gathered together from the four quarters of heaven, to subdue him that arose out of the sea. He on his part lifts up against them neither sword nor spear, but from his mouth he discharges upon them a blast of mingled fire and tempest, which consumes them all. Then he summons to him another multitude, this time a peaceful one. The interpretation of this vision given by the angel is that the Man seen in it is He whom the Most High has reserved for the last times to be a deliverer and judge, even the Son of God. He should come and stand upon Mount Sion, and by the power of the law, which is compared to the blast of fire proceeding from his mouth, should destroy all that opposed themselves.

The peaceful multitude that was afterwards gathered together to him, consists of the ten tribes carried into captivity by the Assyrians, who had migrated into a far-off region, that they might keep the law of their God. And the reason why the Conqueror came from the deep sea is this, that, just as none can tell what is in the depths of the sea, so none can understand the things of the Son of God; at least, till the time of that last day. With this, the angel leaves Ezra, promising to shew him yet further wonders after three days are past; and the prophet spends that interval in wandering abroad, glorifying God for His mercies.

Epilogue, or Seventh Vision (ch. xiv.).—After this, as Ezra is sitting under an oak on the third day, there comes to him a voice out of a bush, as of old to Moses, enjoining him to make known openly some of the things that he has seen and heard, and to keep others secret. Time is hastening to its close. Of the twelve ages which the world had to run, ten and a half are spent, and only one and a half remain. Therefore Ezra must prepare for his departure. On the prophet's asking who shall take his place as a guide and admonisher of the people, the angel bids him withdraw from the congregation forty days; in which interval, with the aid of five ready writers, he is to make a record of what he has seen and heard. Part is to be published; part to be kept secret. Ezra does so. After a parting charge to the people, he withdraws from them, accompanied by his scribes. Then a cup is given to him, "full as it were with water, but the colour of it was like fire," on drinking which his spirit and memory are strengthened. For forty days he dictates to the five, and they write in all ninety-four books. Of these, twenty-four (being the number of books in the Old Testament) are published openly; the other seventy are kept back, to be divulged only to the wise among the people. In the Oriental versions this is followed by a closing passage, giving the year of the events, as computed from the Creation, and ending with the assumption of Ezra.

Additions to 2 Esdras (2 Esdr. chaps. i., ii., xv., xvi.).—The prophet Esdras, whose genealogy is set forth at the outset, is commissioned by God to shew His people their sinful deeds, and to put them in mind of His mercies in time past. While He would have been to them as a Father, they had turned their faces from Him. His servants the prophets, whom He had sent unto them, they had taken and slain. Wherefore now He would forsake their offerings, and would give their habitation to a people that should come after; a people who, though they had not yet heard of Him, should believe in Him, and unto whom there should be given for leaders the ancient patriarchs of Israel (chap. i.).

The controversy which God has with His people is continued. They are bidden to remember what was done to Sodom and Gomorrha. Even yet God is

willing to give His children the kingdom which Israel had rejected. For their help would He send His servants Esay and Jeremy; for them He would prepare fountains flowing with milk and honey. Let these therefore do that which is right: let them judge the fatherless, defend the orphan, and discharge all the other duties of life. If the chosen people refuse to hear the voice speaking to them, Esdras is charged to turn to the heathen, and bid them "look for their Shepherd," who should give them everlasting rest. The prophet sees in vision, in response to this call, a great multitude whom he cannot number standing upon Mount Sion; and in the midst of them "a young man of a high stature, taller than all the rest." These, the angel tells him, are the glorified people of God, and the one in the midst of them, wearing a crown, is the Son of God. Such are the wonderful things that Esdras is commanded to make known to his countrymen (chap. ii.).

The latter section (chaps. xv., xvi.) begins almost as if in direct continuation of the former. Esdras is bidden, though not by name, to speak in the ears of God's people the words of prophecy which the Lord would put into his mouth, and to "cause them to be written in paper," as being faithful and true. But a difference of subject is soon perceived. The earth is declared to be full of wickedness, and the plagues to chastise it are ready at hand. As Egypt had aforetime been smitten, and God's people led out like a flock, even so should it be now. Woe is pronounced upon the world and them that dwell therein; for wars and seditions shall arise, and the right hand of the Lord shall not spare. A "horrible vision" from the east is proclaimed. The dragons of Arabia shall come forth, and the Carmanians, like wild boars from the wood, and they shall lay waste a portion of the land of the Assyrians. Clouds shall come from the east and from the north, and again there shall come great storms from the south and north and west, which strong winds from the east shall dispel. In vague and mysterious language it is announced that wrath will go forth against Babylon. Asia, as a partaker with Babylon, is to share her plagues. Like as she has done to the children of God, so should it be done to her and her children (chap. xv.).

The proclamation of woe is continued against Babylon and Asia, against Egypt and Syria. As an arrow shot from a bow cannot return, so the plagues denounced must go on to their fulfilment. Trees shall yield their fruit, but there shall be none to gather it; grapes shall ripen, but there shall be none to tread them. These things are signs for the servants of the Lord to understand. When the evil days come, let them be as pilgrims upon the earth. Let all sit lightly to their occupations: "he that selleth, let him be as he that fleeth away; and he that buyeth, as one that will lose." If they will abstain from evil, the time will soon come when "iniquity shall be taken away out of the earth," and righteousness shall reign among them. The Lord knoweth the hearts of men. He who created all things at the first, who knoweth the number of the stars, and spreadeth out the heavens like a vault, "surely He knoweth your inventions," saith the prophet, and how can men hide their sins before Him? If they will leave off from their sins, God will deliver them from all troubles. A day of wrath is at hand, a "great insurrection" upon those that fear the Lord. Let not the beloved of the Lord be afraid, nor let their sins weigh them down. They who were so "bound with their sins and covered with their iniquities," were as a field overgrown with thorns, the end of which is to be burned.

§ V. General Character of the Work.

A tone of melancholy pervades the book,—meaning by that the Fourth Book proper (chaps. iii.–xiv.). The place and time at which the scene is laid require that this should be so. Ezra, musing in the outskirts of Babylon in the thirtieth year of the Captivity, could not consistently have been made to take a bright and hopeful view of the future,—such, for instance, as is set forth in the Book of Enoch. We need not stay to raise the chronological difficulty, that

Ezra is thus placed some ninety years too early. In what has been called the apocalyptic class of these writings, it is usual to find the most eminent names in the history of Israel chosen for the bearers of the revelations. (Schodde, 'Book of Enoch,' 1882, p. 14.) But there was, perhaps, more than a sense of artistic fitness in making the shades of the picture so dark. There are tokens that the book was written by one whose mind was impressed by some recent visitation. Like the third and fourth books of the Sibylline Oracles, or the 'De Civitate Dei' of Augustine, it may be regarded as the utterance of one who had witnessed such terrible scenes, that the speedy advent of Messiah must seem the only thing to be hoped for. Hence the bitter complaints of the heathen going unpunished, and the anticipations of vengeance. Hence the limiting of salvation to "very few" (vii. 70), and the sufferings and death of Messiah himself (vii. 29). There is something very solemn in the idea of the world being "turned into the old silence" for seven days. At the same time, the faithful Jew is encouraged to hope for future restoration. The peaceful multitude who were to be assembled at the holy mountain (xiii. 39) are the ten tribes, lost to outward view, but not forgotten.

As regards the doctrinal character of the book, some striking resemblances have been pointed out between its teaching and that of St. Paul. Passages like iii. 20 *sqq.* remind us at once of the Epistle to the Romans, just as the imagery throughout recalls the Revelation of St. John. The wildness of this imagery, in some of the Visions at least, has caused many readers to disparage the book, and drawn the attention away from the deep problems of human life which are propounded in it,—problems like those with which Bishop Butler deals in the First Part of his 'Analogy.' Such was at first its effect on the learned Dr. Lee, who, in a letter to Simon Ockley (published in his 'Απολειπόμενα, 1752), has recorded the stages through which his mind passed, during the study of the book, from contempt to a qualified admiration.

The additions at the beginning and end (chaps. i., ii., and xv., xvi.) are of a very different character. In the first portion the Jews are upbraided for their rebellion against God, and the call of the Gentiles is foretold (i. 35). In the last portions the judgments to come upon heathen nations are pronounced, and God's chosen people exhorted to stand fast through the time of trial (xvi. 40 *sqq.*), till the triumph of righteousness should come. The frequent allusions to the New Testament (i. 30, ii. 43 *sqq.*, xv. 35, xvi. 54, &c.), as well as the anti-Jewish tone of the first part, betoken a Christian writer. It is in this part also that the resemblance to the 'Shepherd' of Hermas is most striking. (Compare especially 'Similitude' ix. 6 with 2 Esdr. ii. 43.) A complete list of parallel passages, or what are supposed to be such, between 2 Esdras and the New Testament, is given in the work of Dr. Lee above referred to, pp. 112–125.

§ VI. Date and Authorship.

(1) Chaps. iii.–xiv. The plain citation of a passage (v. 35) by Clement of Alexandria (fl. 193–217), who quotes the verse in Greek, with the addition of Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης λέγει ('Strom.' iii. 16), fixes the date within reasonable limits in one direction. But when we try to approximate more closely, the materials for forming a judgment seem insufficient. Admitting, for the moment, that the author of the older portion, with which we are here concerned, was a Jew, not a convert to Christianity, is there any internal evidence to shew whether his work appeared before the time of Christ, or after? Hilgenfeld thinks there is, and lays stress on such expressions as "Esau is the end of the world" (vi. 9), *i.e.* of this *age*, which he interprets of Herod the Great; "and of all builded cities thou hast hallowed Sion unto thyself" (v. 25, comp. vi. 4), which he thinks inconsistent with the feelings of a Jew writing after the final destruction of Jerusalem. Another argument urged on the same side is, that no Jew, writing after the death of Christ, would have introduced the prophecy of Messias dying (vii. 29), of which Christians would be likely to lay hold. The passages on which Hilgenfeld mainly

relies are quoted in the Prolegomena to his 'Messias Judæorum,' p. lxi. On the other hand, it is contended that such expressions as the "casting down the walls" (xi. 42) point with as much probability to a date subsequent to the fall of Jerusalem, as v. 25 or vi. 4 can do to an earlier date. The computation of time in xiv. 11 is too vague to be relied on, though Hilgenfeld tries to press that into his service; and in like manner the signs and portents enumerated in v. 3 *sqq.*, though capable of being referred to what we read of as preceding the Battle of Actium, might no doubt, with a little research, be found to have had their fulfilment at other epochs as well.

Space forbids more details. It must suffice, then, to say that the balance of evidence seems to be in favour of the reign of Domitian as the time in which the author wrote. The interpretation put upon the Vision of the Eagle (chaps. xi., xii.) will influence the decision, one way or the other; and if the conclusion be right that the author wrote when the *third head* was still ruling (see Appendix), and that that head was Domitian, we may assign the latter portion of the period A.D. 81–96 with some probability as the date of 2 Esdras. In this conclusion most authorities are now agreed. Ewald, indeed, would place the time of composition a little earlier, while Titus was still alive ('Das vierte Ezrabuch,' 1863, p. 19), but Fritzsche ('Libri Apocr.,' Præf. p. xxvii.) speaks of the end of the first century A.D. as fixed upon by the common consent of almost all scholars. Such, too, is the opinion of Schürer ('Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi,' II Theil, 1886, pp. 656, 657).

That the author was a non-Christian Jew can admit of little doubt. Throughout the book there is a patriotic love and admiration of the race, and a conviction that the world was made for their sakes. Jewish traditions are introduced, such as those about Behemoth and Leviathan (vi. 49). The language used concerning the death of Messiah (vii. 29), and the computation at the end of ch. xiv. (found in the Versions) by years *anno mundi*, may be thought to point to a Jew of Alexandria, rather than to one living in Palestine. If so, we may the more easily account for the writer's acquaintance with Roman history subsequent to the time of Antony, and also for the quotation of his work by Clemens Alexandrinus.

(2) Chaps. i., ii., and xv., xvi. The author of the additions (i., ii., and xv., xvi.) was undoubtedly a Christian, and probably a Christian Jew of Alexandria. There is little difference of opinion as to the date of the latter portion, which is given by Alfred de Gutschmid ('Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie,' 1860, p. l. *sqq.*) as about A.D. 263; by Volkmar, about A.D. 260; and by Hilgenfeld, about A.D. 268. Some reasons for this conclusion will be found in the notes on xv. 28 *sqq.* The date of the first part is not fixed so unanimously. Hilgenfeld thinks it was written by the same author, and at the same time, as the second; but it was more probably earlier.

The authorities chiefly relied on for the commentary which follows—Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, Fritzsche, Ewald—have been specified in the Introduction. One must be named by me apart from the rest, the discoverer and editor of the *Missing Fragment*, R. L. Bensly. Had he consented to undertake the present task, and to anticipate the results of his long and patient study of the Latin text, I should not have dreamt of approaching it. Till his critical edition of the Latin text appears, this, and any like attempt, must be regarded as merely provisional. Except in a very few instances, I have avoided consulting any English commentaries, such as that of the Rev. Prebendary Eddrup, from a desire that the work should be as much as possible my own. But I have derived some benefit from the 'Introduction to 2 Esdras' of Dr. Bissell, in the volume of Lange's Commentary containing the Apocrypha, and have taken a few marginal references (in most cases with acknowledgment) from Churton's 'Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures' (1884). The works of Apel ('Libri Vet. Test. Apocr.,' 1837) and Gutmann ('Die Apokryphen des Alt. Test.,' 1841), being limited to Greek texts, do not include 2 Esdras.

J. H. L.

II. ESDRAS.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Esdras is commanded to reprove the people.* 24 *God threateneth to cast them off,* 35 *and to give their houses to a people of more grace than they.*

THE second book of the prophet [a]Esdras, the son of Saraias, the son of Azarias, the son of Helchias, the son of [1]Sadamias, the son of Sadoc, the son of Achitob,

[a] Ezra 7. 1.

[1] Or, *Shallum.*

2 The son of Achias, the son of Phinees, the son of Heli, the son of Amarias, the son of Aziei, the son of Marimoth, the son of Arna, the son of Ozias, the son of Borith, the son of Abisei, the son of Phinees, the son of Eleazar,

3 The son of Aaron, of the tribe of Levi; which was captive in the land of the Medes, in the reign of Artaxerxes king of the Persians.

4 And the word of the Lord came unto me, saying,

5 Go thy way, and [b]shew my people their sinful deeds, and their children their wickedness which they have done against me; that they may tell their children's children:

[b] Is. 58. 1.

6 Because the sins of their fathers are increased in them: for they have forgotten me, and have offered unto strange gods.

7 Am not I even he that brought them out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage? but they have provoked me unto wrath, and despised my counsels.

8 Pull thou off then the hair of thy head, and cast all evil upon them, for they have not been obedient unto my law, but it is a rebellious people.

9 How long shall I forbear them, unto whom I have done so much good?

10 Many kings have I destroyed for their sakes; [c]Pharaoh with his servants and all his power have I smitten down.

[c] Ex. 14. 28.

11 [d]All the nations have I destroyed before them, and in the east I have scattered the people of two provinces, even of Tyrus and Sidon, and have slain all their enemies.

[d] Num. 21. 24. Josh. 8. & 10, & 12.

CHAPTER I.

1. *The second book.*] For the title here given, see the Introduction, § I.

the son of Saraias.] If this Saraias be the Seraiah of Zedekiah's time, it is obvious, as Canon Rawlinson points out (Ezra vii. 1), that three or four links are wanting between him and Esdras. By piecing together the genealogies given in 1 Chron. vi., Ezra vii., 1 Esdras viii., and the present one, we may obtain a fairly complete list, as follows:—1. Aaron; 2. Eleazar; 3. Phinehas; 4. Abishua; 5. Bukki (= Boccas, 1 Esdr. viii. 2, = Borith, 2 Esdr. i.); 6. Uzzi (= Sarias, 1 Esdr. viii., = Ozias, 2 Esdr. i.); 7. Zerahiah (= Zaraias, 1 Esdr. viii., = Arna, 2 Esdr. i.); 8. Meraioth (= Marimoth or Meremoth); 9. Amariah; 10. Ahitub; 11. Zadok; 12. Ahimaaz; 13. Azariah; 14. Johanan (the last six from 1 Chron. vi.); 15. Azariah (= Ezias, 1 Esdr. viii., = Aziei, 2 Esdr. i.); 16. Amariah; 17. Heli; 18. Phinees; 19. Achias (the last three from 2 Esdr. i.); 20. Ahitub; 21. Meraioth (from 1 Chron. ix. 11); 22. Zadok; 23. Shallum (= Salame, or Sadamaias, 2 Esdr. i.); 24. Hilkiah; 25. Azariah; 26. Seraiah; 27. Jehozadak (from 1 Chron. vi.); 28, 29, 30. (three probably missing); 31. Ezra.

3. *Artaxerxes.*] Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, reigned from B.C. 464 to 425. See the note on Ezra vii. 1.

4. *And the word of the Lord, &c.*] It has been observed that this formula does not occur in the writings of the true Ezra.

11. *Tyrus and Sidon.*] Gutschmid thinks that there is a special reference in this to the

12 Speak thou therefore unto them, saying, Thus saith the Lord,

13 [e]I led you through the sea, and in the beginning gave you a large and safe [1]passage; [f]I gave you Moses for a leader, and Aaron for a priest.

14 [g]I gave you light in a pillar of fire, and great wonders have I done among you; yet have ye forgotten me, saith the Lord.

15 Thus saith the Almighty Lord, The [h]quails were as a token to you; I gave you tents for your safeguard: nevertheless ye murmured there,

16 And triumphed not in my name for the destruction of your enemies, but ever to this day do ye yet murmur.

17 Where are the benefits that I have done for you? when ye were hungry and thirsty in the wilderness, [i]did ye not cry unto me,

18 Saying, Why hast thou brought us into this wilderness to kill us? it had been better for us to have served the Egyptians, than to die in this wilderness.

19 Then had I pity upon your mournings, and gave you manna to eat; [k]so ye did eat angels' bread.

20 [l]When ye were thirsty, did I not cleave the rock, and waters flowed out [1]to your fill? for the heat I covered you with the leaves of the trees.

21 I divided among you a fruitful land, I cast out the Canaanites, the Pherezites, and the Philistines, before you: [m]what shall I yet do more for you? saith the Lord.

22 Thus saith the Almighty Lord, When ye were in the wilderness, [1]in the river of the Amorites, being athirst, and blaspheming my name,

23 I gave you not fire for your blasphemies, but cast a tree in the water, and made the river sweet.

24 What shall I do unto thee, O Jacob? thou, [n]Juda, wouldest not obey me: I will turn me to other nations, and unto those will I give my name, that they may keep my statutes.

25 Seeing ye have forsaken me, I will forsake you also; when ye desire me to be gracious unto you, I shall have no mercy upon you.

26 [o]Whensoever ye shall call upon me, I will not hear you: for ye have defiled your hands with blood, and your feet are swift to commit manslaughter.

27 Ye have not as it were forsaken me, but your own selves, saith the Lord.

28 Thus saith the Almighty Lord, Have I not prayed you as a father

[e] Ex. 14. 29.
[1] Or, *street.*
[f] Ex. 3. 10. & 4. 14.
[g] Ex. 13. 21.
[h] Ex. 16. 13. Ps. 105. 40.
[i] Num. 14. 3.
[k] Wisd. 16. 20.
[l] Num. 20. 11. Wisd. 11. 4.
[1] Or, *abundantly.*
[m] Is. 5. 4.
[1] Or, *at the bitter waters,* or, *waters of Marah,* Ex. 15. 23, 25.
[n] Ex. 32. 8.
[o] Is. 1. 15.

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destruction of Tyre by the troops of Pescennius Niger, in the contest for the empire between him and Severus, A.D. 193. The hostility of the Phœnicians to the Jews (Joseph. 'c. Apion.' i. 13) would make the latter exult at such an overthrow. But the prophecies of Isaiah (ch. xxiii.) and Ezekiel (ch. xxvi. *sq.*) against Tyre and Sidon would appear sufficient to account for the language of the text. It has been observed that the description of these cities as *in the east* points to the west as the quarter from which the author writes.

13. *a large and safe passage.*] "Large" here = broad, or spacious, as in Ps. xxxi. 8, "Thou hast set my feet in a large room." But if *in invio* be read (from S.) instead of the Vulg. *in initio*, the sense would be, "and I provided for you broad roads laid down in the pathless (sea)," *i.e.* "a highway in the deep." Comp. Isa. li. 10.

14. *have I done.*] Rather, "did I:" the simple preterite should be kept through all this passage.

20. *leaves of the trees.*] This seems meant to replace the "pillar of a cloud" (Exod. xiii. 21), not mentioned in its natural context, in *v.* 14 above. Comp. also Baruch v. 8.

22. *river of the Amorites.*] The reading of D., S., T. is *flumine Amorreo;* but the latter word, which strictly means only "Amorite," is probably a corruption of *amaro*, the equivalent of Marah, "bitter." Otherwise, as Arnald points out, there would be a confusion between the events which happened at the "brooks of Arnon" (Numb. xxi. 15) and at "the waters of Marah" (Exod. xv. 23).

25. *I shall.*] Rather, "I will."

26. *are swift, &c.*] Comp. Prov. i. 16; Rom. iii. 15.

his sons, as a mother her daughters, and a nurse her young babes,

29 That ye would be my people, [1]and I should be your God; that ye would be my children, and I should be your father?

[1] Or, *as I am your God.*

30 [p]I gathered you together, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings: but now, what shall I do unto you? I will cast you out from my face.

[p] Matt. 23. 37.

31 [q]When ye offer unto me, I will turn my face from you: for your solemn feast days, your new moons, and your circumcisions, have I forsaken.

[q] Is. 1. 13, 14.

32 I sent unto you my servants the prophets, whom ye have taken and slain, and torn their bodies in pieces, whose blood I will require of your hands, saith the Lord.

33 Thus saith the Almighty Lord, [r]Your house is desolate, I will cast you out as the wind doth stubble.

[r] Matt. 23. 38. Luke 13. 35.

34 And your children shall not be fruitful; for they have despised my commandment, and done the thing that is evil before me.

35 Your houses will I give to a people that shall come; which not having heard of me yet shall believe me; to whom I have shewed no signs, yet they shall do that I have commanded them.

36 They have seen no prophets, yet they shall call their sins to remembrance, and acknowledge them.

37 I take to witness the grace of the people to come, whose little ones rejoice in gladness: and [s]though they have not seen me with bodily eyes, yet in spirit they believe the thing that I say.

[s] John 20. 29.

38 And now, brother, behold what glory; and see the people that come from the east:

39 Unto whom I will give for leaders, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Oseas, Amos, and Micheas, Joel, Abdias, and Jonas,

40 Nahum, and Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zachary, and Malachy, which is called also an [t]angel of the Lord.

[t] Mal. 3. 1.

CHAPTER II.

1 *God complaineth of his people:* 10 *yet Esdras is willed to comfort them.* 34 *Because they refused, the Gentiles are called.* 43 *Esdras seeth the Son of God, and those that are crowned by him.*

THUS saith the Lord, I brought this people out of bondage, and I gave them my commandments

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29. *and I should be.*] The marginal reading "as I am," &c., appears to assume a reading *ut ego vobis* in place of *et ego vobis*, for which there is no authority.

30. *as a hen.*] The unmistakeable reference to St. Matt. xxiii. 37 should be noticed, as bearing on the age and religion of the writer. The nearest parallels in the O. T. (Deut. xxxii. 11; Ps. xci. 4) would not be sufficient to account for the language used.

32. *I sent unto you.*] This might be an allusion to the words of Jeremiah (xxv. 4); but the tenor of the passage which follows, and especially the language of *v.* 33, "your house," &c. (comp. Matt. xxiii. 38), seem to point to Matt. xxiii. 34–38 as the source of the whole.

35. *to whom, &c.*] Rather, "they to whom I have shewed no signs shall," &c.

36. *sins.*] Vulg. *iniquitatum.* But Bensly cites the reading of A. and S. as *antiquitatum*, a word rendered, in the singular, "ancient estate" in Ezek. xvi. 55.

37. Comp. Matt. xiii. 17.

38. *And now, brother.*] The want of fitness in the term "brother" here employed, when God is the speaker, must be obvious. Bensly, observing that S. has *pater* by the first hand, ingeniously conjectures that the original reading may have been περίβλεψον, and that the abbreviated form of περὶ was mistakenly rendered *pater*. The resemblance of the passage to Baruch iv. 36, 37, makes this conjecture still more probable, as the *cum gloria* of the Latin (= "with glory," not "what glory") answers closely to an expression in Bar. v. 6.

39. *Abraham, &c.*] This list contains the names of the three patriarchs and the twelve minor prophets; the latter being arranged in the order of the Septuagint.

40. *angel.*] Rather, "messenger."

by my servants the prophets; whom they would not hear, but despised my counsels.

2 The mother that bare them saith unto them, Go your way, ye children; for I am a widow and forsaken.

3 I brought you up with gladness; but with sorrow and heaviness have I lost you: for ye have sinned before the Lord your God, and done that thing that is evil before him.

4 But what shall I now do unto you? I am a widow and forsaken: go your way, O my children, and ask mercy of the Lord.

5 As for me, O father, I call upon thee for a witness over the mother of these children, which would not keep my covenant,

6 That thou bring them to confusion, and their mother to a spoil, that there may be no offspring of them.

7 Let them be scattered abroad among the heathen, let their names be put out of the earth: for they have despised my [1]covenant.

[1] Or, *sacrament*, or, *oath*.

8 Woe be unto thee, Assur, thou that hidest the unrighteous in thee! O thou wicked people, remember [a]what I did unto Sodom and Gomorrha;

[a] Gen. 19. 24.

9 Whose land lieth in clods of pitch and heaps of ashes: even so also will I do unto them that hear me not, saith the Almighty Lord.

10 Thus saith the Lord unto Esdras, Tell my people that I will give them the kingdom of Jerusalem, which I would have given unto Israel.

11 Their glory also will I take unto me, and give these [b]the everlasting tabernacles, which I had prepared for them.

[b] Luke 16. 9.

12 They shall have [c]the tree of life for an ointment of sweet savour; they shall neither labour, nor be weary.

[c] Rev. 2. 7. & 22. 2, 14.

13 Go, and ye shall receive: pray for few days unto you, that they may be shortened: [d]the kingdom is already prepared for you: [e]watch.

[d] Matt. 25. 34.

[e] Mark 13. 37.

14 Take heaven and earth to witness; for I have broken the evil in pieces, and created the good: for I live, saith the Lord.

15 Mother, embrace thy children, and [1]bring them up with gladness, make their feet as fast as a pillar: for I have chosen thee, saith the Lord.

[1] Or, *bring them up with gladness, as a dove make their feet fast: for, &c.*

CHAPTER II.

2. *The mother, &c.*] The striking resemblance between this passage and Baruch iv. should be noticed. Sion, or Jerusalem, is there also represented as a widowed mother, alternately lamenting and rejoicing over her children: "Go your way, O my children, go your way: for I am left desolate" (*v.* 19)—"With joy did I nourish them; but sent them away with weeping and mourning" (*v.* 11).

5. *O father.*] These words must be understood to be uttered by the Son of God. They lend some countenance to the reading "Father" (*Pater*, for *frater*, or περι-) in i. 38.

7. *covenant.*] The marginal reading is nearer the Latin, *sacramentum*.

8. *Assur.*] We might expect Babylonia to be thus apostrophized, rather than Assyria; in other words, the scene of the later captivity of Ezra's own time, rather than that of the earlier one of the ten tribes. But probably the word Assur has a wider meaning, as in the 'Orac. Sibyll.' iii. 268, quoted by Hilgenfeld.

9. *that hear me not.*] Rather, "that have not heard me."

11. *everlasting tabernacles.*] The "everlasting habitations" of St. Luke xvi. 9, the words in the Latin being the same. The reminiscences of the N. T. in the next two verses will also be noticed.

14. *broken in pieces.*] *Contrivi* in the Vulg., but the best MSS. read *omisi*, "I have overlooked," or "passed over."

15. *as a pillar.*] This reading, found in Coverdale, is due to a conjectural alteration of *sicut columba* to *sicut columnam*; and this again was due to a needless connection of *sicut columba* with the words following, instead of those preceding. The text in A. and S. is *educam illos cum lætitia sicut columba*, "I will lead them forth with gladness like a dove." See Bensly, p. 25.

16 And those that be dead will I raise up again from their places, and bring them out of the graves: for I have known [1]my name in Israel.

[1] Or, *thy name, O Israel.*

17 Fear not, thou mother of the children: for I have chosen thee, saith the Lord.

18 For thy help will I send my servants Esay and Jeremy, after whose counsel I have sanctified and prepared for thee twelve trees laden with divers fruits,

19 And as many fountains flowing with milk and honey, and seven mighty mountains, whereupon there grow roses and lilies, whereby I will fill thy children with joy.

20 Do right to the widow, judge for the fatherless, give to the poor, defend the orphan, clothe the naked,

21 Heal the broken and the weak, laugh not a lame man to scorn, defend the maimed, and let the blind man come into the sight of my clearness.

22 Keep the old and young within thy walls.

23 [f]Wheresoever thou findest the dead, [1]take them and bury them, and I will give thee the first place in my resurrection.

[f] Tobit i. 17, 18.
[1] *signing bury them.*

24 Abide still, O my people, and take thy rest, for thy quietness shall come.

25 Nourish thy children, O thou good nurse; stablish their feet.

26 [g]As for the servants whom I have given thee, there shall not one of them perish; for I will require them from among thy number.

[g] John 17. 12.

27 Be not weary: for when the day of trouble and heaviness cometh, others shall weep and be sorrowful, but thou shalt be merry and have abundance.

28 The heathen shall envy thee, but they shall be able to do nothing against thee, saith the Lord.

29 My hands shall cover thee, so that thy children shall not see hell.

30 Be joyful, O thou mother, with thy children; for I will deliver thee, saith the Lord.

31 Remember thy children that sleep, for I shall bring them out of the sides of the earth, and shew mercy unto them: for I am merciful, saith the Lord Almighty.

32 Embrace thy children until I come and [1]shew mercy unto them: for my wells run over, and my grace shall not fail.

[1] Or, *preach.*

33 I Esdras received a charge of the Lord upon the mount Oreb, that I should go unto Israel; but when I came unto them, they set me at nought, and despised the commandment of the Lord.

34 And therefore I say unto you, O ye heathen, that hear and understand, look for your Shepherd, he shall give you [h]everlasting rest; for he is nigh at hand, that shall come in the end of the world.

[h] Matt. 11. 29.

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16. *in Israel.*] Rather, "in them;" *in illis* being the reading of the best MSS. The reference is to God's people in *v.* 10. Compare also Isa. xxvi. 19.

18. *after whose counsel.*] Comp. Isa. xl. 13, 14. The imagery which follows is a reminiscence of Rev. xxii. 2, and perhaps also of the Book of Enoch, c. xxiv. (Schodde's transl. p. 99). Comp. also the twelve mountains in the 'Similitudes' of Hermas ('Pastor,' c. xxviii.).

20. *the fatherless.*] Lit. "the ward;" Lat. *pupillo.*

23. *take them, &c.*] The marginal reading is nearer to the Latin as it now stands: *signans commenda sepulchro.* Tobit i. 17, 18 offers a good illustration of obedience to the precept. For *signans* comp. *consignati*, vi. 5.

first place.] The Latin, *primam sessionem*, is apparently a close rendering of the πρωτοκαθεδρίαν of the original Greek.

31. *sides.*] Vulg. *lateribus*, but probably the true reading is *latibulis*, "hiding-places," or "secret places."

32. *until I come and shew mercy unto them.*] These words go together, the Vulg. being *et præstem illis misericordiam.* But the best reading is *prædica* for *præstem*; making the sense, "embrace, &c. till I come, and proclaim to them my mercy."

33. *Oreb.*] Like a second Moses. Comp. xiv. 3.

35 Be ready to the reward of the kingdom, for the everlasting light shall shine upon you for evermore.

36 Flee [i]the shadow of this world, receive the joyfulness of your glory: I testify my Saviour openly.

[i] 1 Cor. 7. 31.

37 O receive the gift that is given you, and be glad, giving thanks unto him that hath called you to the heavenly kingdom.

38 Arise up and stand, behold [k]the number of those that be sealed [1]in [l]the feast of the Lord;

[k] Rev. 7. 3, 4.
[1] Or, *for.*
[l] Matt. 22. 1, &c. Rev. 19. 9.

39 Which are departed from the shadow of the world, and [m]have received glorious garments of the Lord.

[m] Rev. 3. 4 & 7. 14.

40 Take thy number, O Sion, and [1]shut up those of thine that are clothed in white, which have fulfilled the law of the Lord.

[1] Lat. *conclude.*

41 [n]The number of thy children whom thou longedst for, is fulfilled: beseech the power of the Lord, that thy people, which have been called from the beginning, may be hallowed.

[n] Rev. 6. 11.

42 [o]I Esdras saw upon the mount Sion a great people, whom I could not number, and they all praised the Lord with songs.

[o] Rev. 7. 9.

43 And in the midst of them there was a young man of a high stature, taller than all the rest, and upon every one of their heads he set crowns, and was more exalted; which I marvelled at greatly.

44 So [p]I asked the angel, and said, [1]Sir, what are these?

[p] Rev. 7. 14.
[1] Or, *Lord.*

45 He answered and said unto me, These be they that have put off the mortal clothing, and put on the immortal, and have confessed the name of God: now are they crowned, and receive palms.

46 Then said I unto the angel, What young person is it that crowneth them, and giveth them palms in their hands?

47 So he answered and said unto me, [q]It is the Son of God, whom they have confessed in the world. Then began I greatly to commend them that stood so stiffly for the name of the Lord.

[q] Rev. 2. 10.

48 Then the angel said unto me, Go thy way, and tell my people what manner of things, and how great wonders of the Lord thy God, thou hast seen.

CHAPTER III.

1 *Esdras is troubled,* 13 *and acknowledgeth the sins of the people:* 28 *yet complaineth that the heathen were lords over them, being more wicked than they.*

IN the thirtieth year after the ruin of the city I was in Babylon, and lay troubled upon my bed,

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36. *the shadow.*] Comp. Wisdom ii. 5, and the language of Colet in his 'Exposition of Romans' (ed. 1873, p. 153), "dum hic sumus et manemus in hac vana et umbratili vita, hoc fumoso corpusculo obfuscati." For the use of *vv.* 34–37 in ancient Liturgies, see Introd. p. 72.

testify.] Rather, "call to witness;" Lat. *testor.*

40. *shut up.*] *I.e.* "conclude," or "finish." Conversely in Rom. xi. 32, Gal. iii. 22, "concluded" is used in the sense of "shut up."

42. *a great people.*] Besides the obvious allusions in this and the following verses to Rev. vii. 9 *sqq.*, there is a striking resemblance to some passages in the 'Pastor' of Hermas ('Sim.' ix. 6, and viii. 2, 3, quoted by Hilgenfeld): "And lo! after a little while I see an array of many men coming, and in the midst a man lofty in his stature, so as to overtop the tower. . . . And the angel of the Lord commanded crowns to be brought. And there were brought crowns made as it were of palms, and he crowned the men. . . . . 'Who then, Lord,' say I, 'are they that are crowned, and that enter into the tower?' 'These be they that suffered for the law.'"

45. *clothing.*] Rather, "robe;" Lat. *tunicam.*

46. *young person.*] An uncalled-for change from the "young man" of *v.* 43; the Latin word in both places being *juvenis.*

47. *so stiffly.*] Lat. *fortiter.*

CHAPTER III.

1. *In the thirtieth year.*] This verse presents many difficulties. The best Latin texts have *ego Salathiel qui et Esdras.* Why the name of Salathiel, or Shealtiel, the father of Zerubbabel (Ezra iii. 2; Matt. i. 12), should

and my thoughts came up over my heart:

2 For I saw the desolation of Sion, and the wealth of them that dwelt at Babylon.

3 And my spirit was sore moved, so that I began to speak words full of fear to the most High, and said,

4 O Lord, who bearest rule, thou spakest at the beginning, when thou didst plant the earth, and that thyself alone, and commandedst the people,

5 [a]And gavest a body unto Adam without soul, which was the workmanship of thine hands, and didst breathe into him the breath of life, and he was made living before thee.

[a] Gen. 2. 7.

6 And thou leddest him into paradise, which thy right hand had planted, before ever the earth came forward.

7 And unto him thou gavest commandment to love thy way: which he transgressed, and immediately thou appointedst death in him and in his generations, of whom came nations, tribes, people, and kindreds, out of number.

8 [b]And every people walked after their own will, and did wonderful things before thee, and despised thy commandments.

[b] Gen. 6. 12.

9 [c]And again in process of time thou broughtest the flood upon those that dwelt in the world, and destroyedst them.

[c] Gen. 7. 10.

10 And it came to pass in every of them, that as death was to Adam, so was the flood to these.

11 Nevertheless one of them thou leftest, namely, [d]Noah with his household, of whom came all righteous men.

[d] 1 Pet. 3. 20.

12 And it happened, that when they that dwelt upon the earth began to multiply, and had gotten them

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be given to Esdras, is not easy to say. Volkmar thinks that as Ezra was regarded as the true restorer of the people from the Captivity, he might be regarded in a spiritual sense as the father of the first actual leader, Zerubbabel. Again, the date (the "thirtieth year" from B.C. 606) would suit Salathiel, but not Ezra, who was alive in the second half of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 464–425). Hilgenfeld tries to make the earlier date admissible, by assuming Ezra's father to have been the High Priest Seraiah, whose death at the taking of Jerusalem is recorded in 2 Kings xxv. 18–21. This is out of the question. The form of beginning was perhaps suggested by the opening words of Ezekiel (i. 1), though it is by no means agreed what meaning should there be attached to the expression "in the thirtieth year."

3. *sore moved.*] Lat. *ventilatus est*, a word not found in the Vulgate, and pointing perhaps to some form of αἰωρεῖσθαι, rather than to Hilgenfeld's ἐκινήθη, or Volkmar's ἐσείσθη. The word *timorata*, rendered "full of fear," is the equivalent in the Vulg. for εὐλαβεῖς, rendered "devout" in Luke ii. 25, Acts viii. 2.

4. *didst plant.*] Vulg. *plantasti.* Bensly (p. 23) shews good reason for reading *plasmasti;* also *pulveri* for *populo*, and *et dedit tibi* for *et dedisti.* The sense would then be: "Thou commandedst the dust, and it gave unto thee Adam, a lifeless body." Comp. vi. 53.

6. *came forward.*] Lat. *adventaret*, as if to answer to παραγενέσθαι, though γενέσθαι is more likely. The 'Liber Jubilæorum' (quoted by Hilgenfeld) represents Paradise as created on the third day.

7. *to love thy way.*] Vulg. *diligere viam tuam.* But Bensly has shewn the true reading to be *diligentiam unam tuam* (p. 56 *n.*) = "one observance of thine;" that is, the one command to be observed respecting the forbidden fruit. The same word occurs in *v.* 19 below, and is there mistranslated "diligence."

in him.] Rather, "for him."

8. *did wonderful things.*] The MSS. are pretty equally divided between *in ira* and *mira* (Bensly, p. 32). Cod. A. has *impie*, which would make better sense: "and did wickedly."

10. *in every of them.*] Vulg. *in unoquoque.* But the best MSS. have *in uno casu*, "in one lot." Van der Vlis thinks the passage originally ran: "and their lot was one; as for Adam to die, so for these the deluge."

11. *of whom came all, &c.*] The best reading is *et ex eo justos* (not *justi) omnes* = "and all the righteous ones sprung from him." But the Arabic, in Ewald's rendering, "und von ihm sind alle Gerechte," supports the Vulgate.

12. *it happened.*] Rather, "it came to pass," as in *v.* 10.

many children, and were a great people, they began again to be more ungodly than the first.

13 Now when they lived so wickedly before thee, [e] thou didst choose thee a man from among them, whose name was [f] Abraham.

[e] Gen. 12. 1.
[f] Gen. 17. 5.

14 Him thou lovedst, and unto him only thou shewedst thy will:

15 And madest an everlasting covenant with him, promising him that thou wouldest never forsake his seed.

16 [g] And unto him thou gavest Isaac, and [h] unto Isaac also thou gavest Jacob and Esau. As for Jacob, thou [i] didst choose him to thee, and put by Esau: and so Jacob became a great multitude.

[g] Gen. 21. 2, 3.
[h] Gen. 25. 25, 26.
[i] Mal. 1. 2, 3. Rom. 9. 13.

17 And it came to pass, that when thou leddest his seed out of Egypt, [k] thou broughtest them up to the mount Sinai.

[k] Ex. 19. 1. Deut. 4. 10.

18 And bowing the heavens, thou didst set fast the earth, movedst the whole world, and madest the depths to tremble, and troubledst the men of that age.

19 And thy glory went through four gates, of fire, and of earthquake, and of wind, and of cold; that thou mightest give the law unto the seed of Jacob, [1] and diligence unto the generation of Israel.

[1] Or, *and to all the generation of Israel, that they should keep it with diligence.*

20 And yet tookest thou not away from them a wicked heart, that thy law might bring forth fruit in them.

21 For the first Adam bearing a wicked heart transgressed, and was overcome; and so be all they that are born of him.

22 Thus [l] infirmity was made permanent; and the law (also) in the heart of the people with the malignity of the root; so that the good departed away, and the evil abode still.

[l] Rom. 7. 8, &c.

23 So the times passed away, and the years were brought to an end: [m] then didst thou raise thee up a servant, called David:

[m] 1 Sam. 16. 13.

24 [n] Whom thou commandedst to build a city unto thy name, and to offer incense and oblations unto thee therein.

[n] 2 Sam. 5. 2. & 7. 5, 13.

25 When this was done many years, then they that inhabited the city forsook thee,

26 And in all things did even as Adam and all his generations had done: for they also had a wicked heart:

27 And so thou gavest thy city over into the hands of thine enemies.

28 Are their deeds then any better that inhabit Babylon, that they should therefore have the dominion over Sion?

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13. *Now when.*] Rather, "And it came to pass, when," &c., repeating the beginning of *v.* 12.

14. *thy will.*] Vulg. *voluntatem tuam.* The best MSS. add *secrete noctu*, while, in place of *voluntatem tuam*, Fritzsche and Van der Vlis prefer *finem temporum*, as more agreeable to the Arabic (= *das Ende der Zeit*) and Aeth.

18. *didst set fast.*] This is out of keeping with the rest of the passage, the tone of which is like that of Ps. xviii. 7–15, or lxviii. 8. Hence "thou shookest the earth" should probably be read, as if ἔσεισας had got altered to ἔστησας. Gildemeister renders the Arabic word in his translation by *concussisti.*

19. *four gates.*] For three of these Hilgenf. aptly compares the manifestation to Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 11, 12. For the fourth, we may refer to the "hail" of Exod. ix. 23, and Ps. xviii. 13. The author of the Arabic Version in the Vatican appears to have read θῆρας for θύρας in the Greek text.

diligence.] See note above on *v.* 7.

21. *and so be all.*] Lat. *sed et omnes*, which seems to favour the opinion that the words *et non solus ille* once preceded; an equivalent phrase, "and not he alone," still existing in the Arabic and the Aethiopic.

22. *and the law.*] The sense becomes much clearer if we render: "and thy law was in the heart of the people along with the evil root;" *i.e.* both implanted and growing together. The Arabic accords with this (= *mit der bösen Wurzel zusammen*).

28. *Are their deeds.*] This is preceded in the best MSS. of the Latin, and in the versions, by a clause = "And I said in my heart."

29 For when I came thither, and had seen impieties without number, then my soul saw many evildoers in this thirtieth year, so that my heart failed me.

30 For I have seen how thou sufferest them sinning, and hast spared wicked doers: and hast destroyed thy people, and hast preserved thine enemies, and hast not signified it.

31 [1]I do not remember how this way may be left: Are they then of Babylon better than they of Sion?

[1] Or, *I conceive.*

32 Or is there any other people that knoweth thee beside Israel? or what generation hath so believed thy covenants as Jacob?

33 And yet their reward appeareth not, and their labour hath no fruit: for I have gone here and there through the heathen, and I see that they [1]flow in wealth, and think not upon thy commandments.

[1] Or, *abound.*

34 Weigh thou therefore our wickedness now in the balance, and their's also that dwell in the world; and so shall thy name no where be found but in Israel.

35 Or when was it that they which dwell upon the earth have not sinned in thy sight? or what people have so kept thy commandments?

36 Thou shalt find that Israel by name hath kept thy precepts; but not the heathen.

CHAPTER IV.

1 The angel declareth the ignorance of Esdras in God's judgments, 13 and adviseth him not to meddle with things above his reach. 23 Nevertheless Esdras asketh divers questions, and receiveth answers to them.

AND the angel that was sent unto me, whose name was Uriel, gave me an answer,

2 And said, Thy heart hath gone too far in this world, and thinkest thou to comprehend the way of the most High?

3 Then said I, Yea, my lord. And he answered me, and said, I am sent to shew thee three ways, and to set forth three similitudes before thee:

4 Whereof if thou canst declare me one, I will shew thee also the way that thou desirest to see, and I shall shew thee from whence the wicked heart cometh.

5 And I said, Tell on, my lord.

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29. *thither.*] Rather, "hither."

in this thirtieth year.] Rather, "in these thirty years," as in the Arabic, "diese 30 Jahre lang."

30. *and hast not signified it.*] The obscurity of this and the following clause is removed by adopting an emendation of Van der Vlis (confirmed, as Bensly points out, p. 23, by the reading of one MS.); namely, *nihil nemini* for *nihil memini.* The sense would then be: "and hast not signified at all to any one, how this way is to be forsaken (*i.e.* how this purpose or counsel of depressing Sion is to come to an end)." The Arabic has "und doch niemanden kundthatest wie dieser Weg ein Ende habe."

34. *and so shall thy name, &c.*] It is not easy to account for the reading of the Vulgate, followed in our English Version: *et non invenietur nomen nisi in Israel.* For *nomen tuum* it is natural to conjecture *momentum* (the "turn of the scale"), and to keep up the metaphor. The Arabic gives the most intelligible sense—"to find out whether the one in the least outweigh the other." So in Gildemeister's rendering of the Vatican MS.,—"et vide utra lanx deprimatur."

36. *Israel by name.*] There is no authority for "Israel" here. The Vulgate has *hos quidem per nomina.* In S. and T. there is *hos* for *homines* (possibly a contraction of the same word). With this text the meaning would be: "men by name thou shalt find to have kept," &c.; that is, "here and there a few noteworthy ones may be found to have kept the law of God, but not mankind in general."

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST VISION (ch. iv. 1—ch. v. 14).

1. *Uriel.*] This angel, the "fire of God," the angel of thunder and earthquakes (Bk. of Enoch, xx. 2), is not mentioned in the O. T. or Apocrypha excepting here and in *v.* 36; v. 20; x. 38. In Milton he is made the

"regent of the sun, and held
The sharpest sighted Spirit of all in heaven."
Par. Lost, iii. 690.

Then said he unto me, Go thy way, weigh me the weight of the fire, or measure me the blast of the wind, or call me again the day that is past.

6 Then answered I and said, What man is able to do that, that thou shouldest ask such things of me?

7 And he said unto me, If I should ask thee how great dwellings are in the midst of the sea, or how many springs are in the beginning of the deep, or how many springs are above the firmament, or which are the outgoings of paradise:

8 Peradventure thou wouldest say unto me, I never went down into the deep, nor as yet into hell, neither did I ever climb up into heaven.

9 Nevertheless now have I asked thee but only of the fire and wind, and of the day wherethrough thou hast passed, and of things from which thou canst not be separated, and yet canst thou give me no answer of them.

10 He said moreover unto me, Thine own things, and such as are grown up with thee, canst thou not know;

11 How should thy vessel then be able to comprehend the way of the Highest, and, the world being now outwardly corrupted, to understand the [1]corruption that is evident in my sight?

12 Then said I unto him, It were better that we were not at all, than that we should live still in wickedness, and to suffer, and not to know wherefore.

13 He answered me, and said, I went into a forest into a plain, and the [a]trees took counsel,

14 And said, Come, let us go and make war against the sea, that it may depart away before us, and that we may make us more woods.

15 The floods of the sea also in like manner took counsel, and said, Come, let us go up and subdue the woods of the plain, that there also we may make us another country.

16 The thought of the wood was in vain, for the fire came and consumed it.

17 The thought of the floods of the sea came likewise to nought, for the sand stood up and stopped them.

18 If thou wert judge now betwixt these two, whom wouldest thou begin to justify? or whom wouldest thou condemn?

19 I answered and said, Verily it is a foolish thought that they both have devised, for [1]the ground is given

[1] Or, *incorruption.*

[a] Judg. 9. 8. 2 Chr. 25. 18.

[1] Or, *the land.*

7. *springs.*] Lat. *quantæ venæ*, for which Volk. would read *quot fontes*. Comp. Job xxxviii. 16, "Hast thou entered into the springs of the sea?" For *venæ*, just after, V. der Vlis conjectures *viæ* = "how many ways there are above the firmament." This is confirmed by Gildemeister's rendering of the Vatican Arabic:—"et (quot sint) viæ super cælum." Before the last clause in the verse, on the strength of the Oriental versions, Volk. and others would insert "or which are the entrances of hell." The wording of *v.* 8 seems to favour this.

8. Comp. Ps. cxxxix. 8; Rom. x. 6, 7.

9. *separated.*] That is, if man cannot explain the mysteries of the elements—fire, wind, &c.—by which he is always surrounded, and with which his life is inseparably bound up, how can he understand the mysteries of the unseen world? Comp. Wisdom, ix. 16.

11. *outwardly corrupted.*] Vulg. *et jam exterius corrupto sæculo*. The reading of A., *exterritus* (which Bensly, p. 32, shews to be for *exteritus* = *extritus*, "worn out"), clears up the sense of this obscure passage. It should be: "and, being worn out with a corrupt world, to understand," &c. For *evidentem* Volk. would read *evadentem* = "Him that escapes corruption," *i.e.* God, or "the world that escapes," &c.; the idea being: "How shall the corruptible and transitory apprehend the incorruptible and unchanging?"

12. *Then said I.*] Before these words there comes in the Oriental versions a clause = "And I fell on my face."

17. *stood up.*] *I.e.* rose as a barrier.

19. *ground.*] The marginal reading, "land," is better.

unto the wood, and the sea also hath his place to bear his [1]floods.

[1] Or, *waves.*

20 Then answered he me, and said, Thou hast given a right judgment, but why judgest thou not thyself also?

21 For like as [1]the ground is given unto the wood, and the sea to his floods: even so [b]they that dwell upon the earth may understand nothing but that which is upon the earth: and he that dwelleth above the heavens may only understand the things that are above the height of the heavens.

[1] Or, *the land.*

[b] Is. 55. 8, 9. John 3. 31. 1 Cor. 2. 14.

22 Then answered I and said, I beseech thee, O Lord, let me have understanding:

23 For it was not my mind to be curious of the high things, but of such as pass by us daily, namely, wherefore Israel is given up as a reproach to the heathen, and for what cause the people whom thou hast loved is given over unto ungodly nations, and why the law of our forefathers is brought to nought, and the written covenants come [1]to none effect,

[1] Or, *no where.*

24 And we pass away out of the world as grasshoppers, and our life is astonishment and fear, and we are not worthy to obtain mercy.

25 What will he then do unto his name whereby we are called? of these things have I asked.

26 Then answered he me, and said, The more thou searchest, the more thou shalt marvel; for the world hasteth fast to pass away,

27 And cannot comprehend the things that are promised to the righteous in time to come: for [c]this world is full of unrighteousness and infirmities.

[c] 1 John 5. 19.

28 But as concerning the things whereof thou askest me, I will tell thee; for the evil is sown, but the destruction thereof is not yet come.

29 If therefore that which is sown be not turned upside down, and if the place where the evil is sown pass not away, then cannot it come that is sown with good.

30 For the grain of evil seed hath been sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much ungodliness hath it brought up unto this time? and how much shall it yet bring forth until the [1]time of threshing come?

[1] Or, *floor.*

31 Ponder now by thyself, how great fruit of wickedness the grain of evil seed hath brought forth.

32 And when the ears shall be cut down, which are without number, how great a floor shall they fill?

33 Then I answered and said, How, and when shall these things come to pass? wherefore are our years few and evil?

34 And he answered me, saying,

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20. *thyself.*] Rather, "for thyself."

23. *the high things.*] Vulg. *de superioribus tuis*, "the higher things of thine."

covenants.] Lat. *dispositiones*, "testaments." The destruction of the copies of the Law in the taking of Jerusalem is alluded to in xiv. 21.

24. *as grasshoppers.*] With the mingled idea of insignificance (Isa. xl. 22) and timidity (Job xxxix. 20), and perhaps of wandering also. For the desponding tone, comp. the Introd. § V.

26. *The more.*] The true sense appears to be: "If thou art in existence, thou wilt see; and if thou livest, thou wilt often marvel."

28. *destruction.*] Lat. *destructio;* but Bensly (p. 25) points out that A. originally read *districtio*, and S. has *destrictio*. Hence the true sense may be "the plucking up" (comp. Ezek. xvii. 9), which is more appropriate than "destruction."

29. *turned upside down.*] Vulg. *inversum*, but a better reading is *evulsum*, "torn up." Bensly, however, thinks the reading of A. to be conclusive: *si ergo non mensum* (= *messum*) *fuerit* = "be not reaped."

32. *cut down.*] Vulg. *secatæ*, but the best MSS. have *seminatæ*. Also the Oriental versions suggest the insertion of *seminis boni* after *spicæ* (*das Samenkorn des Guten* in the Arab.) = "when the ears of good seed have been sown," &c. That is, if the harvest of evil is abundant, how much more so will be that of the more prolific good?

Do not thou hasten above the most Highest: for thy haste is in vain to be above him, for thou hast much exceeded.

35 Did not the souls also of the righteous ask question of these things in their chambers, saying, How long shall I hope on this fashion? when cometh the fruit of the floor of our reward?

36 And unto these things [1]Uriel the archangel gave them answer, and said, Even when the number of seeds is filled in you: for he hath weighed the world in the balance.

[1] Or, *Jeremiel.*

37 By measure hath he measured the times, and by number hath he numbered the times; and he doth not move nor stir them, until the said measure be fulfilled.

38 Then answered I and said, O Lord that bearest rule, even we all are full of impiety.

39 And for our sakes peradventure it is that the floors of the righteous are not filled, because of the sins of them that dwell upon the earth.

40 So he answered me, and said, Go thy way to a woman with child, and ask of her when she hath fulfilled her nine months, if her womb may keep the birth any longer within her.

41 Then said I, No, Lord, that can she not. And he said unto me, In the grave the chambers of souls are like the womb of a woman:

42 For like as a woman that travaileth maketh haste to escape the necessity of the travail: even so do these places haste to deliver those things that are committed unto them.

43 From the beginning, look, what thou desirest to see, it shall be shewed thee.

44 Then answered I and said, If I have found favour in thy sight, and if it be possible, and if I be meet therefore,

45 Shew me then whether there be more to come than is past, or more past than is to come.

46 What is past I know, but what is for to come I know not.

47 And he said unto me, Stand up upon the right side, and I shall expound the similitude unto thee.

48 So I stood, and saw, and, behold, an hot burning oven passed by before me: and it happened, that

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34. *hast much exceeded.*] The reading here is doubtful. For *excessus* the best MSS. have *excelsus.* Hilgenfeld would make the sense to be: "for thou art concerned on thine own account, but the Highest on account of many." Comp. v. 33.

35. *souls of the righteous.*] Comp. Rev. vi. 9, 10. The word rendered "chambers" is *promptuariis*, found also in *v.* 41 below, lit. "store rooms," or garners, as in Ps. cxliv. 13, the only place where it appears to occur in the Vulgate.

the floor.] *I.e.* the threshing-floor, as in *v.* 39.

36. *Uriel.*] As Uriel is speaking, it would be strange for him to describe his own answer in the third person, as would be inferred from the English Version. Hence it should be noticed that in one MS. the name of the angel is given as Hieremihel; in another, Ieremiel, and so on. In the Latin texts he is called an archangel, and must not be identified with the angel who is speaking to Ezra. See Bensly, p. 31 *n.*

of seeds.] For *seminum in vobis* Van der Vlis conjectures *similium vobis* = "of those like you." This is supported by the reading of the Arabic: "wenn die Zahl der euch gleichenden voll seyn wird."

37. Comp. Wisdom xi. 20.

39. *the floors.*] *I.e.* that the ingathering of the righteous, as of corn from the threshing-floor, is not completed. See *v.* 32 above.

42. *to escape the necessity.*] That is, to get quickly over the inevitable pain; as in the Arabic: "der Schmerzen der Geburt sich zu entledigen."

43. *From the beginning.*] These words should rather end the previous verse: "the things that have been committed unto them from the beginning. Then shall it," &c. There is no authority for "look," the Latin being *Tunc tibi, etc.*

48. *oven.*] Comp. Ps. xxi. 9, "Thou shalt make them as a fiery oven in the time of thine anger," and Mal. iii. 1. We should now perhaps use the word "furnace."

when the flame was gone by I looked, and, behold, the smoke remained still.

49 After this there passed by before me a watery cloud, and sent down much rain with a storm; and when the stormy rain was past, the drops remained still.

50 Then said he unto me, Consider with thyself; as the rain is more than the drops, and as the fire is greater than the smoke; but the drops and the smoke remain behind: so the [1]quantity which is past did more exceed.

[1] Or, *measure.*

51 Then I prayed, and said, May I live, thinkest thou, until that time? or [1]what shall happen in those days?

[1] Or, *who shall be?* Manuscript.

52 He answered me, and said, As for the tokens whereof thou askest me, I may tell thee of them in part: but as touching thy life, I am not sent to shew thee; for I do not know it.

CHAPTER V.

1 *The signs of the times to come.* 23 *He asketh why God, choosing but one people, did cast them off.* 30 *He is taught, that God's judgments are unsearchable,* 46 *and that God doeth not all at once.*

NEVERTHELESS as concerning the tokens, behold, the days shall come, that they which dwell upon earth [1]shall be taken in a great number, and the way of truth shall be hidden, and the land shall be barren of faith.

[1] Or, *shall be found with great wealth.*

2 But [a]iniquity shall be increased above that which now thou seest, or that thou hast heard long ago.

[a] Matt. 24. 12.

3 And the land, [1]that thou seest now to have root, shalt thou see wasted suddenly.

[1] Or, *that thou treadest upon and seest.*

4 But if the most High grant thee to live, thou shalt see after the third trumpet that the sun shall suddenly shine again in the night, and the moon thrice in the day:

5 And blood shall drop out of wood, and the stone shall give his voice, and the people shall be troubled:

6 And even he shall rule, whom they look not for that dwell upon the earth, and the fowls shall take their flight away together:

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50. *did more exceed.*] Rather, "hath exceeded." This clause should precede the one before it, as in the Geneva Version.

51. *or what.*] The marginal reading, "or who," is the best supported. The sense is: "or, if I am not then alive, who will be so?"

CHAPTER V.

1. *shall be taken in a great number.*] This is not very intelligible. The Vulg. has *apprehendentur in censu multo.* Volkmar, followed by Fritzsche, would read *insensu* = ἀνοίᾳ, "shall be found in great foolishness." But it is difficult to believe that any translator would use such a word as *insensus.* V. der Vlis ingeniously conjectures that the Greek word was φόβῳ, mistaken for φόρῳ, and that it is, "shall be found in great fear." The Arabic supports this.

3. *to have root.*] It is not easy to see what suggested this phrase to the English translator, the Vulg. having *et erit imposito vestigio quam nunc vides regnare,* &c. As the best MSS. vary between *incomposito* and *incompositio,* we may render: "and the land that thou now seest to bear rule, shall be disordered [lit. "with disordered step"], and they shall see it wasted." With this the Arabic agrees.

4. *after the third trumpet.*] For *tubam* of the Vulg. Hilgenf. conjectures *turbatam;* and assuming that there was an article in the Greek, which would have no equivalent in the Latin, he restores the text thus: καὶ ὄψει τὴν μετὰ τὴν τρίτην θορυβουμένην. "The land after the third" would be the fourth kingdom of Daniel, referred to below in xii. 11. But this seems far-fetched. The Arabic has a simpler reading: "thou shalt afterwards see these three signs;" *i.e.* that of the sun and moon, the blood, and the stone.

the sun.] Hilgenfeld has collected a series of parallel signs from apocryphal and other writings. In the 'Ascension of Isaiah' (iv. 5) we have: "and at his voice the sun shall rise by night, and he will cause the moon to appear at noonday." Blood trickling down from the cross was a sign added to the account of the Crucifixion in Mark xv. 33–37. The stone crying out is familiar to us from Hab. ii. 12; Luke xix. 40. For a supposed reference in Barnabæ *Ep.,* see the Introd. p. 72.

6. *he shall rule.*] Conjectured by some to refer to Octavian; by others to Herod the Great.

7 And the Sodomitish sea shall cast out fish, and make a noise in the night, which many have not known: but they shall all hear the voice thereof.

8 There shall be a confusion also in many places, and the fire shall be oft [1]sent out again, and the wild beasts shall change their places, and menstruous women shall bring forth monsters:

[1] Or, *slaked*.

9 And salt waters shall be found in the sweet, and all friends shall destroy one another; then shall wit hide itself, and understanding withdraw itself into his secret chamber,

10 And shall be sought of many, and yet not be found: then shall unrighteousness and incontinency be multiplied upon earth.

11 One land also shall ask another, and say, Is righteousness that maketh a man righteous gone through thee? And it shall say, No.

12 At the same time shall men hope, but nothing obtain: they shall labour, but their ways shall not [1]prosper.

[1] Or, *be directed*.

13 To shew thee such tokens I have leave; and if thou wilt pray again, and weep as now, and fast seven days, thou shalt hear yet greater things.

14 Then I awaked, and an extreme fearfulness went through all my body, and my mind was troubled, so that it fainted.

15 So the angel that was come to talk with me held me, comforted me, and set me up upon my feet.

16 And in the second night it came to pass, that Salathiel the captain of the people came unto me, saying, Where hast thou been? and why is thy countenance so heavy?

17 Knowest thou not that Israel is committed unto thee in the land of their captivity?

18 Up then, and eat bread, and forsake us not, as the shepherd that leaveth his flock in the hands of cruel wolves.

19 Then said I unto him, Go thy ways from me, and come not nigh me. And he heard what I said, and went from me.

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7. *Sodomitish sea.*] The name of Dead Sea, which we commonly employ, is not found in the Bible. The common belief that fish could not live in its waters finds expression in Ezek. xlvii. 9, and in a passage of Jerome quoted by Wordsworth (*in loc.*). The impression is not quite justified by facts.

and make a noise in the night.] By a simple change of *noctu* to *noctua* Volkmar would read "and the owl shall utter its cry." But there would be nothing portentous in that. A. de Gutschmid (quoted by Hilgenfeld) enumerates various portents, such as those here mentioned, recorded to have been observed before the Battle of Actium in B.C. 31.

8. *the fire, &c.*] Rather, "and fire shall oft break out." The word in the Latin should probably be *emittetur*, not *remittetur*. The Arabic supports this: "und dichtes Feuer wird losgelassen." Such an outbreak of fire in Rome is related in Dion Cassius to have occurred just before the Battle of Actium.

9. *wit.*] *I.e.* knowledge.

11. *that maketh.*] The sense should perhaps rather be: "has righteousness passed through thee, or one that doeth righteousness?" For the thought, comp. Amos vi. 10.

13. *seven days.*] In the 'Apocalypsis Baruchi' (ed. Fritzsche, p. 662), we find a similar passage: "vade igitur et sanctificare septem diebus, neque edas panem, neque bibas aquam, neque loquaris alicui." The resemblance in many points between that book and 2 Esdras is traced by Langen in his 'De Apocalypsi Baruch . . . Commentatio,' 1867.

SECOND VISION (ch. v. 15—ch. vi. 34).

16. *Salathiel.*] This is the spelling of the name in the Vulgate. Fritzsche reads Phaltiel. One of that name is found in 2 Sam. iii. 15 (the husband of Michal), called in 1 Sam. xxv. 44 Phalti. But as Salathiel, or Shealtiel, the father or uncle of Ezra (Ez. iii. 2; 1 Chr. iii. 19), was the head of the tribe of Judah at the return from the Captivity, there seems no reason for disturbing the name as it commonly stands.

19. *nigh me.*] After this is added in the best MSS., *usque a diebus* (al. *ad dies*) *vii. et tunc venies ad me* = "for seven days, and

20 And so I fasted seven days, mourning and weeping, like as Uriel the angel commanded me.

21 And after seven days so it was, that the thoughts of my heart were very grievous unto me again,

22 And my soul recovered the spirit of understanding, and I began to talk with the most High again,

23 And said, O Lord that bearest rule, of every wood of the earth, and of all the trees thereof, thou hast chosen thee one only vine:

24 And of all lands of the whole world thou hast chosen thee one pit: and of all the flowers thereof one lily:

25 And of all the depths of the sea thou hast filled thee one river: and of all builded cities thou hast hallowed Sion unto thyself:

26 And of all the fowls that are created thou hast named thee one dove: and of all the cattle that are made thou hast provided thee one sheep:

27 And among all the multitudes of people thou hast gotten thee one people: and unto this people, whom thou lovedst, thou gavest a law that is approved of all.

28 And now, O Lord, why hast thou given this one people over unto many? and [1]upon the one root hast thou prepared others, and why hast thou scattered thy only one people among many?

[1] Or, *over.*

29 And they which did gainsay thy promises, and believed not thy covenants, have trodden them down.

30 If thou didst so much hate thy people, yet shouldest thou punish them with thine own hands.

31 Now when I had spoken these words, the angel that came to me the night afore was sent unto me,

32 And said unto me, Hear me, and I will instruct thee; hearken to the thing that I say, and I shall tell thee more.

33 And I said, Speak on, my Lord. Then said he unto me, Thou art sore troubled in mind for Israel's sake: [b]lovest thou that people better than he that made them?

[b] ch. 8. 47.

34 And I said, No, Lord: but of

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then shalt thou come unto me." The Arabic further adds, "and I will speak with thee."

24. *pit.*] Lat. *foveam.* As the reference is to the land of Palestine, some more general term is wanted. Van der Vlis thinks that ἀγρὸν may have been mistaken by the Latin translator for τάφρον. This is supported by the Vatican Arabic, according to Gildemeister's version:—"ex omnibus regionibus regionem unam." If Ewald's version of the Arabic be correct (*eine Tenne* = a threshing-floor), we might suppose that ἅλων rather than ἀγρὸν was the original reading.

one lily.] It is noticeable that, although the rose is so highly prized in the East, it is rarely mentioned in the Old Testament, and never in the New. In Canticles ii. 1, "I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys," and in Is. xxxv. 1, "the desert shall . . . blossom as the rose," the name occurs, and in no other passage; and even there it is very doubtful what flower is meant. The "rose plant in Jericho" is mentioned in Ecclus. xxiv. 14. On the other hand, the lily (whatever flower it may have been) is often spoken of with honour, as in Matt. vi. 28. Perhaps Cant. ii. 2 and Hos. xiv. 5 would best illustrate the text.

25. *one river.*] As Sion is made the centre of interest, it would seem that we must interpret this, with Hilgenf., of the brook Kedron.

26. *dove.*] Comp. Cant. ii. 14; Ps. lxxiv. 19.

sheep.] Ps. lxxix. 13; lxxx. 1.

28. *upon the one root.*] The Vulg. has *et præparasti super unam radicem alias;* the best MSS. transpose the order to *unam rad. super alias.* If we assume, with Volkmar, that the Greek ἠτίμασας was mistaken for ἡτοίμασας, the sense will be clear: "and why hast thou dishonoured one root above others?" *i.e.* the Jewish race beyond the Gentiles. This would agree with the Arabic: "und verwarfst diese eine Wurzel mehr als die andern."

29. *And they, &c.*] Bensly (p. 26 *n.*) would restore the text thus: "and they which did gainsay thy promises have trodden down them that believed thy covenants."

33. *that people.*] Rather, "him" (Lat. *eum*); *i.e.* Israel.

very grief have I spoken: for my reins pain me every hour, while I labour to comprehend the way of the most High, and to seek out part of his judgment.

35 And he said unto me, Thou canst not. And I said, Wherefore, Lord? whereunto was I born then? or why was not my mother's womb then my grave, that I might not have seen the travail of Jacob, and the wearisome toil of the stock of Israel?

36 And he said unto me, Number me the things that are not yet come, gather me together the drops that are scattered abroad, make me the flowers green again that are withered,

37 Open me the places that are closed, and bring me forth the winds that in them are shut up, shew me the image of a voice: and then I will declare to thee the thing that thou labourest to know.

38 And I said, O Lord that bearest rule, who may know these things, but he [c]that hath not his dwelling with men?

[c] Dan. 2. 11.

39 As for me, I am unwise: how may I then speak of these things whereof thou askest me?

40 Then said he unto me, Like as thou canst do none of these things that I have spoken of, even so canst thou not find out my judgment, or in the end the love that I have promised unto my people.

41 And I said, Behold, O Lord, yet art thou nigh unto them that be reserved till the end: and what shall they do that have been before me, or we that be now, or they that shall come after us?

42 And he said unto me, I will liken my judgment unto a ring; like as there is no slackness of the last, even so there is no swiftness of the first.

43 So I answered and said, Couldest thou not make those that have been made, and be now, and that are for

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34. *part.*] Rather, "a part;" *i.e.* even a small portion. But it is possible that the Latin may not give the sense of the original correctly. The Arabic has "the track" (*die Spur*), which would be more expressive.

35. *why was not, &c.*] An interest attaches to the short passage from these words to the end of the verse, owing to its having been preserved in the original Greek. It is found in Clemens Alexandrinus ('Strom.' iii. 16, 100), introduced by the words Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης λέγει.

36. *the things.*] The Arabic has "the days," and Van der Vlis thinks that this was the reading in the Greek.

37. *the places.*] Rather, "the chambers," or "storehouses," the same word as was rendered "secret chamber" above, *v.* 9. If in place of "winds" we also read "spirits," or "souls" (πνεύματα = *spiritus*, not *flatus*, as in the Vulg.), the sense is clear: "Open the closed chambers (of the dead), and bring me forth the souls that are shut up in them." But it is doubtful whether πνεύματα would be used in such a sense, and Gildemeister's rendering of the Vatican Arabic, "*tribus* in eis inclusas," seems to point to ΨΥΧΑϹ, "souls," as the original reading, which the translator mistook for ΦΥΛΑϹ (as if φῦλα) = "tribes."

the image of a voice.] A clause is here inserted in the Oriental versions, with some difference of position and wording = "and shew me the image of faces which thou hast not yet seen." Hence there is some probability in the conjecture of Van der Vlis, that the sentence originally ran: "and shew me the image of faces which thou hast not yet seen, and let me hear their voice."

the thing that, &c.] Rather, "the labour (or suffering) that thou askest to see."

38. *but he, &c.*] The close resemblance of this to Dan. ii. 11 should be noticed.

40. *or in the end.*] Vulg. *in fine*, but better MSS. have *in finem* = "the love to the end." Conversely "till the end" in the next verse should probably be "in the end," there being nothing to answer to "are reserved." It = "those who live in the end," or latter days.

42. *a ring.*] Or, "a crown" (*coronæ*), but still with the idea of a circle, in which there is neither beginning nor end, but where "the first shall be last and the last first." This passage is noticeable as being quoted by St. Ambrose, 'De bono Mortis,' c. x.: "Mirabiliter ait scriptura, coronæ esse similem illum judicii diem, in quo sicut non novissimorum tarditas, sic non priorum velocitas."

to come, at once; that thou mightest shew thy judgment the sooner?

44 Then answered he me, and said, The creature may not haste above the maker; neither may the world hold them at once that shall be created therein.

45 And I said, As thou hast said unto thy servant, that thou, which givest life to all, hast given life at once to the creature that thou hast created, and the creature bare it: even so it might now also bear them that now be present at once.

46 And he said unto me, Ask the womb of a woman, and say unto her, If thou bringest forth children, why dost thou it not together, but one after another? pray her therefore to bring forth ten children at once.

47 And I said, She cannot: but must do it by distance of time.

48 Then said he unto me, Even so have I given the womb of the earth to those that be sown in it in their times.

49 For like as a young child may not bring forth the things that belong to the aged, even so have I disposed the world which I created.

50 And I asked, and said, Seeing thou hast now given me the way, I will *proceed to* speak before thee: for our mother, of whom thou hast told me that she is young, draweth now nigh unto age.

51 He answered me, and said, Ask a woman that beareth children, and she shall tell thee.

52 Say unto her, Wherefore are not they whom thou hast now brought forth like those that were before, but less of stature?

53 And she shall answer thee, They that be born in the strength of youth are of one fashion, and they that are born in the time of age, when the womb faileth, are otherwise.

54 Consider thou therefore also, how that ye are less of stature than those that were before you.

55 And so are they that come after you less than ye, as the creatures which now begin to be old, and have passed over the strength of youth.

56 Then said I, Lord, I beseech thee, if I have found favour in thy sight, shew thy servant by whom thou visitest thy creature.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *God's purpose is eternal.* 8 *The next world shall follow this immediately.* 13 *What shall fall out at the last.* 31 *He is promised more knowledge,* 38 *and reckoneth up the works of the creation,* 57 *and complaineth that they have no part in the world for whom it was made.*

AND he said unto me, In the beginning, when the [1]earth

[1] Or, *circle of the earth.*

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44. *that shall be, &c.*] Vulg. *creandi.* But a better reading is *creati* = "that have been created." For the sense comp. iv. 34.

45. The meaning is somewhat obscure. The general sense appears to be: "Couldest not Thou, who didst create all things at once in the beginning, cause that the world should even now receive all the generations of men that are to come upon it?" The words "as thou hast said," &c., refer most naturally to what is declared in the first chapter of Genesis. Hilgenfeld, not so probably, makes them refer to the statement in *v.* 42.

46. *If thou, &c.*] The best texts have, "If thou bringest forth ten children." The Vulg. *et si paris* was probably due to a mistaking of X. (*decem*) for & (*et*).

49. *the things, &c.*] The Vulg. has *ea quæ senum sunt;* better texts, *nec ea quæ senuit adhuc* = "nor she any longer, who has grown old." The world's time of parturition is preceded by a period of immaturity, and followed by one of exhaustion.

53. *in the strength of youth.*] Hilgenfeld quotes a number of passages in illustration of this thought of the world's growing old. One from Ambrose ('De bono Mortis,' c. x., quoted above) is directly suggested by the text: "Defecit enim multitudine generationis hoc sæculum tanquam vulva generationis, et tanquam senescens creatura robur juventutis suæ velut marcente jam virium suarum robore deposuit." Lucretius (ii. 1149 *sqq.*) had expressed the same thought before.

CHAPTER VI.

1. *In the beginning.*] As the question at the end of the preceding chapter is not directly answered, a clause is inserted in

was made, before the borders of the world stood, or ever the winds blew,

2 Before it thundered and lightened, or ever the foundations of paradise were laid,

3 Before the fair flowers were seen, or ever the moveable powers were established, before the innumerable multitude of angels were gathered together,

4 Or ever the heights of the air were lifted up, before the measures of the firmament were named, or ever the chimneys in Sion were hot,

5 And ere the present years were sought out, and or ever the inventions of them that now sin were turned, before they were sealed that have gathered faith for a treasure:

6 Then did I consider these things, and they all were made through me alone, and through none other: by me also they shall be ended, and by none other.

7 Then answered I and said, What shall be the parting asunder of the times? or when shall be the end of the first, and the beginning of it that followeth?

8 And he said unto me, From Abraham unto Isaac, when Jacob and Esau were born of him, [a] Jacob's hand held [1]first the heel of Esau.

[a] Gen. 25. 26.

[1] Or, *from the beginning.*

9 For Esau is the end of the world, and Jacob is the beginning of it that followeth.

10 The hand of man is betwixt

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some of the versions for that purpose. Thus the Aethiopic (tr. by Hilgenf.) has: "Initio per filium hominis, et deinde ego ipse. Nam antequam," etc.

borders of the world.] Lat. *exitus sæculi*, "the outgoings" or "beginnings" "of the world." The Greek word was probably ἔξοδοι, found in the Septuagint version of Micah vi. 2: "whose *goings forth* have been from of old, from everlasting."

the winds blew.] The expression in the Latin is striking: *antequam spirarent* conventiones *ventorum*, "before the meetings of the winds blew," like Virgil's

"Una Eurusque Notusque ruunt," etc.

In the next verse also the diction is more florid in the Lat. than in the English.

3. *the moveable powers.*] Vulg. *motæ virtutes.* As one good MS. has *motuum*, the sense is probably "before the powers of the earthquakes were established." The Vatican Arabic supports this:—"antequam terræ motuum vires corroborarentur."

multitude.] Rather, "hosts;" Lat. *militiæ* = στρατιαί.

4. *the chimneys in Sion were hot.*] Vulg. *et antequam æstuarent camini in Sion.* But the two best MSS. have *æstimaretur camillum Sion.* Hence Bensly (p. 26 *n.*) concludes the true reading to be *scamillum ædificaretur*, or something similar in place of the latter word, ="or ever the foot-stool of Sion was set." The Arabic (according to Ewald) supports the Vulg., "ehe die Heerde in Sion glüheten;" but Gildemeister's rendering of the Vatican MS. accords with Bensly's emendation:—"antequam commemoraretur quod sub pedibus Sionis est."

5. *were turned.*] Lit. "were estranged;" Lat. *abalienarentur.* The expression is obscure, but seems to mean "were diverted," and so "baffled," and made of no effect.

sealed.] Implying the final safety of the faithful, as the previous sentence implied the final confusion of the wicked. The point of time is anterior to the double scheme of retribution for the good and bad in the world that was to be.

7. *the parting asunder, &c.*] *I.e.*, the division between the old era and the new.

8. *unto Isaac.*] As MS. S. has "Abraham" in place of "Isaac," it is probable that the Greek was as Hilgenf. gives it: ἕως τῶν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, or τὸν τοῦ, as Volkmar. This is supported by the Arabic. The words "When Jacob," &c., should begin a fresh sentence. Abraham's seed would be the Messiah, with whom the new era was to begin, with no more interval between than separated the births of Esau and Jacob. In the allusion to the heel of Esau, Hilgenfeld thinks that he sees an indication of the writer's living in the reign of one of the Herods.

first.] The marginal reading is better.

10. *The hand of man.*] This yields no sense, though the Latin texts appear to offer no variations. For *hominis manus* Van der Vlis conjectures *homo est medius;* Hilgenf. *hominis membra.* The meaning would then be, that between the hand and the heel comes the whole body of man: one is the highest point, the other the lowest. Hence these are

the heel and the hand: other question, Esdras, ask thou not.

11 I answered then and said, O Lord that bearest rule, if I have found favour in thy sight,

12 I beseech thee, shew thy servant the end of thy tokens, whereof thou shewedst me part the last night.

13 So he answered and said unto me, Stand up upon thy feet, and hear a mighty sounding voice.

14 And it shall be as it were a great [1]motion: but the place where thou standest shall not be moved.

[1] Or, earthquake.

15 And therefore when it speaketh be not afraid: for the word is of the end, and the foundation of the earth is understood.

16 And why? because the speech of these things trembleth and is moved: for it knoweth that the end of these things must be changed.

17 And it happened, that when I had heard it I stood up upon my feet, and hearkened, and, behold, there was a voice that spake, and the sound of it was like the sound of many waters.

18 And it said, Behold, the days come, that I will begin to draw nigh, and to visit them that dwell upon the earth,

19 And will begin to make inquisition of them, what they be that have hurt unjustly with their unrighteousness, and when the affliction of Sion shall be fulfilled;

20 And when the world, that shall begin to vanish away, shall be [1]finished, then will I shew these tokens: the books shall be opened before the firmament, and they shall see all together:

[1] Or, sealed.

21 And the children of a year old shall speak with their voices, the women with child shall bring forth untimely children of three or four months old, and they shall live, and be raised up.

22 And suddenly shall the sown places appear unsown, the full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty:

23 And [b]the trumpet shall give a sound, which when every man heareth, they shall be suddenly afraid.

[b] 1 Cor. 15. 52.

24 At that time shall friends fight one against another like enemies, and the earth shall stand in fear with those that dwell therein, the springs of the fountains shall stand still, and in three hours they shall not run.

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the extremities, and with the heel of Esau ends the old age; with the hand of Jacob begins the new. The Vatican Arabic, in Gildemeister's rendering, gives an intelligible sense, but in the way of a paraphrase:—"atque sicut caput hominis initium corporis et primordium ejus est, et calx extrema ejus pars, nec est ubi disjungatur; eodem modo hoc ævum," etc.

14. *a great motion.*] The Vulg. has *commotio nec commovebitur, etc.* Van der Vlis ingeniously restored the true reading *commotione* from the first two words (see Bensly, p. 37 *n.*). Hence the passage will run: "And it shall be that the place whereon thou standest shall be shaken as with a shaking (or, earthquake)."

15. *is understood, &c.*] Rather, "and the foundations of the earth will understand (the voice), for the words are concerning them: they will tremble and be shaken, for they know that their end must be changed." Fritzsche and Hilgenf. agree substantially in giving the sense thus. Volkmar makes the last clause more intelligible by a conjectural insertion: "for they know that their end is at hand, and they must be changed." The English in *v.* 16 is unintelligible.

17. *many waters.*] Comp. Rev. i. 15, xiv. 2.

18. *the days come, that.*] The sense is obscured by a needless change of rendering for the same word *quando*. It should be: "the days come, when I will begin," &c. The word "when" introduces each clause till it is answered by "then" in *v.* 20. In *v.* 19 the words "what they be" should be cancelled.

20. *finished.*] Rather, "sealed up," as something now complete.

the books.] Dan. vii. 10; Rev. xx. 12.

they shall see.] Rather, "all shall see."

23. Comp. Amos iii. 6.

24. *and in three hours.*] Rather, "for three seasons," the Greek word rendered

25 Whosoever remaineth from all these that I have told thee shall escape, and see my salvation, and the end of your world.

26 And the men that are received shall see it, who have not tasted death from their birth: and the heart of the inhabitants shall be changed, and turned into another meaning.

27 For evil shall be put out, and deceit shall be quenched.

28 As for faith, it shall flourish, corruption shall be overcome, and the truth, which hath been so long without fruit, shall be declared.

29 And when he talked with me, behold, I looked by little and little upon him before whom I stood.

30 And these words said he unto me; I am come to shew thee the time of the night to come.

31 If thou wilt pray yet more, and fast seven days again, I shall tell thee greater things [a] by day than I have heard.

[a] See ch. 13. 52.

32 For thy voice is heard before the most High; for the Mighty hath seen thy righteous dealing, he hath seen also thy chastity, which thou hast had ever since thy youth.

33 And therefore hath he sent me to shew thee all these things, and to say unto thee, Be of good comfort, and fear not.

34 And hasten not with the times that are past, to think vain things, that thou mayest not hasten from the latter times.

35 And it came to pass after this, that I wept again, and fasted seven days in like manner, that I might fulfil the three weeks which he told me.

36 And in the eighth night was my heart vexed within me again, and I began to speak before the most High.

37 For my spirit was greatly set on fire, and my soul was in distress.

38 And I said, O Lord, thou spakest from the beginning of the creation, even the first day, and saidst thus; [c] Let heaven and earth be made; and thy word was a perfect work.

[c] Gen. 1. 1.

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horas being probably ὥρας. See Van der Vlis, p. 12. Gildemeister renders the Vatican Arabic by "tribus annis."

25. *your.*] Rather, "my," with D., S., T.

26. *And the men, &c.*] Rather, "And they shall see the men that were taken up" (into heaven), as Enoch and Elijah. The Latin, *Et videbunt qui recepti sunt homines*, would also admit of the construction: "and the men that were taken up shall see it."

29. *I looked, &c.*] The Vulg. has *intuebar super eum ante quem stabam;* but one of the best MSS. has *intuebatur super quem stabam super eum.* Hence, following the lead of the other versions, Van der Vlis supposes *et movebatur locus* to have been the reading for *intuebatur*, = "and the place was shaken on which I stood." Hilgenfeld and Volkmar take the same view.

30. *the time of the night to come.*] Vulg. *tempus venturæ noctis.* But the text is very uncertain. The Arabic reads: "as in the past night" (*wie in der verwichenen Nacht*).

31. *by day.*] The marginal reference to xiii. 52 proves nothing, as will be seen by the explanation of that verse below. The sentence should end here, and the words "than I have heard" be omitted. The Vulg. has *quam audivi. Audita est, etc.* But the true reading (see Bensly, p. 37 *n.*) is *quoniam auditu audita est.*

34. *with the times, &c.*] The best text has *in*, not *cum.* The sense appears to be: "And be not eager to have foolish thoughts in regard to the times that are past, that thou," &c. Ezra would fain have hurried on the coming of the new era, but is bidden to bide his time. Comp. above, *v.* 44.

THIRD VISION (ch. vi. 35—ix. 25).

35. *the three weeks.*] One fast of seven days was mentioned before in v. 20, and from ix. 23 it is plain that the present one is to be the completion of the period. But, unless some omission is to be assumed, the three weeks are not accounted for. Volkmar thinks that the writer's mind was so full of the Book of Daniel, that he unconsciously adopted the expression in Dan. x. 2.

38. *was a perfect work.*] Vulg. *opus perfectum.* But a better reading is *opus perfecit* = "and thy word accomplished the work."

39 And then was the spirit, and darkness and silence were on every side; the sound of man's voice was not yet formed.

40 [d]Then commandedst thou a fair light to come forth of thy treasures, that thy work might appear.

41 [e]Upon the second day thou madest the spirit of the firmament, and commandedst it to part asunder, and to make a division betwixt the waters, that the one part might go up, and the other remain beneath.

42 [f]Upon the third day thou didst command that the waters should be gathered in the seventh part of the earth: six parts hast thou dried up, and kept them, to the intent that of these some being planted of God and tilled might serve thee.

43 For as soon as thy word went forth the work was made.

44 For immediately there was great and innumerable fruit, and many and divers pleasures for the taste, and flowers of unchangeable colour, and odours of wonderful smell: and this was done the third day.

45 [g]Upon the fourth day thou commandedst that the sun should shine, and the moon give her light, and the stars should be in order:

46 And gavest them a charge to do [h]service unto man, that was to be made.

47 Upon the fifth day thou saidst unto the seventh part, [i]where the waters were gathered, that it should bring forth living creatures, fowls and fishes: and so it came to pass.

48 For the dumb water and without life brought forth living things at the commandment of God, that all people might praise thy wondrous works.

49 Then didst thou ordain two living creatures, the one thou calledst [1]Enoch, and the other Leviathan;

50 And didst separate the one from the other: for the seventh part, namely, where the water was

[d] Gen. 1. 3.
[e] Gen. 1. 6.
[f] Gen. 1. 9.
[g] Gen. 1. 14.
[h] Gen. 1. 15. Deut. 4. 19.
[i] Gen. 1. 20.
[1] *Behemoth.*

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39. *And then was the spirit.*] The best reading is *et erat tunc spiritus volans* = "and then was the Spirit brooding." The Arabic comes still nearer to the language of Gen. i. 2: "und dein Geist das Wasser umschattele."

40. *a fair light.*] Rather, "the bright light."

41. *the spirit of the firmament.*] Lat. *spiritum firmamenti.* Ambrose ('De Spiritu Sancto,' ii. 7, quoted by Hilgenfeld) cites this as *spiritum cælorum.* It may seem natural to render this "breath of heaven," but more is meant by the phrase. The firmament was regarded as in some respects an animated being. See Colet's 'Letters to Radulphus,' p. 11.

42. *six parts.*] This notion of the comparative smallness of the part of the earth covered by water, is said to have encouraged Columbus in his enterprise. Volkmar refers to Humboldt, 'Kritische Untersuch. über die histor. Entwickelung . . . der neuen Welt,' i. 74, and to his 'Kosmos,' i. 305.

of God.] These words should probably be omitted, as the *a deo* of the Vulg. may be only *adeo.*

44. *there was.*] Rather, "there came forth."

innumerable.] The Latin is noticeable, as betraying by its extreme literalness a Greek original: *multitudinis immensus* = ἄπειρος τοῦ πλήθους.

unchangeable.] Vulg. *immutabili.* Another reading is *inimitabili.*

wonderful.] The Latin is *investigabilis*, corrected by Volkmar to *ininvestigabilis*, "past finding out" (*von einem unaufspürbaren Duft*).

45. *that the sun should, &c.*] More literally, "that there should be made the brightness of the sun, the light of the moon, and the array of the stars."

48. *For the dumb water.*] *I.e.* the water, though dumb and lifeless, brought forth living things. The epithet "dumb" applied to the water is striking, though a familiar one for the fishes which inhabit it.

49. *Enoch . . . Leviathan.*] The word Enoch, here and in *v.* 51, would appear to be a corruption of Behemoth. The hippopotamus and the crocodile are most commonly supposed to be the two creatures referred to. See Job xl. 15, and xli. 1. Their creation on the fifth day was a Rabbinical inference from Gen. i. 21; Psalm civ. 26 being perverted in the same way. The Arabic omits this passage.

gathered together, might not hold them both.

51 Unto Enoch thou gavest one part, which was dried up the third day, that he should dwell in the same part, wherein are a thousand hills:

52 But unto Leviathan thou gavest the seventh part, namely, the moist; and hast kept him to be devoured of whom thou wilt, and when.

53 [k] Upon the sixth day thou gavest commandment unto the earth, that before thee it should bring forth beasts, cattle, and creeping things:

[k] Gen. 1. 24.

54 [l] And after these, Adam also, whom thou madest lord of all thy creatures: of him come we all, and the people also whom thou hast chosen.

[l] Gen. 1. 26.

55 All this have I spoken before thee, O Lord, because thou madest the world for our sakes.

56 As for the other people, which also come of Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing, but be like unto spittle: and hast likened the abundance of them unto a drop that falleth from a vessel.

57 And now, O Lord, behold, these heathen, which have ever been reputed as nothing, have begun to be lords over us, and to devour us.

58 But we thy people, whom thou hast called thy firstborn, thy only begotten, and thy fervent lover, are given into their hands.

59 If the world now be made for our sakes, why do we not possess an inheritance with the world? how long shall this endure?

CHAPTER VII.

4 The way is narrow. 12 When it was made narrow. 28 All shall die, and rise again. 33 Christ shall sit in judgment. 46 God hath not made paradise in vain, 62 and is merciful.

AND when I had made an end of speaking these words, there was sent unto me the angel which had been sent unto me the nights afore:

2 And he said unto me, Up, Esdras, and hear the words that I am come to tell thee.

3 And I said, Speak on, my God. Then said he unto me, The sea is set in a wide place, that it might be deep and great.

4 But put the case the entrance were narrow, and like a river;

5 Who then could go into the sea to look upon it, and to rule it? if he went not through the narrow, how could he come into the broad?

6 There is also another thing; A city is builded, and set upon a broad field, and is full of all good things:

7 The entrance thereof is narrow, and is set in a [1]dangerous place to fall, like as if there were a fire on the right hand, and on the left a deep water:

[1] Or, *steep place.*

8 And one only path between

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52. *hast kept him.*] The Latin texts have *eam*, "her." This may possibly be due to the influence of Jewish notions, such as Hilgenfeld describes, about the Leviathan; namely, that the female monster had been killed, and its flesh preserved to make part of the banquet which would be prepared to welcome the Messiah. Isa. xxvii. 1, xxv. 6, were passages quoted in support of this opinion.

54. *creatures.*] Rather, "works," *factis.*

55. *because thou madest.*] The best texts have "because thou hast said that thou madest."

56. Comp. Isa. xl. 15, "Behold, the nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance;" to which is added in the LXX. "they shall be counted as spittle."

59. *an inheritance with.*] So in the Latin; but the sense should probably be: "the world as our inheritance."

CHAPTER VII.

4. *But put the case.*] This expression seems due to a wrong rendering of *positus* in the Latin: *erit autem ei introitus in angusto loco positus* = "yet it will have an entrance set in a narrow space." For *erit* Van der Vlis would read *est.* This is supported by the Arabic.

7. *in a dangerous place to fall.*] Lat. *in præcipiti,* simply meaning that the entrance is steep and narrow.

them both, even between the fire and the water, *so small* that there could but one man go there at once.

9 If this city now were given unto a man for an inheritance, if he never shall pass the danger set before it, how shall he receive this inheritance?

10 And I said, It is so, Lord. Then said he unto me, Even so also is Israel's portion.

11 Because for their sakes I made the world: and when Adam transgressed my statutes, then was decreed that now is done.

12 Then were the entrances of this world made narrow, full of sorrow and travail: they are but few and evil, full of perils, and very painful.

13 For the entrances of the [1]elder world were wide and sure, and brought immortal fruit.

[1] Or, *greater*.

14 If then they that live labour not to enter these strait and vain things, they can never receive those that are laid up for them.

15 Now therefore why disquietest thou thyself, seeing thou art but a corruptible man? and why art thou moved, whereas thou art but mortal?

16 Why hast thou not considered in thy mind this thing that is to come, rather than that which is present?

17 Then answered I and said, O Lord that bearest rule, thou hast ordained in thy [a]law, that the righteous should inherit these things, but that the ungodly should perish.

[a] Deut. 8. 1.

18 Nevertheless the righteous shall suffer strait things, and hope for wide: for they that have done wickedly have suffered the strait things, and yet shall not see the wide.

19 And he said unto me, There is no judge above God, and none that hath understanding above the Highest.

20 For there be many that perish in this life, because they despise the law of God that is set before them.

21 For God hath given strait commandment to such as came, what they should do to live, even as they came, and what they should observe to avoid punishment.

22 Nevertheless they were not obedient unto him; but spake against him, and imagined vain things;

23 And deceived themselves by their wicked deeds; and said of the most High, that he is not; and knew not his ways:

24 But his law have they despised, and denied his covenants; in his statutes have they not been faithful, and have not performed his works.

25 And therefore, Esdras, for the empty are empty things, and for the full are the full things.

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9. *if he never.*] Bensly (p. 33) would read *si non hæres antepositum*, &c. = "if the heir shall not pass," &c.

12. *evil.*] Hilgenfeld thinks that the Greek word was πόνηραι, "laborious," mistaken by the translator for πονηραί, "evil." But this would make the repetition still more marked.

13. *the elder world.*] Lat. *majoris sæculi*, "the greater world;" that is, the world to come. As the tense is not marked in the Latin, we should also render: "*are* wide and sure, and *bring* immortal fruit."

14. Comp. Matt. vii. 13, 14; Acts xiv. 22.

18. *Nevertheless, &c.*] The connection seems to require: "*For* the righteous suffer . . . *but* they that have," &c. As regards the tense, ὑπομένουσι (as Volkmar points out) might easily be confused with ὑπομενοῦσι.

20. *For there be many, &c.*] The reading of the best MS. expresses this in the form of a wish: "For let many (or, the many) perish in this life, seeing that the law, &c. is despised." Volkmar would render the latter clause, "rather than that the law . . . should be despised."

21. *even as they came.*] This clause is out of place. The Latin is: *mandans enim mandavit Deus venientibus quando venerunt*, = "For God gave commandment to those who came (into the world) when they came, what they should," &c.

23. *deceived themselves.*] Lat. *et proposuerunt sibi circumventiones delictorum.* Hilgenfeld represents the Greek by παραβάσεις πλημμελημάτων. If it were certain that those were the words, we might suppose παραβάσεις to have been misread περιβάσεις, and so translated *circumventiones*.

25. Comp. Matt. xiii. 12.

26 Behold, the time shall come, that these tokens which I have told thee shall come to pass, and the bride shall appear, and she coming forth shall be seen, that now is withdrawn from the earth.

27 And whosoever is delivered from the foresaid evils shall see my wonders.

28 For my son Jesus shall be revealed with those that be with him, and they that remain shall rejoice within four hundred years.

29 After these years shall my son Christ die, and all men that have life.

30 And the world shall be turned into the old silence seven days, like as in the [1]former judgments: so that no man shall remain.

31 And after seven days the world, that yet awaketh not, shall be raised up, and that shall die that is corrupt.

32 And the earth shall restore those that are asleep in her, and so shall the dust those that dwell in silence, and the secret places shall deliver those souls that were committed unto them.

33 And the most High shall appear upon the seat of judgment, and misery shall pass away, and the long suffering shall have an end.

34 But judgment only shall remain, truth shall stand, and faith shall wax strong:

35 And the work shall follow, and the reward shall be shewed, and the good deeds shall be of force, and wicked deeds shall bear no rule.

[1] Or, *first beginning.*

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26. *and she coming forth shall be seen.*] Vulg. *et apparescens ostendetur.* As the best MS. has *apparescens civitas*, and the Aethiopic gives "et abscondetur civitas quæ nunc apparet, et apparebit terra quæ nunc absconditur," it seems probable that the Latin Version has become perverted by a mistake of the first part of ἡ νῦν φαινομένη for νυνφα (νύμφη). Perhaps also, as Hilgenfeld suggests, the translator had in his mind the language of Rev. xxi. 1, 2.

28. *For my son Jesus.*] The reading as it stands is an ancient one, the text being quoted, with the name Jesus included in it, by Ambrose in his Commentary on Luke i. 60: "Dominus noster Iesus nominatus est antequam natus. *Revelabitur enim*, inquit [Scriptura] *filius meus Iesus*," &c. But the absence of the name "Iesus" in the Oriental versions makes it likely that it was inserted in the Latin by a Christian transcriber. The Arabic has "Denn offenbaren wird sich mein Messias."

within four hundred, &c.] The word "within" should be omitted. Duration of time is constantly expressed by the ablative in the Latin of this book; as, for example, *diebus septem* in *v.* 30 below. So the Arabic: "400 Jahre lang." This period of 400 years would be a compensation for the 400 years in which the chosen people had been afflicted in the land of Egypt. Psalm xc. 15 is aptly quoted in reference to this: "Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us, and the years wherein we have seen evil."

29. *Christ.*] Or, "anointed." The word in the Arabic and Aethiopic is again Messias. The Armenian (according to Hilgenfeld) omits this passage about the death of Messias. The intense gloom of the picture here drawn should be noticed, with its recall of the *old silence* of Chaos (comp. vi. 39), before the week of the new Creation should begin.

30. *former judgments.*] The marginal reading is correct, the best MSS. having *iniciis*, not *iudiciis.*

32. *secret places.*] Lat. *promptuaria*, the "store-chambers" mentioned before. See note on iv. 35. This passage is quoted by Ambrose, 'De bono Mortis,' c. x.

33. *misery.*] The best MS. reads *misericordie* [sic], not *miseriæ*, which suits the context better: "Mercy shall pass away," in the day of judgment, just as "long-suffering shall have an end." The word rendered "shall have an end," *congregabitur*, seems to point to some Greek word expressing "shall be furled," or "taken in," as a sail. Ewald renders the Arabic by "An jenem Tage wird . . . die Langmuth sich zurückziehen" ("shall withdraw").

35. *shall be of force.*] The verbs here are *vigilabunt* and *dominabuntur*, for which latter the best MS. has *dormibunt.* The sense would thus be: "The righteous acts of men shall awake, and their unrighteous acts shall not sleep;" *i.e.* shall not be hid. All will then be brought to light. Comp. 1 Tim. v. 25.

(*Here follows the Missing Fragment, described in the Introduction*, vv. 36*-105*.)

36* And the lake of torment shall appear, and over against it shall be the place of rest; and the furnace of hell shall be shewn, and over against it the paradise of delight.

37* And then will the most High say to the nations that are raised up, Behold and understand whom ye denied, or whom ye served not, or whose observances ye despised.

38* Behold, on the other hand, what is opposite. Here is joy and rest, and there fire and torments. Thus will he speak and say unto them in the day of judgment.

39* This day is one that hath neither sun, nor moon, nor stars,

40* Nor cloud, nor thunder, nor lightning, nor wind, nor water, nor air, nor darkness, nor evening, nor morning,

41* Nor summer, nor spring, nor heat, nor storm, nor frost, nor cold, nor hail, nor rain, nor dew,

42* Nor noon, nor night, nor dawn, nor brightness, nor light, save only the splendour of the brightness of the most High, whereby all may begin to see the things that are set before them.

43* For it shall have a duration as it were of a week of years.

44* This is my judgment, and the ordinance thereof; and to thee only have I shewed these things.

45* And I answered, I both said it then, O Lord, and say it now: Blessed are they that now live and keep the things which thou hast ordained;

46* But what also of them for whom I prayed? For who is there of men now living that hath not sinned? or who is born that hath not transgressed thy covenant?

47* And now I see that the world to come will cause delight to few, but torments to many.

48* For there hath grown within us an evil heart, which hath estranged us from these things, and hath led us into corruption and the ways of death; hath shewn us the paths of destruction, and removed us far from life: and that, not a few, but well-nigh all that have been created.

36*. *paradise of delight.*] Lat. *jocunditatis paradisus.* The expression rendered "garden of Eden" in Gen. ii. 15, and elsewhere, is in the Vulgate *paradisus voluptatis*, and in the LXX. (Cod. Vat.) ὁ τῆς τρυφῆς παράδεισος. In only three passages (Gen. ii. 8, 10; iv. 16) is the name Ἐδέμ found as a proper name in the LXX. Philo interprets it as = "delight." See Bensly *ad loc.* and the art. EDEN in 'Dict. of the Bible.'

37*. *observances.*] Lat. *diligentias.* See note above on iii. 7. Bensly points out that *diligentia*, which first meant scrupulous attention to duties, came to mean a duty or observance to be itself attended to. So *indiligentia* was used to express neglect of duty, or positive transgression, πλημμέλεια.

38*. *Behold, &c.*] Lat. *videte contra et in contra.* The sense of this is not very clear. I take it to represent βλέπετε αὖ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐνάντια, rendered as in the text. But the Arabic has simply "nun sehet vor euch hier," and to the same effect Hilgenfeld.

Thus will he.] The sense seems to require the third person, as here. But the Latin has *hæc autem loqueris.*

39*–42*. This passage is imitated in Ambrose, 'De bono Mortis,' c. xii. (quoted by Hilgenfeld): "Ibimus eo, ubi paradisus est jucunditatis, ubi .... nullæ nubes, nulla tonitrua," &c. Comp. also 'Orac. Sibyll.' iii. 89–92, and Tennyson's description of the

"island-valley of Avilion,
Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly."

Bensly's insertion of a verb, *habeat*, after *solem*, is confirmed by the reading of the Complutensian MS., *quæ solem non habet.*

42*. *save only, &c.*] Comp. Rev. xxi. 23; Isa. lx. 20.

46*. *for whom I prayed.*] See *supra*, v. 28.

47*. The Latin is: *ad paucos pertinebit futuram sæculi jocunditatem facere, multis autem tormenta.* Bensly shews reason to think that the sentence ran μελλήσει ὁ αἰὼν . . . ποιεῖν, giving the sense as above; but that, from μελλήσει getting read as μελήσει, the form of the rest of the sentence was changed to suit it.

49* And he answered me and said, Hear me, and I will instruct thee, and will admonish thee afresh.

50* For this cause the most High hath made not one world but two.

51* And do thou, forasmuch as thou saidst that there are not many righteous, but few, whereas the ungodly do multiply, listen to this:

52* If thou hast but very few precious stones, wilt thou gather together lead and clay, to add to their number?

53* And I said, Lord, how shall that be?

54* And he said unto me, Not only so; but ask of the earth, and it will tell thee; entreat it, and it will declare unto thee;

55* Thou shalt say to it, Thou bringest forth gold, and silver, and brass, and iron also, and lead and clay;

56* But silver is multiplied beyond gold, and brass beyond silver, and iron beyond brass, lead beyond iron, and clay beyond lead.

57* Reckon thou also which are the precious things and to be desired; that which is multiplied, or that which is by nature rare.

58* And I said, O Lord that bearest rule, that which is abundant is the more worthless, but that which is rarer is the more precious.

59* And he made answer to me and said, Ponder in thy mind what thou hast thought, seeing that he that hath what is hard to get rejoiceth over him that hath abundance.

60* So also is the creation promised again by me: for I will rejoice over the few, even them that shall be saved; forasmuch as it is they that have now made my glory more prevailing, and through whom my name is now named;

61* And I will not be sorry for the multitude of them that have perished; for they have been made like unto vapour and to flame; they have been made even as smoke and have consumed away; they have been on fire and are extinct.

62* And I answered and said, O thou earth, why hast thou brought forth, if understanding is made of the dust, like the rest of created things?

63* For it had been better for the dust itself not to be born, so that understanding might not be formed from it.

64* But, as it is, understanding groweth with us, and therefore do we suffer torment, because we perish and know it.

65* Let the race of men mourn, and the beasts of the field rejoice; let all that are born mourn, but let four-footed beasts and cattle be glad.

66* For it is much better for them than for us; for they expect not a

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50*. *but two.*] That is, the present world and the one to come. Comp. viii. 1.

52*. The rendering here given is from Bensly's emendation of the Latin, the latter part of which, as it stands, is out of keeping with the rest: *ad numerum eorum compones eos tibi, plumbum autem et fictile abundat.* "The comparison implies that the number of the elect cannot be increased by the addition of baser elements." The Arabic, as rendered by Ewald, is "willst du zu ihnen Blei und Thon thun?"

54*. Comp. viii. 2.

55*. *Thou shalt say.*] Bensly's emendation of *dicens* to *dices* is confirmed by the reading in MS. Complut., *dices enim ei.*

59*. *Ponder, &c.*] The Latin *In te stant pondera* is corrupt. An ingenious conjecture of Professor Hort (quoted by Bensly) is that *stant* was originally *statera*, and that *statera pondera* was meant to answer to ζυγοστάτησον, a word found in Lucian. For *in te stant*, MS. Complut. has *justa ante.*

60*. *So also.*] The Latin is *sic et amare promissa*, corrected by Bensly to *sic et a me repromissa.* But the sense seems to require the *re-* to be joined with *creatura* rather than with *promissa:* "Even so also is the new creation promised by me." Comp. *creaturam renovare, v.* 75.

61*. *are extinct.*] Comp. Ps. cxviii. 12; Isa. xliii. 17.

65*. *all that are born.*] *I.e.* of men.

judgment, and know not of torments, nor of salvation promised to them after death.

67* But what profit is it to us, that being saved we shall be saved, if we are to be tormented with torment?

68* For all that are born are mixed up with iniquities, and are full of sins, and laden with transgressions;

69* And if, after death, we had not been coming into judgment, it would perchance have gone better with us.

70* And he answered me and said, When the most High was creating the world, even Adam and all that came with him, he first prepared the judgment and the things that belong unto judgment.

71* And now learn concerning thy words, in that thou saidst that understanding groweth with us:

72* They therefore that are sojourning on earth will be tormented on this account, in that, while having understanding, they have wrought iniquity, and while receiving commandments, have not kept them, and having obtained a law, evaded the law which they received.

73* And what will they have to say in the judgment, or how will they answer in the last times?

74* For how long a time is it that the most High hath had patience with them that dwell in the world; and that, not on account of them, but on account of the seasons which he foresaw?

75* And I answered and said, O Lord that bearest rule, if I have found favour in thy sight, shew unto thy servant whether after death, even at the very moment when we give up each one his soul, we shall be kept safe in rest, till those times come wherein thou wilt begin to renew creation, or whether we are to be tormented at once.

76* And he answered me and said, I will shew unto thee this thing also. But do not thou mingle with them that have despised, nor number thyself with them that are tormented.

77* For there is a treasure of works laid up in store for thee with the most High, but it will not be shewn thee until the last times.

78* Howbeit our discourse is of death. When therefore there hath gone forth a fixed decree from the most High that a man should die, as the soul departeth from the body that it may be restored again to him that gave it, it first doth worship the glory of the most High.

79* And if the man were of them that despised and kept not the way of the most High, and of them that set at nought his law, and of them that hated such as fear him,

80* These souls will not enter

67*. *being saved, &c.*] Lat. *salvati salvabimur*. This may mean "that the saved among us shall be saved," or it may be only an instance of the common Hebrew idiom, like *pertransiens pertransivi*, iii. 11, or *faciens faciebat*, below, *v.* 70.

68*. *are mixed up.*] Lat. *commixti sunt*, answering, as Bensly thinks, to a *συμπεφυρμένοι* in the Greek. The same word in Ecclus. xii. 14 is rendered "defiled," which would be a suitable rendering here. But comp. the use of *commisceri* in *v.* 76.

71*. *concerning, &c.*] Or, perhaps, "from thine own words," *de sermonibus tuis*. So in the Arabic: "Verstehe nun aus deinen eignen Worten."

77*. *a treasure.*] In this idea of a treasure, or store to draw upon, of good works, we may see the germ of the doctrine of works of supererogation. *Erogare* is to propose a vote of public money, and hence *supererogare* to vote the payment of more than enough. See Browne, 'On the Articles,' Art. xiv. § 1. Comp. also 1 Tim. vi. 19.

80*. *These souls.*] *I.e.* the souls of such men as the one before mentioned. The word for "souls" is noticeable,—*inspirationes*. In *v.* 78, where the singular number of the same

into dwelling-places, but will straightway roam to and fro in torments, in pain and sorrow evermore.

81* The first way (of suffering) lieth in that they have despised the law of the most High.

82* The second, in that they cannot make a good return, so as to live.

83* The third, in that they see the reward laid up for them that have believed the covenants of the most High.

84* The fourth, in that they will consider the torment laid up in store for them at the last.

85* The fifth way lieth in their seeing the dwelling place of others to be guarded by angels in deep repose.

86* The sixth, in their seeing how some will pass over from among them into torment.

87* The seventh way is more dreadful than all the ways aforesaid, in that they will pine away in confusion, and be consumed in terrors, and waste away in fears, as they see the glory of the most High, in whose presence they have sinned when alive, and in whose presence they will begin to be judged in the last times.

88* But of those who have kept the ways of the most High, when they shall begin to be saved from the vessel of corruption, this is the order:

89* While they sojourned in that time, they served the most High with travail, and endured peril every hour, that they might keep the law of the lawgiver perfectly.

90* Wherefore this is the word concerning them:

91* First of all, they see with great exultation the glory of him who taketh them to himself; and they will rest in seven orders.

92* The first order (of rejoicing) is in that they strove with much toil to overcome the evil imagination formed with them, that it might not lead them astray from life unto death.

93* The second, in that they see the entanglement wherein the souls of the ungodly wander, and the punishment that awaiteth them.

94* The third order is in their seeing the testimony which he that formed them hath borne unto them, that in their lifetime they have kept the law which was given them in trust.

95* The fourth is in knowing the rest they will now enjoy, gathered together in their store-chambers, and guarded by the angels in deep repose; and knowing also the glory that awaiteth them at the last.

96* The fifth is in their exulting at the way in which they have now escaped the corruptible, and the way

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word is used, it might have been understood as "breath." Comp. the use of *spiramentum* in xvi. 62.

81*. *The first way.*] This beginning is less abrupt in the versions, as the previous verse ends in them with the words "in seven ways." In MS. Complut. also *v.* 80 ends with *per septem vias.*

82*. *make a good return.*] This is a literal rendering of the Latin, *reversionem bonam facere.* The meaning seems to be, "cannot return happily to life." So in the Arabic: "dass sie nicht zurückkehren können um neu zu leben."

88*. *to be saved from.*] Lat. *servari*, for which MS. Complut. has *separari*, "to be separated from;" a reading which derives some support from *v.* 100*.

91*. *seven orders.*] Answering to the seven "ways" of punishment above. Comp. *v.* 99*.

93*. *entanglement.*] Lat. *complicationem*, suggestive of the maze or labyrinth in which the evil wander. The Latin for "awaiteth them" is peculiar, *quæ in eis manet.* But Bensly shews how the use of the dative after *manere* might get mistaken for an ablative with preposition. The Arabic agrees: "das ihrer wartende Gericht."

94*. *is in their seeing, &c.*] The anacoluthon in the Latin, *tertius ordo, videntes, etc.*, makes it difficult to render the sentence clearly, without a paraphrase. MS. Complut. has a simpler construction, *videbunt* for *videntes.*

95*. *store-chambers.*] See note above on iv. 35.

in which they will gain the future inheritance; furthermore, in seeing the strait and toilsome (way) from which they have been freed, and the broad way which they will begin to receive in enjoyment and immortality.

97* The sixth order is, when it shall be shewed unto them how their countenance will begin to shine as the sun, and how they will begin to be made like unto the light of the stars, from henceforth incorruptible.

98* The seventh order, which surpasseth all the aforesaid, is in that they will exult with confidence, and put their trust without being confounded, and rejoice without being afraid; for they hasten to see the face of him whom they serve in life, and from whom they begin to receive their reward in glory.

99* This is the order of the souls of the righteous, as it is now declared; and the aforesaid are the ways of torment, which they that have transgressed will henceforth suffer.

100* And I answered and said, Shall time therefore be given to souls, after they are separated from their bodies, to see that whereof thou hast spoken unto me?

101* And he said, For seven days will their freedom be, that they may see the things before spoken unto thee, and afterwards they will be gathered together in their dwelling places.

102* And I answered and said, If I have found favour before thine eyes, shew yet further unto me thy servant, whether in the day of judgment the righteous will be able to make intercession for the wicked, or to propitiate the most High on their behalf;

103* Be it fathers for children, or children for parents, or brothers for brothers, or relations for those nearest akin to them, or friends for their dearest ones.

104* And he answered me and said, Seeing thou hast found favour before mine eyes, I will shew thee this also. The day of judgment is the day of decision, and will shew to all men the seal of truth. For as now a father sendeth not his son, nor a son his father, nor a master his slave, nor a friend his dearest one, that he may be sick, or may sleep, or eat, or be healed, in his stead;

96*. *in enjoyment.*] Lat. *fruniscentes*, a rare participial form. The verb occurs also in Tob. iii. 9 (Bensly).

98*. *without being afraid.*] The MS. has *non revertentes*, corrected by Bensly to *non reverentes*. The parallelism seems to require the change, which is supported also by the paraphrase in Ambrose, and by a comparison with Ps. xxxiv. 4 and other passages. Otherwise the reading *revertentes* might receive some support from *v.* 82 above. As one cause of the misery of the lost was that they could not return to this life, so here the joy of the saved is not qualified by any wish to return. They look forward, and not backward. But the reasons for the change to *reverentes* greatly preponderate; and it is now found to be confirmed by the reading of MS. Complut.

102*. It was this passage, respecting the unavailing nature of intercessory prayer for the wicked after death, which drew forth from St. Jerome his denunciation of the book. "Tu vigilans dormis," he writes to Vigilantius, "et dormiens scribis; et proponis mihi librum apocryphum, qui sub nomine Esdræ a te et similibus tuis legitur: ubi scriptum est, quod post mortem nullus pro aliis audeat deprecari: quem ego librum nunquam legi." See the extract quoted at full by Bensly, p. 76.

104*. *And he . . . . his slave.*] These clauses are wanting in the MS., and have been supplied in Latin by Bensly with the help of the versions. How closely he has approached the original may now be seen by a comparison with MS. Complut., where the passage stands: *et respondit ad me et dixit: quum invenisti gratiam coram oculis meis, et hoc tibi demonstrabo. Dies judicii audax* [sic] *est, et omnibus signaculum veritatis demonstrans. Quemadmodum nunc non mittit pater filium, aut filius patrem, aut dominus servum, etc.*

the seal of truth.] Comp. John iii. 33. Every one will own the decision to be true and right, recognising the impress, as it were, of the Author's seal.

105* So shall no one ever make supplication for another; for all shall bear in that day, each for himself, their own unrighteousnesses or righteousnesses.

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36 Then said I, [b]Abraham prayed first for the Sodomites, and [c]Moses for the fathers that sinned in the wilderness:

37 [d]And Jesus after him for Israel in the time of [1]Achan:

38 And [e]Samuel and [f]David for the destruction: and [g]Solomon for them that should come to the sanctuary:

39 And [h]Helias for those that received rain; and for the dead, that he might live:

40 And [i]Ezechias for the people in the time of Sennacherib: and many for many.

41 Even so now, seeing corruption is grown up, and wickedness increased, and the righteous have prayed for the ungodly: wherefore shall it not be so now also?

42 He answered me, and said, This present life is not the end where much glory doth abide; therefore have they prayed for the weak.

43 But the day of doom shall be the end of this time, and the beginning of the immortality for to come, wherein corruption is past,

44 Intemperance is at an end, infidelity is cut off, righteousness is grown, and truth is sprung up.

45 Then shall no man be able to save him that is destroyed, nor to oppress him that hath gotten the victory.

46 I answered then and said, This is my first and last saying, that it had been better not to have given the earth unto Adam: or else, when it was given him, to have restrained him from sinning.

47 For what profit is it for men now in this present time to live in heaviness, and after death to look for punishment?

48 O thou Adam, what hast thou done? for though it was [k]thou that sinned, thou art not fallen alone, but we all that come of thee.

49 For what profit is it unto us, if

[b] Gen. 18. 23.
[c] Exod. 32. 11.
[d] Josh. 7. 6, 7.
[1] Or, *Achor.*
[e] 1 Sam. 7. 9.
[f] 2 Sam. 24. 17.
[g] 2 Chron. 6. 14, &c.
[h] 1 Kings 17. 21, & 18. 42, 45.
[i] 2 Kings 19. 15.
[k] Rom. 5. 18.

105*. *all shall bear.*] Comp. Gal. vi. 5. After this, in the missing fragment, follow the connecting words: "And I answered and said, And how then do we now find, that Abraham first prayed," &c.

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37. *Jesus.*] *I.e.* Joshua, as in Acts vii. 45.

38. *for the destruction.*] *I.e.* of the Philistines at Mizpeh (1 Sam. vii. 9). But the peculiar word used in the Latin, *pro confractione*, seems to point beyond question to *θραῦσις*, the word used in the LXX. of 2 Sam. xxiv. 15 of the plague. Hence Volkmar would supply *in diebus Saul* after "Samuel," to limit the *pro confractione* to "David." With this would agree the Arabic: "Samuel für Saul, David für die Seuche die das Volk getroffen."

should come, &c.] Rather, "that came to the dedication" of the Temple. See the marginal references. The Latin is *qui venerunt in sanctionem*, or, in the Vulg., *sanctificationem*.

41. *Even so, &c.*] Rather, "If therefore now . . . . the righteous have prayed . . . wherefore shall it not be so then also?" That is, if intercessory prayer has been heard and answered in this life, why may it not be so at the last judgment also?

42. The text of this verse is plainly defective. As Fritzsche restores it, the sense would be: "The present life is not the end; glory abideth not in it continually: on this account have the strong prayed for the weak." The Vatican Arabic, in Gildemeister's version, gives a similar sense: "And he said unto me, The world, for such is the nature of it, abideth not; therefore did the strong pray concerning the weak, seeing that after a few days they were departing from this world."

45. *to save, &c.*] The clause *salvare eum qui periit* is, according to Bensly (pp. 22, 30 *n.*) absent from both A. and S., and is an insertion of later transcribers. Something of the kind is required for the completion of the sentence. The metaphor is probably from the language of the law courts: "to save the one who has lost his case, or to crush the one who has gained it." The judge's decision must be left undisturbed.

48. *but we all.*] More literally, "the fall

there be promised us an immortal time, whereas we have done the works that bring death?

50 And that there is promised us an everlasting hope, whereas ourselves being most wicked are made vain?

51 And that there are laid up for us dwellings of health and safety, whereas we have lived wickedly?

52 And that the glory of the most High is kept to defend them which have led [1]a wary life, whereas we have walked in the most wicked ways of all?

[1] Or, *a chaste life.*

53 And that there should be shewed a paradise, whose fruit endureth for ever, wherein is [1]security and medicine, since we shall not enter into it?

[1] Or, *fulness.*

54 (For we have walked in unpleasant places.)

55 And that the faces of them which have used abstinence shall shine above the stars, whereas our faces shall be blacker than darkness?

56 For while we lived and committed iniquity, we considered not that we should begin to suffer for it after death.

57 Then answered he me, and said, This is the [1]condition of the battle, which man that is born upon the earth shall fight;

[1] Or, *intent.*

58 That, if he be overcome, he shall suffer as thou hast said: but if he get the victory, he shall receive the thing that I say.

59 For this is the life whereof Moses spake unto the people while he lived, saying, [l]Choose thee life, that thou mayest live.

[l] Deut. 30. 19.

60 Nevertheless they believed not him, nor yet the prophets after him, no nor me which have spoken unto them,

61 That there should not be such heaviness in their destruction, as shall be joy over them that are persuaded to salvation.

62 I answered then, and said, I know, Lord, that the most High is called merciful, in that he hath mercy upon them which are not yet come into the world,

63 And upon those also that turn to his law;

64 And that [m]he is patient, and long suffereth those that have sinned, as his creatures;

[m] Rom. 2. 4.

65 And that he is bountiful, for he is ready to give where it needeth;

66 And that he is of great mercy, for he multiplieth more and more mercies to them that are present, and that are past, and also to them which are to come.

67 For if he shall not multiply his mercies, the world would not continue with them that inherit therein.

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was not thine alone, but of us all who are come from thee."

52. *is kept to defend.*] Vulg. *reposita est . . . protegere.* But a better reading is *incipiet*, the *reposita* being a repetition of the word in the previous verse. *Incipiet* = μέλλει, little more than "*will* protect us."

wary.] Vulg. *tarde.* A better-supported reading is *caste*, "chastely," as in the margin.

53. *security and medicine.*] The marginal reading "fulness" is due to a variant *saturitas*, for *securitas*. The expression "medicine," or "healing" (as it would have been better rendered), may point to Rev. xxii. 2: "The leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations."

54. *unpleasant.*] Lat. *ingratis*, the Greek being probably ἀχαρίστοις, which Van der Vlis would interpret "without the grace of God." Churton quotes Wisdom v. 7 in illustration.

57. *condition.*] The marginal reading is nearer the Latin *cogitamentum* = "the thought," or "conception;" Arabic, *der Sinn.*

59. *this is the life.*] Rather, "this is the way;" *via*, not *vita*, being the reading of the best MSS.

62. *in that he hath mercy.*] Churton explains this, "in not permitting them to be born," comparing Eccles. iv. 3: "Yea, better is he than both they, which hath not yet been." Volkmar thinks the Latin *misereatur* an error for *miserebatur*, implying the mercifulness of the Lord from eternity, before man came into the world.

67. *continue.*] The word is the same in the Latin as that rendered "remain living" in

68 And he pardoneth; [a]for if he did not do so of his goodness, that they which have committed iniquities might be eased of them, the ten thousandth part of men should not remain living.

[a] Ps. 130. 3.

69 And being judge, if he should not forgive them that are [1]cured with his word, and put out the multitude of [1]contentions,

[1] Or, *created.*

[1] Or, *contempts.*

70 There should be very few left peradventure in an innumerable multitude.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *Many created, but few saved.* 6 *He asketh why God destroyeth his own work,* 26 *and prayeth God to look upon the people which only serve him.* 41 *God answereth, that all seed cometh not to good,* 52 *and that glory is prepared for him and such like.*

AND he answered me, saying, The most High hath made this world for many, but the world to come for few.

2 I will tell thee a similitude, Esdras; As when thou askest the earth, it shall say unto thee, that it giveth much mould whereof earthen vessels are made, but little dust that gold cometh of: even so is the course of this present world.

3 [a]There be many created, but few shall be saved.

[a] Matt. 20. 16.

4 So answered I and said, Swallow then down, O my soul, understanding, and devour wisdom.

5 For thou hast agreed to give ear, and art willing to prophesy: for thou hast no longer space than only to live.

6 O Lord, if thou suffer not thy servant, that we may pray before thee, and [1]thou give us seed unto our heart, and culture to our understanding, that there may come fruit of it; how shall each man live that is corrupt, who beareth the place of a man?

[1] Or, *to give us.*

7 For thou art alone, and we all one workmanship of thine hands, like as thou hast said.

8 For [1]when the body is fashioned now in the mother's womb, and thou givest it members, thy creature is preserved in fire and water, and nine months doth thy workmanship endure thy creature which is created in her.

[1] Or, *how is the body fashioned.*

9 But that which keepeth and is

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v. 68, *vivificabitur.* Perhaps "be kept alive" would suffice in both places.

69. *cured.*] Rather, "created by his word;" Lat. *creati,* instead of *curati;* and for "put out the multitude of contentions," read "blot out the multitude of transgressions," or "disobediences." The reading *contemptionum,* found in the best MSS., would be easily altered to *contentionum.* Comp. 1 Kings viii. 50.

CHAPTER VIII.

2. *mould.*] A word seemingly chosen to avoid the repetition of "earth." In the Latin, after *terram,* an equally unsuitable word (*humum*) is used, for the same reason. Perhaps "clay" would have been most appropriate.

4. *Swallow down.*] Rather, "drink in."

5. *For thou hast agreed.*] The reading of this verse is much disputed. Fritzsche gives, from the Syriac, *venis enim sine voluntate tua, et abis cum non vis:* "for thou comest without any will of thine own, and departest when thou dost not wish." The Arabic partly agrees with this: "denn das Ohr kam um zu hören, und wird dahingehen wann es nicht will." Hilgenfeld conjectures that ἄκουσα of the Greek was taken by the Latin translator as ἀκούουσα.

for thou hast, &c.] Rather, "for neither hath any space been granted thee, save only a short one, to live." The best reading is *nisi solum modicum.* See Bensly, p. 33.

6. *O Lord, &c.*] The text is very uncertain. For the *si non* of the Vulg. the reading should probably be *super nos, si,* expressing a wish or prayer, thus: "O Lord above! would that thou wouldest give thy servant leave that we may pray before thee, and give us, &c. . . . that there may come fruit of it, whence every corruptible one may live, that beareth the form of man." This prelude is to introduce the question based on *vv.* 8–13, and coming (though disguised in the English Version) at the end of *v.* 14. Why is man brought into being with such long-continued pains and care, if his end is only to be destroyed after all?

8. *in fire and water.*] That is, through every danger. Comp. Ps. lxvi. 12.

thy workmanship.] Lat. *tua plasmatio,* i.e.

kept shall both be preserved: and when the time cometh, the womb preserved delivereth up the things that grew in it.

10 For thou hast commanded out of the parts of the body, that is to say, out of the breasts, milk to be given, which is the fruit of the breasts,

11 That the thing which is fashioned may be nourished for a time, till thou disposest it to thy mercy.

12 Thou broughtest it up with thy righteousness, and nurturedst it in thy law, and reformedst it with thy judgment.

13 And thou shalt mortify it as thy creature, and quicken it as thy work.

14 If therefore thou shalt destroy him which with so great [b]labour was fashioned, it is an easy thing to be ordained by thy commandment, that the thing which was made might be preserved.

[b] Job 10. 8. Ps. 139. 14, &c.

15 Now therefore, Lord, I will speak; touching man in general, thou knowest best; but touching thy people, for whose sake I am sorry;

16 And for thine inheritance, for whose cause I mourn; and for Israel, for whom I am heavy; and for Jacob, for whose sake I am troubled;

17 Therefore will I begin to pray before thee for myself and for them: for I see the falls of us that dwell in the land.

18 But I have heard the swiftness of the judge which is to come.

19 Therefore hear my voice, and understand my words, and I shall speak before thee. This is the beginning of the words of Esdras, before he was taken up: and I said,

20 O Lord, thou that dwellest in everlastingness, which beholdest from above things in the heaven and in the air;

21 Whose throne is inestimable; whose glory may not be compre-

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the womb. An evident trace of a Greek original is found in the case of *tuæ creaturæ* after *patitur* = ἀνέχεται. See Bensly, p. 26.

10. *that is to say, &c.*] This clause is probably a gloss on the one before it, "out of the members." In the English Version the Latin *præbere* is rendered as if *præberi*, and Volkmar makes the same correction. But as the MSS. agree in *præbere*, I would suggest that the original word may have been παρεκρεῖν (found in Dioscorides), "to flow out at the sides," which would easily be confused with παρέχειν, *præbere*. The Arabic agrees with this view: "so lässest du . . . Milch der Brüste fliessen." So in Gildemeister's rendering of the Vatican Arabic: "ex eius mammis lac *stillat*."

11. *till thou disposest.*] The best MSS. read *dispones*. Volkmar conjectures *disponens* = "and, adapting it to thy mercy, didst rear it up," &c. "Disposest" should be "dispose."

13. The sense is obscure, but it is difficult to say what change in the text should be made. The argument requires something like: "Wilt thou put to death thy creature, whom thou broughtest to life as thine own work?" For "mortify" comp. Col. iii. 5.

14. *it is an easy thing.*] As was said above (*v.* 6), in the Oriental versions this ends in the form of a question: "wherefore then createdst thou him?" So the Arabic: "warum liessest du ihn werden?"

18. *But I have heard, &c.*] This should be more closely connected with the preceding words: "for I see . . . and have heard."

19. *This is the beginning, &c.*] This introduction to the Prayer of Esdras is thought to have been a marginal note, added in some early copy. It occurs, varied in terms, in most of the Oriental versions, and is itself a testimony to the celebrity of the Prayer.

THE PRAYER OF ESDRAS (*vv.* 20–36).

20. *everlastingness.*] Rather, "for ever;" Lat. *habitas in sæculum* (see Bensly, p. 34). This Prayer of Esdras is found in MSS. of the Bible older than any of the Book of Esdras itself now known to exist. In some copies it is introduced by the words: *Initium verborum Esdræ priusquam assumeretur.*

beholdest from above.] It is not easy to say what text the English Version here follows, as the Latin has *cujus oculi elati* (*al. elevati*) *in superna, etc.;* and so the Arabic. Tertullian, 'de præscr. Hæret.' c. iii., has a similar expression: "sed oculi, inquit, sunt alti."

21. *inestimable.*] Lat. *inæstimabilis*, perhaps representing ἀνείκαστος, "unimaginable." The phrase "may not be comprehended" is

hended; before whom the hosts of angels stand with trembling,

22 [c] Whose service is conversant in wind and fire; whose word is true, and sayings constant; whose commandment is strong, and ordinance fearful;

[c] Ps. 104. 4. Heb. 1. 7.

23 Whose look drieth up the depths, and indignation maketh the mountains to melt away; which the truth witnesseth:

24 O hear the prayer of thy servant, and give ear to the petition of thy creature.

25 For while I live I will speak, and so long as I have understanding I will answer.

26 O look not upon the sins of thy people; but on them which serve thee in truth.

27 Regard not the wicked inventions of the heathen, but the desire of those that keep thy testimonies in afflictions.

28 Think not upon those that have walked feignedly before thee: but remember them, which according to thy will have known thy fear.

29 Let it not be thy will to destroy them which have lived like beasts; but to look upon them that have clearly taught thy law.

30 Take thou no indignation at them which are deemed worse than beasts; but love them that alway put their trust in thy righteousness and glory.

31 For we and our fathers [1] do languish of such diseases: but because of us sinners thou shalt be called merciful.

[1] Or, *are sick.*

32 For if thou [1] hast a desire to have mercy upon us, thou shalt be called merciful, to us namely, that have no works of righteousness.

[1] Or, *be willing.*

33 For the just, which have many good works laid up with thee, shall out of their own deeds receive reward.

34 For what is man, that thou shouldest take displeasure at him? or what is a corruptible generation, that thou shouldest be so bitter toward it?

35 [d] For in truth there is no man among them that be born, but he hath dealt wickedly; and among the faithful there is none which hath not done amiss.

[d] 1 Kin. 8. 46. 2 Chr. 6. 36.

36 For in this, O Lord, thy righteousness and thy goodness shall be declared, if thou be merciful unto them which have not the [1] confidence of good works.

[1] Or, *substance.*

37 Then answered he me, and said, Some things hast thou spoken aright, and according unto thy words it shall be.

38 For indeed I will not think on

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the "incomprehensible" of the Athanasian Creed.

22. *Whose service.*] The division into verses somewhat obscures the sense. The word "whose" here refers to the angels; the same word in *vv.* 21 and 23, to God. For the expression compare Ps. civ. 4.

23. This verse is preserved in the 'Apostolical Constitutions' (viii. 7) in the original Greek. The last clause as there given, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, does not quite agree with the Latin, *et veritas testificatur.*

27. *the wicked, &c.*] For *impia gentium studia* the true reading is probably *impie agentium, etc.*, as in iii. 30. For "keep" read "have kept."

28. *according to thy will.*] Rather, "that have willingly acknowledged."

29. *that have clearly taught.*] The word rendered "clearly," namely *splendide*, points to λαμπρῶς as its original, used as in Aesch. 'Prom.' 833, or as *splendida* is in Hor. 'Carm.' iv. 7. 21.

31. *do languish of such diseases.*] Vulg. *talibus morbis languemus.* The readings here vary greatly. Fritzsche and Volkmar agree in preferring *talibus moribus egimus*, "have acted in such wise."

33. Hilgenfeld quotes an apposite passage from the 'Apocal. Baruchi,' xiv. 12: "Justi enim bene sperant finem, et sine timore ab hoc domicilio proficiscuntur, quia habent apud te vim operum custoditam in thesauris."

34. *generation.*] Rather, "race," *i.e.* of men.

36. *the confidence.*] Lat. *substantiam*, probably representing ὑπόστασιν, and denoting the basis on which the hope of mercy was to be grounded. Comp. *v.* 33.

38. *For indeed, &c.*] The sense of this verse is lost in the English Version. Instead

the disposition of them which have sinned before death, before judgment, before destruction:

a Gen. 4. 4.

39 But *a*I will rejoice over the disposition of the righteous, and I will remember also their pilgrimage, and the salvation, and the reward, that they shall have.

40 Like as I have spoken now, so shall it come to pass.

41 For as the husbandman soweth much seed upon the ground, and planteth many trees, and yet the thing that is sown good in his season cometh not up, neither doth all that is planted take root: even so is it of them that are sown in the world; they shall not all be saved.

42 I answered then and said, If I have found grace, let me speak.

43 Like as the husbandman's seed perisheth, if it come not up, and receive not thy rain in due season; or if there come too much rain, and corrupt it:

44 Even so perisheth man also, which is formed with thy hands, and is called thine own image, because thou art like unto him, for whose sake thou hast made all things, and likened him unto the husbandman's seed.

45 Be not wroth with us, but spare thy people, and have mercy upon thine own inheritance: for thou art merciful unto thy creature.

46 Then answered he me, and said, Things present are for the present, and things to come for such as be to come.

47 For *f*thou comest far short that thou shouldest be able to love my creature more than I: but I have ofttimes drawn nigh unto thee, and unto it, but never to the unrighteous.

f ch. 5. 33.

48 In this also thou art marvellous before the most High:

49 In that thou hast humbled thyself, as it becometh thee, and hast not judged thyself worthy to be much glorified among the righteous.

50 For many great miseries shall be done to them that in the latter time shall dwell in the world, because they have walked in great pride.

51 But understand thou for thyself, and seek out the glory for such as be like thee.

52 For unto you is paradise opened, the tree of life is planted, the time to come is prepared, plenteousness is made ready, a city is builded, and rest is allowed, yea, perfect goodness and wisdom.

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of *non vere* the best MSS. have *vere non;* and instead of *ante*, *aut* in all three places. Render: "For in truth I will not heed either the creation, or the death, or the judgment, or the destruction, of them that have sinned; but," &c. The word rendered "disposition" in this and the next verse is *plasma* in the one case, and *figmentum* in the other; both expressing the forming or creation of man at the first.

41. Canon Eddrup compares Butler's 'Analogy,' i. § 5.

43. *and receive not.*] The best reading in the Latin is *non enim accepit;* this being inserted parenthetically as a reason for the grain not having come up.

44. This verse should perhaps be read interrogatively: "Doth man also perish in like manner?" &c. For "is called thine own image" the Latin is *et tu ei imago nominatus*, "and thou wast called the image (or pattern) for him." It would seem as if the English translator had read *tui* for *tu ei*.

47. *but I have.*] The best MSS. read *tu autem*, &c., "Thou hast ofttimes made thyself one with the unrighteous, though never unrighteous thyself." Ezra had identified himself with his sinful fellow-countrymen. Such appears to be the sense; but the text is very uncertain.

48. *marvellous.*] Rather, "admirable."

49. *worthy.*] The Latin is, "and hast not judged (reckoned) thyself among the righteous, so as to be much glorified;" or, "so as to boast the more." With this latter the Arabic agrees: "und dich nicht den Gerechten gleichschäzest, um dich destomehr zu rühmen."

51. *seek out the glory.*] That is, "enquire into the glorious destiny of," &c. Comp. ix. 13.

52. *rest is allowed.*] Lat. *probata*. But the Oriental versions point to *prostrata* as probably the true reading, a forcible conden-

53 The root of evil is sealed up from you, weakness and the moth is hid from you, and corruption is fled into [1] hell to be forgotten:

[1] Or, *the grave.*

54 Sorrows are passed, and in the end is shewed the treasure of immortality.

55 And therefore ask thou no more questions concerning the multitude of them that perish.

56 For when they had taken liberty, they despised the most High, thought scorn of his law, and forsook his ways.

57 Moreover they have trodden down his righteous,

58 And [g] said in their heart, that there is no God; yea, and that knowing they must die.

[g] Ps. 14. 1. & 53. 1.

59 For as the things aforesaid shall receive you, so thirst and pain are prepared for them: for it was not his will that men should come to nought:

60 But they which be created have defiled the name of him that made them, and were unthankful unto him which prepared life for them.

61 And therefore is my judgment now at hand.

62 These things have I not shewed unto all men, but unto thee, and a few like thee. Then answered I and said,

63 Behold, O Lord, now hast thou shewed me the multitude of the wonders, which thou wilt begin to do in the last times: but at what time, thou hast not shewed me.

CHAPTER IX.

7 Who shall be saved, and who not. 19 All the world is now corrupted: 22 yet God doth save a few. 33 He complaineth that those perish which keep God's law: 38 and seeth a woman lamenting in a field.

HE answered me then, and said, Measure thou the time diligently in itself: and when thou seest part of the signs past, which I have told thee before,

2 Then shalt thou understand, that it is the very same time, wherein the Highest will begin to visit the world which he made.

3 Therefore when there shall be seen [a] earthquakes and uproars of the people in the world:

[a] Matt. 24. 7.

4 Then shalt thou well understand, that the most High spake of those things from the days that were before thee, even from the beginning.

5 For like as all that is made in the world hath a beginning and an end, and the end is manifest:

6 Even so the times also of the Highest have plain beginnings in wonders and powerful works, and endings in effects and signs.

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sation of language for "a couch is spread whereon to rest." In the Arab., "die Ruhe (ist) gedeckt."

53. *is sealed up.*] *I.e.* securely closed up, to trouble you no more. But it is difficult to believe that this was the original reading. The Arab. has *ausgerottet*, "rooted out," which agrees with the Aethiopic, and is much simpler. The rest of the verse is in uncertainty, on account of the fluctuations in the Latin text. For *et tinea*, "and the moth," which comes in very abruptly, MS. A. has *extincta* (see Bensly, p. 29) = "weakness is done away with." The words *in oblivionem*, with which the verse ends, should be connected with what follows: "sorrows are passed into oblivion."

57. *his righteous.*] Rather, "his righteous ones."

CHAPTER IX.

1. *in itself.*] For *semetipso* the best MSS. read *temetipso*, "in thyself;" that is, in thine own mind.

3. *earthquakes.*] The natural reference to Matt. xxiv. 7 may have suggested this rendering of *motio locorum*. But σεισμὸς or σεισμοὶ τῆς γῆς would not have been rendered by *motio locorum*, and it should rather be rendered "unsettlement (or disturbance) of regions." In the best MSS. the verse is extended by: "desires of nations" (Lat. *cogitationes*, i.e. "ambitious schemes"), "defections of leaders," "disturbance of princes." Hilgenfeld compares 'Orac. Sibyll.' iii. 635 *sqq.*

6. *have.*] This word should probably be omitted, and the sentence arranged: "Even

7 And every one that shall be saved, and shall be able to escape by his works, and by faith, whereby ye have believed,

8 Shall be preserved from the said perils, and shall see my salvation in my land, and within my borders: for I have sanctified them for me from the beginning.

9 Then [1]shall they be in pitiful case, which now have abused my ways: and they that have cast them away despitefully shall dwell in torments.

[1] *Or, they shall marvel.*

10 For such as in their life have received benefits, and have not known me;

11 And they that have lothed my law, while they had yet liberty, and, when as yet place of repentance was open unto them, understood not, but despised it;

12 The same must know it after death by pain.

13 And therefore be thou not curious how the ungodly shall be punished, and when: but enquire how the righteous shall be saved, whose the world is, and for whom the world is created.

14 Then answered I and said,

15 I have said before, and now do speak, and will speak it also hereafter, that there be many more of them which perish, than of them which shall be saved:

16 Like as a wave is greater than a drop.

17 And he answered me, saying, Like as the field is, so is also the seed; as the flowers be, such are the colours also; such as the workman is, such also is the work; and as the husbandman is himself, so is his husbandry also: for it was the time of the world.

18 [1]And now when I prepared the world, which was not yet made, even for them to dwell in that now live, no man spake against me.

[1] *And now because the time of the world was come, when I was preparing the world, &c.*

19 For then every one obeyed: [1]but now the manners of them which are created in this world that is made are corrupted by a perpetual seed, and by a law which is unsearchable rid themselves.

[1] *but when the world was made, both now and then the manners of every one created were corrupted by a never-failing harvest, and a law unsearchable.*

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so the times of the Highest: their beginnings are plain," &c. But Van der Vlis thinks that "signs" should be attached to the beginning, and "wonders" to the end.

7. *by his works.*] Comp. viii. 33.

9. The marginal reading is the best; Lat. *mirabuntur*, not *miserebuntur*.

abused.] As the Latin has the accusative, *vias meas*, after *abusi*, it is possible that the Greek was really παρέβησαν, "transgressed," not παρέχρησαν. The Arabic is rendered *abirrten*, "strayed from."

11. *place.*] Used like "room," without the article. Comp. Heb. xii. 17.

13. *is created.*] The Latin is, *et quorum sæculum, et propter quos sæculum, et quando.* Volkmar would remove the first *et*, and connect the words thus: "but enquire how the righteous (whose the world is, and for whom the world is) will be saved, and when;" so as to make the antithesis between the "how" and the "when."

15. *said . . . speak.*] These words would be better transposed: "I have spoken before, and do say it now, and will say it also," &c.

16. *is greater.*] Lat. *multiplicatur super*, the verb being intransitive, like πλεονάζει. See Bensly, p. 27.

17. *husbandry.*] The English reads so well, that it seems a pity to alter it. But, for *cultura*, one good MS. has *atria*, whence Volkmar conjectured *area*: "as is the husbandman, so also is his threshing-floor."

for it was, &c.] These words should begin the next sentence. The text of the ensuing passage is in a very unsettled condition. It would be impossible here to discuss the many various readings; but the following is a rendering of Fritzsche's text, corrected and supplemented by Bensly (pp. 29, 30):—"For there was a time of the world, even then when I was preparing it for them that now are, before the world was made for them to dwell in; and none gainsaid me, for at that time there was no man; but now that they have been created in this universe made ready for them, with both an unfailing table and an unsearchable law, their manners have become corrupt. And I considered my world, and behold! it was ruined; and my earth, and behold! there was peril," &c.

20 So I considered the world, and, behold, there was peril because of the devices that were come into it.

21 And I saw, and spared it greatly, and have kept me a [1]grape of the cluster, and a plant of a great people.

[1] Or, grain.

22 Let the multitude perish then, which was born in vain; and let my [1]grape be kept, and my plant; for with great labour have I made it perfect.

[1] Or, grain.

23 Nevertheless, if thou wilt cease yet seven days more, (but thou shalt not fast in them,

24 But go into a field of flowers, where no house is builded, and eat only the flowers of the field; taste no flesh, drink no wine, but eat flowers only;)

25 And pray unto the Highest continually, then will I come and talk with thee.

26 So I went my way into the field which is called Ardath, like as he commanded me; and there I sat among the flowers, and did eat of the herbs of the field, and the meat of the same satisfied me.

27 After seven days I sat upon the grass, and my heart was vexed within me, like as before:

28 And I opened my mouth, and began to talk before the most High, and said,

29 O Lord, thou that shewest thyself unto us, thou wast [b]shewed unto our fathers in the wilderness, in a place where no man [1]treadeth, in a barren place, when they came out of Egypt.

[b] Ex. 19. 9. & 24. 10. Deut. 4. 12.

[1] Or, cometh.

30 And thou spakest, saying, Hear me, O Israel; and mark my words, thou seed of Jacob.

31 For, behold, I sow my law in you, and it shall bring fruit in you, and ye shall be honoured in it for ever.

32 But our fathers, which received the law, kept it not, and observed not thy ordinances: and though the fruit of thy law did not perish, neither could it, for it was thine;

33 Yet they that received it perished, because they kept not the thing that was sown in them.

34 And, lo, it is a custom, when the ground hath received seed, or the sea a ship, or any vessel meat or drink, that, that being perished wherein it was sown or cast into,

35 That thing also which was sown, or cast therein, or received, doth perish, and remaineth not with

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21. *greatly.*] Lat. *valde;* but Bensly restores *vix valde* from MS. A., which suits the sense better, and agrees with the versions. The original may have been πάνυ μόγις, "with great difficulty."

grape.] This is the right reading; not "grain," as in the margin. The word rendered "grape" (*acinum*) occurs in the Vulg. of Numb. vi. 4.

people.] Rather, "forest;" the Lat. *tribu*, rendered "people," being plainly due to a mistake of ὑλῆς for φυλῆς.

23. *not fast.*] Comp. vi. 35.

FOURTH VISION (ch. ix. 26—x. 60).

26. *Ardath.*] The spelling of this word varies greatly in the MSS. In the Syriac and Aethiopic versions it is Arphad, which comes near the Phœnician Arvad ("Place of Fugitives"), Ezek. xxvii. 8, but has probably no connection with it. The form Arphad is found in the A. V. of Isa. xxxvi. 19, xxxvii. 13, where the place meant is a district of Syria. In Jer. xlix. 23 it is given as Arpad.

29. *thou that shewest.*] The Lat. *ostendens ostensus es* is plainly an equivalent for the common Hebrew idiom, found in the LXX. and N. T. Render: "Thou wast manifested in our midst to our forefathers," &c.

where no man treadeth.] The marginal reading, "where no man cometh," sounds like the original of Tennyson's

> "a waste land, where no one comes
> Or hath come, since the making of the world;"

but the Latin is simply *in deserto quod non calcatur et infructuoso*, "in a barren and untrodden desert."

34. *that, that being perished, &c.*] The sense is lost in the English Version. If a ship founders, it is not the sea which perishes, but the ship. Render: "when it has come to pass that what was sown, or sent, or

us: but with us it hath not happened so.

36 For we that have received the law perish by sin, and our heart also which received it.

37 Notwithstanding the law perisheth not, but remaineth in his force.

38 And when I spake these things in my heart, I looked back with mine eyes, and upon the right side I saw [c] a woman, and, behold, she mourned and wept with a loud voice, and was much grieved in heart, and her clothes were rent, and she had ashes upon her head.

[c] ch. 10. 44.

39 Then let I my thoughts go that I was in, and turned me unto her,

40 And said unto her, Wherefore weepest thou? why art thou so grieved in thy mind?

41 And she said unto me, Sir, let me alone, that I may bewail myself, and add unto my sorrow, for I am sore vexed in my mind, and brought very low.

42 And I said unto her, What aileth thee? tell me.

43 She said unto me, I thy servant have been barren, and had no child, though I had an husband thirty years.

44 And those thirty years I did nothing else day and night, and every hour, but make my prayer to the Highest.

45 After thirty years God heard me thine handmaid, looked upon my misery, considered my trouble, and gave me a son: and I was very glad of him, so was my husband also, and all my neighbours: and we gave great honour unto the Almighty.

46 And I nourished him with great travail.

47 So when he grew up, and came to the time that he should have a wife, I made a feast.

CHAPTER X.

1 *He comforteth the woman in the field.* 27 *She vanisheth away, and a city appeareth in her place.* 40 *The angel declareth these visions in the field.*

AND it so came to pass, that when my son was entered into his wedding chamber, he fell down, and died.

2 Then we all overthrew the lights, and all my [1] neighbours rose up to comfort me: so I took my rest unto the second day at night.

[1] Or, *countrymen*, Lat. *citizens*.

3 And it came to pass, when they had all left off to comfort me, to the end I might be quiet; then rose I up by night, and fled, and came hither into this field, as thou seest.

4 And I do now purpose not to return into the city, but here to stay, and neither to eat nor drink, but continually to mourn and to fast until I die.

5 Then left I the [1] meditations

[1] Or, *speeches*.

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received, is destroyed, yet the receptacles of them remain." That is to say, if the seed perishes which has been sown in the ground, or a ship founders which has been committed to the sea, or food is wasted which has been put into a vessel,—though the thing received is in each case lost, the receiver of it is not so. But in case of the law received into the minds of Ezra's countrymen, the receiving mind had become corrupted, while the law committed to it remained intact.

38. *a woman.*] Interpreted in x. 44 to be Sion.

43. *thirty years.*] For the application of this, see x. 45.

44. The translation of this verse is vigorous, but less close than usual. The Vulgate reads: *Ego enim per singulas horas et per singulos dies et* (l. *in*) *annos, etc.* = "And every single hour, and every single day, for those thirty years, did I make my prayer," &c.

CHAPTER X.

1. *he fell down.*] For the interpretation, see *infra v.* 48.

2. *overthrew.*] Or "put out;" *wir löschten*, Arab. For the custom of lights at weddings, comp. Jer. xxv. 10; Matt. xxv. 7; and the article MARRIAGE in 'Dict. of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 251.

5. *meditations.*] This is the word given by the Oriental versions. The Latin has *sermones*. Comp. above, ix. 39.

wherein I was, and spake to her in anger, saying,

6 Thou foolish woman above all other, seest thou not our mourning, and what happeneth unto us?

7 How that Sion our mother is full of all heaviness, and much humbled, mourning very sore?

8 And now, seeing we all mourn and are sad, for we are all in heaviness, art thou grieved for one son?

9 For ask the earth, and she shall tell thee, that it is she which ought to mourn for the fall of so many that grow upon her.

10 For out of her came all at the first, and out of her shall all others come, and, behold, they walk almost all into destruction, and a multitude of them is utterly [1]rooted out.

[1] Or, *abolished.*

11 Who then should make more mourning than she, that hath lost so great a multitude; and not thou, which art sorry but for one?

12 But if thou sayest unto me, My lamentation is not like the earth's, because I have lost the fruit of my womb, which I brought forth with pains, and bare with sorrows;

13 [1]But the earth *not so:* for the multitude present in it according to the course of the earth is gone, as it came:

[1] *But the earth after the manner of the earth, whereinto the present multitude is gone again, as it came out.*

14 Then say I unto thee, Like as thou hast brought forth with labour; even so the earth also hath given her fruit, namely, man, ever since the beginning unto him that made her.

15 Now therefore keep thy sorrow to thyself, and bear with a good courage that which hath befallen thee.

16 For if thou shalt acknowledge the determination of God to be just, thou shalt both receive thy son in time, and shalt be commended among women.

17 Go thy way then into the city to thine husband.

18 And she said unto me, That will I not do: I will not go into the city, but here will I die.

19 So I proceeded to speak further unto her, and said,

20 Do not so, but be counselled by me: for how many are the adversities of Sion? be comforted in regard of the sorrow of Jerusalem.

21 For thou seest that our sanctuary is laid waste, our altar broken down, our temple destroyed;

22 Our psaltery is laid on the ground, our song is put to silence,

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7. *all heaviness.*] In the best texts, the word "all" is made to belong to what goes before: *mater nostra omnium* = "the mother of us all." Churton aptly compares Gal. v. 26, "Jerusalem which is above . . . which is the mother of us all."

8. *sad . . . in heaviness.*] The word is the same in both places in the Latin: *contristari.*

10. *is utterly rooted out.*] For the *exterminium fit* of the Vulgate the best MSS. have *in ext. fit* = "and the multitude of them come to be rooted out;" and so it stands in a quotation of this passage found in Ambrose, 'De excessu Satyri,' i. 2. *Exterminium* is a word occurring some eight or ten times in the Vulgate of the Apocrypha, but not in that of the canonical books.

13. It is not easy to see what text the English translator had before him in this verse. If we follow Fritzsche's reading, the sense will be: "But the earth (is) after the way of the earth; and the multitude present in it hath departed in the way that it came." For τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ παρὸν the Greek may have been τὸ ἀεὶ, &c. = the multitude for the time being, each successive growth of inhabitants.

14. *Then say I.*] Rather, "And I say."

16. In this verse the A. V. follows the best reading, as it is in Ambrose, *ubi sup.*, and not the Vulgate, which is quite different. The words "acknowledge to be just" will serve to explain the "justify" of Luke vii. 35.

19. *proceeded.*] Lat. *apposui*, a very literal rendering of the Greek προσέθηκα (Hilgenf.), or, more probably, προσεθέμην, as in Luke xx. 12.

21. *sanctuary.*] The same Latin word, *sanctificatio*, would seem to have been used to render ἁγιασμὸς and ἁγίασμα. See above, vii. 38. Here we might have expected *sacrarium.* It will be noticed how inappropriate this language is to the historical Ezra. Comp. iii. 1.

22. *our children.*] The Latin *liberi nostri* is

our rejoicing is at an end, the light of our candlestick is put out, the ark of our covenant is spoiled, our holy things are defiled, and the name that is called upon us is almost profaned: our children are put to shame, our priests are burnt, our Levites are gone into captivity, our virgins are defiled, and our wives ravished; our righteous men carried away, our little ones destroyed, our young men are brought in bondage, and our strong men are become weak;

23 And, which is the greatest of all, the seal of Sion hath now lost her honour; for she is delivered into the hands of them that hate us.

24 And therefore shake off thy great heaviness, and put away the multitude of sorrows, that the Mighty may be merciful unto thee again, and the Highest shall give thee rest and ease from thy labour.

25 And it came to pass, while I was talking with her, behold, her face upon a sudden shined exceedingly, and her countenance glistered, so that I was afraid of her, and mused what it might be.

26 And, behold, suddenly she made a great cry very fearful: so that the earth shook at the noise of the woman.

27 And I looked, and, behold, the woman appeared unto me no more, but there was a city builded, and a large place shewed itself from the foundations: then was I afraid, and cried with a loud voice, and said,

28 Where is [a]Uriel the angel, who came unto me at the first? for he hath caused me to fall [1]into many trances, and mine end is turned into corruption, and my prayer to rebuke.

[a] ch. 4. 1.

[1] Or, *into the multitude in a trance.*

29 And as I was speaking these words, behold, he came unto me, and looked upon me.

30 And, lo, I lay as one that had been dead, and mine understanding was taken from me: and he took me by the right hand, and comforted me, and set me upon my feet, and said unto me,

31 What aileth thee? and why art thou so disquieted? and why is thine understanding troubled, and the thoughts of thine heart?

32 And I said, Because thou hast forsaken me, and yet I did according to thy [b]words, and I went into the field, and, lo, I have seen, and yet see, that I am not able to express.

[b] ch. 5. 20.

33 And he said unto me, Stand up manfully, and I will advise thee.

34 Then said I, Speak on, my lord, in me; only forsake me not, lest I die frustrate of my hope.

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ambiguous, as it may mean either "our children" or "our free men." The Arabic supports the latter, *unsre freien Edeln;* but in the passage of Ambrose before-quoted it is *juvenes.* It is difficult to see what Greek word can have been taken so variously. Οἱ ἐλεύθεροι ἡμῶν (Hilgenfeld) could not. Perhaps a confusion of *οἱ εὐγενεῖς* with *οἱ ἔκγονοι* may account for it.

23. *hath now lost, &c.*]. Rather, "and, what is more than all, the seal of Sion, now that she hath resigned her glory, is delivered up," &c. The Latin of this verse bears plain marks of Greek idiom. For the seal, or signet-ring, as the emblem of authority, comp. Esth. iii. 10, "And the king took his ring from his hand, and gave it unto Haman," &c., and the passages there quoted in the margin.

27. *from the foundations.*] Rather, "and a place was shewed me of large foundations."

28. *into many trances.*] The marginal reading is the more literal. Lat. *venire in multitudinem* (Vulg. *-ine*) *in excessu mentis hujus.* For *in excessu* the reading should probably be *in excessus* = *εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ἐκστάσεως κ. τ. λ.*, "into so many ecstasies of this my mind." The Arabic reads: "was liess er mich in diesen grossen Geistesschrecken kommen?"

29. *he came.*] The best MSS. have, more fully, "behold there came to me the angel who had come to me at the first."

30. *was taken from me.*] Lat. *alienatus est.* Comp. Dan. iv. 16: "Let his heart be changed from man's."

33. *manfully.*] Rather, "like a man." Lat. *sta ut vir.* Comp. vi. 13.

34. *in me.*] The English Version seems to combine two readings of the Latin: *loquere, domine meus, tu in me; noli, etc.* (Vulg.), and

35 For I have seen that I knew not, and hear that I do not know.

36 Or is my sense deceived, or my soul in a dream?

37 Now therefore I beseech thee that thou wilt shew thy servant of this [1]vision.

[1] Or, *trance.*

38 He answered me then, and said, Hear me, and I shall inform thee, and tell thee wherefore thou art afraid: for the Highest will reveal many secret things unto thee.

39 He hath seen that thy [1]way is right: for that thou sorrowest continually for thy people, and makest great lamentation for Sion.

[1] Or, *purpose.*

40 This therefore is the meaning of the vision which thou lately sawest:

41 Thou sawest a woman mourning, and thou begannest to comfort her:

42 But now seest thou the likeness of the woman no more, but there appeared unto thee a city builded.

43 And whereas she told thee of the death of her son, this is the [1]solution:

[1] Or, *interpretation.*

44 This woman, whom thou sawest, is Sion: and whereas she said unto thee, even she whom thou seest as a city builded,

45 Whereas, *I say*, she said unto thee, that she hath been thirty years barren: those are the thirty years wherein there was no offering made in her.

46 But after thirty years Solomon builded the city, and offered offerings: and then bare the barren a son.

47 And whereas she told thee that she nourished him with labour: that was the dwelling in Jerusalem.

48 But whereas she said unto thee, That my son coming into his marriage chamber happened to have a fall, and died: this was the destruction that came to Jerusalem.

49 And, behold, thou sawest her likeness, and because she mourned for her son, thou begannest to comfort her: and of these things which have chanced, these are to be opened unto thee.

50 For now the most High seeth that thou art grieved unfeignedly, and sufferest from thy whole heart for her, so hath he shewed thee the brightness of her glory, and the comeliness of her beauty:

51 And therefore I bade thee remain in the field where no house was builded:

52 For I knew that the Highest would shew this unto thee.

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loquere, domine meus; tantum me noli, etc., which has the better authority.

37. *vision.*] Rather, "ecstasy," or "trance;" Lat. *excessus*, the same word as in *v.* 28.

39. *way.*] Lat. *viam.* The marginal variation seems uncalled for.

44. *and whereas she said unto thee.*] This clause should probably be left out, as in the Oriental versions. The sentence would then run: "This woman whom thou sawest is Sion, whom thou now beholdest as a builded city. And whereas she said unto thee that she hath been," &c. (*v.* 45).

45. *those are the thirty years.*] Rather, "it is because there are," &c. Instead of "thirty," the reading of the Vulgate, two of the best MSS. have "three," while the Oriental versions have "three thousand." The variation might easily arise, either by supposing ,γ mistaken for γ', or *sæcula triginta* for *anni triginta.* There would also be a natural tendency to make the number harmonize with the thirty years of the woman's life. Hilgenfeld enters into several computations to account for the exact 3000. From the Creation to the Flood were reckoned 1656 years; from the Flood to the Call of Abraham, 365; for the Captivity in Egypt, 430 or 400; thence to the Building of the Temple, 592; making in all 3043 or 3013 years; to which 3000 is sufficient approximation.

46. *the city.*] We might have expected "the temple;" but to the writer's mind the two would be almost identical. Or rather, the importance of the building of the Temple would make it overshadow and include the rest.

48. *That my son.*] Omit "That;" and for "happened to have a fall, and died," read "had died, and calamity had befallen him."

53 Therefore I commanded thee to go into the field, where no foundation of any building was.

54 For in the place wherein the Highest beginneth to shew his city, there can no man's building be able to stand.

55 And therefore fear not, let not thine heart be affrighted, but go thy way in, and see the beauty and greatness of the building, as much as thine eyes be able to see:

56 And then shalt thou hear as much as thine ears may comprehend.

57 For thou art blessed above many other, and [1]art called with the Highest; and so are but few.

[1] Or, *art called to be with, &c.*

58 But to morrow at night thou shalt remain here;

59 And so shall the Highest shew thee visions of the [1]high things, which the most High will do unto them that dwell upon earth in the last days. So I slept that night and another, like as he commanded me.

[1] Or, *last things.*

CHAPTER XI.

1 *He seeth in his dream an eagle coming out of the sea,* 37 *and a lion out of a wood talking to the eagle.*

THEN saw I a dream, and, behold, there came up from the sea an eagle, which had twelve feathered wings, and three heads.

2 And I saw, and, behold, she spread her wings over all the earth, and all the winds of the air blew on her, and were gathered together.

3 And I beheld, and out of her feathers there grew other contrary feathers; and they became little feathers and small.

4 But her heads were at rest: the head in the midst was greater than the other, yet rested [1]it with the residue.

[1] Lat. *she.*

5 Moreover I beheld, and, lo, the eagle flew with her feathers, and reigned upon earth, and over them that dwelt therein.

6 And I saw that all things under heaven were subject unto her, and

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54. *For in, &c.*] Rather, "For neither could any work of man's building endure, in the place where the city of the Most High was beginning to be shewed."

56. Comp. Tobit xiii. 16–18 and 1 Cor. ii. 9.

57. *called with.*] Lat. *vocatus es apud.* This may be interpreted as in the margin, or perhaps in the sense of "thy name is known in the presence of." The Arabic is simpler: "und beim Höchsten genannt wie eins der Kinder."

59. *high things.*] Lat. *supremorum.* One MS. has *summorum*, and another *somniorum*, whence Volkmar would read *per visiones somniorum.* But the Arabic, in Ewald's version, agrees with the English.

So I slept.] In the Latin this is counted as *v.* 60. In MS. A. it is given more fully than in the rest: "So I slept that night and another, as he commanded me. And it came to pass on the second night and another, as he had said unto me, that I saw a dream," &c. (xi. 1).

CHAPTER XI.

FIFTH VISION (ch. xi. 1—ch. xii. 39).

1. *from the sea.*] As in Dan. vii. 3; Rev. xiii. 1. For the general interpretation of this vision, see the Appendix at the end.

feathered wings.] Lat. *alæ pennarum.* The addition of *pennarum*, as Volkmar thinks, is either to distinguish the wings from the wings of an army (surely unneeded, in case of an eagle), or is a mere poetical ornament.

2. *and were gathered together.*] The Oriental versions have "and the clouds were gathered together to her." So the Arabic: "und die Wolken sich um ihn sammelten."

3. *there grew.*] Rather, "were growing." In the expression "contrary feathers," *contrariæ pennæ*, it seems doubtful whether any stress is to be laid on the epithet *contrariæ.* Volkmar thinks that the original was ἀντίπτερα, formed like ἀντίπετρα, to express "wing-like" growths, which came to be πτερύγια, "little wings," or pinions. This view is supported by the fact that the numbers were different, being not one for each, but eight as against twelve (*v.* 11).

4. *yet rested it.*] The marginal reading, "she," is due to the feminine form, *ipsa*, being used in the Latin. The gender is to be accounted for by the influence of the Greek word (κεφαλή).

no man spake against her, no, not one creature upon earth.

7 And I beheld, and, lo, the eagle rose upon her talons, and spake to her feathers, saying,

8 Watch not all at once: sleep every one in his own place, and watch by course:

9 But let the heads be preserved for the last.

10 And I beheld, and, lo, the voice went not out of her heads, but from the midst of her body.

11 And I numbered her contrary feathers, and, behold, there were eight of them.

12 And I looked, and, behold, on the right side there arose one feather, and reigned over all the earth;

13 And so it was, that when it reigned, the end of it came, and the place thereof appeared no more: so the next following stood up, and reigned, and had a great time;

14 And it happened, that when it reigned, the end of it came also, like as the first, so that it appeared no more.

15 Then came there a voice unto it, and said,

16 Hear thou that hast borne rule over the earth so long: this I say unto thee, before thou beginnest to appear no more,

17 There shall none after thee attain unto thy time, neither unto the half thereof.

18 Then arose the third, and reigned as the other before, and appeared no more also.

19 So went it with all the residue one after another, as that every one reigned, and then appeared no more.

20 Then I beheld, and, lo, in process of time the feathers that followed stood up upon the right side, that they might rule also; and some of them ruled, but within a while they appeared no more:

21 For some of them were set up, but ruled not.

22 After this I looked, and, behold, the twelve feathers appeared no more, nor the two little feathers:

23 And there was no more upon

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7. *spake.*] Rather, "cried," or "uttered a cry;" Lat. *misit vocem* = ἀφῆκε φωνήν.

9. *preserved for the last.*] Rather, "kept to the last," *i.e.* have their turn last. So the Arabic: "die Häupter aber sollen zulezt wachen."

10. *not out of her heads.*] Explained below, xii. 17.

13. *had a great time.*] Rather, "held sway for a long time."

14. *And it happened.*] The fondness of the English translator for changing his mode of expression has been noticed before. The "and so it was" of *v.* 13, and the present phrase, are both renderings of the common *et factum est* = καὶ ἐγένετο, "and it came to pass."

17. *attain unto thy time.*] Lat. *tenebit tempus tuum* = "hold sway for thy time;" *i.e.* for so long a time as thou. Comp. *v.* 13, and xii. 15.

19. *residue.*] Vulg. *aliis*, which may have been easily altered from *alis*, "wings" (the reading of T.).

20. *upon the right side.*] So in the Latin. But in the Arabic, according to Ewald, "upon the left side" (*zur linken Seite*), which would seem to suit the sense better; as the "feathers that followed" naturally means the "contrary feathers" of *v.* 11.

within a while.] Rather, "forthwith," as also in *v.* 26, where the same word *statim* is rendered "shortly."

21. *but ruled not.*] *I.e.* did not retain their sovereignty; Lat. *sed non tenebant principatum.*

22. *the two.*] The use of the article in this and the next verse is somewhat confusing. *The* twelve wings had disappeared, and *two* of the eight smaller. Nothing remained but *the* three heads, and six of the eight smaller wings.

That the twelve wings should here be called "feathers" is not the fault of the A. V.; the word being *pennæ* in the Latin, as also in *v.* 5, where we should have expected "wings." This use of the two synonymously contributes to prove that no difference, beyond that of size, is meant to be understood between the "wings" and "contrary feathers."

the eagle's body, but three heads that rested, and six little wings.

24 Then saw I also that two little feathers divided themselves from the six, and remained under the head that was upon the right side: for the four continued in their place.

25 And I beheld, and, lo, the feathers that were under the wing thought to set up themselves, and to have the rule.

26 And I beheld, and, lo, there was one set up, but shortly it appeared no more.

27 And the second was sooner away than the first.

28 And I beheld, and, lo, the two that remained thought also in themselves to reign:

29 And when they so thought, behold, there awaked one of the heads that were at rest, namely, it that was in the midst; for that was greater than the two other heads.

30 And then I saw that the two other heads were joined with it.

31 And, behold, the head was turned with them that were with it, and did eat up the two feathers under the wing that would have reigned.

32 But this head put the whole earth in fear, and bare rule in it over all those that dwelt upon the earth with much oppression; and it had the governance of the world more than all the wings that had been.

33 And after this I beheld, and, lo, the head that was in the midst suddenly appeared no more, like as the wings.

34 But there remained the two heads, which also in like sort ruled upon the earth, and over those that dwelt therein.

35 And I beheld, and, lo, the head upon the right side devoured it that was upon the left side.

36 Then I heard a voice, which said unto me, Look before thee, and consider the thing that thou seest.

37 And I beheld, and lo as it were a roaring lion chased out of the wood: and I saw that he sent out a man's voice unto the eagle, and said,

38 Hear thou, I will talk with thee, and the Highest shall say unto thee,

39 Art not thou it that remainest of the four beasts, whom I made to reign in my world, that the end

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23. *three heads.*] Rather, "the three heads." The Vulgate has *duo*, which may be explained by supposing, with Volkmar, that there should be a stop after it: "There was no more . . . but two (things); the heads that were resting, and six little wings."

25. *the feathers that were under the wing.*] In Lat. *subalares* only, understanding *pennæ* or *pennaculæ*:—a feminine form *pennaculæ* being used in *v.* 24, though the usual neuter form *pennacula* appears in *v.* 23. These are the four that remain, after taking away the two in *v.* 22 and the two in *v.* 24. The expression "under the wings" is illustrated by xii. 19.

27. *was sooner away.*] Rather, "disappeared more swiftly;" Lat. *velocius . . . non comparuit.*

29. *when they so thought.*] Lat. *in eo cum cogitarent*, "at the very time of their thinking."

30. *the two other heads, &c.*] The Vulg. has *quoniam completa sunt duo capita secum;* but the translator appears to have read *complexa*, which is found in the best MSS., taking it passively. Reading *est* (from S.) for *sunt*, we may render: "And then I saw how (*quomodo*) it joined the (other) two heads with it;" *i.e.* took them as associates. The gender of *complexa*, with subject *caput*, is accounted for by remembering that the word in Greek would be feminine.

31. *the two feathers under the wing.*] Lat. *duas subalares;* i.e. the two under-wings mentioned in *v.* 28.

32. *in it.*] These words are out of place, owing to the insertion of "the earth" (on which see Bensly, p. 21). Read: "bare rule over all those that dwell in it."

it had.] Rather, "it held," or "gained."

37. *chased.*] Lat. *concitatus*, "rushing." So the Arabic: "sich hervorstürzte."

and I saw.] Vulg. *et vidi.* The reading of A. is *et audivi*, "and I heard." See Bensly, p. 27.

39. *the four beasts.*] Comp. xii. 11.

of their times might come through them?

40 And the fourth came, and overcame all the beasts that were past, and had power over the world with great fearfulness, and over the whole compass of the earth with much wicked oppression; and so long time dwelt he upon the earth with deceit.

41 For the earth hast thou not judged with truth.

42 For thou hast afflicted the meek, thou hast hurt the peaceable, thou hast loved liars, and destroyed the dwellings of them that brought forth fruit, and hast cast down the walls of such as did thee no harm.

43 Therefore is thy wrongful dealing come up unto the Highest, and thy pride unto the Mighty.

44 The Highest also hath looked upon the proud times, and, behold, they are ended, and his abominations are fulfilled.

45 And therefore appear no more, thou eagle, nor thy horrible wings, nor thy wicked feathers, nor thy malicious heads, nor thy hurtful claws, nor all thy vain body:

46 That all the earth may be refreshed, and may return, being delivered from thy violence, and that she may hope for the judgment and mercy of him that made her.

CHAPTER XII.

3 *The eagle, which he saw, is destroyed.* 10 *The vision is interpreted.* 37 *He is bid to write his visions,* 39 *and to fast, that he may see more.* 46 *He doth comfort those that were grieved for his absence.*

AND it came to pass, whiles the lion spake these words unto the eagle, I saw,

2 And, behold, the head that remained and the four wings appeared no more, and the two went unto it, and set themselves up to reign, and their kingdom was small, and full of uproar.

3 And I saw, and, behold, they appeared no more, and the whole body of the eagle was burnt, so that the earth was in great fear: then awaked I out of the trouble and trance of my mind, and from great fear, and said unto my spirit,

4 Lo, this hast thou done unto me, in that thou searchest out the ways of the Highest.

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their times.] Rather, "the times," omitting *eorum*, on the authority of the versions.

40. *had power over.*] Rather, "held the world in sway." Comp. Dan. vii. 7.

41. More literally, "and hast judged the earth not with truth." So in Gildemeister's version: *et terram sine justitia rexisti.* The second person is here resumed in the address to the eagle, after the retrospective parenthesis in *v.* 40.

42. *that brought forth fruit.*] Lat. *qui fructificabant.* The readings are so various throughout this verse, that it is difficult to arrive at any certainty as to the text. Fritzsche concludes, both from the principle of parallelism and from the evidence of the versions, that there is one clause wanting; and so, after "the peaceable," he inserts "and hast hated the righteous." With regard to the precise meaning of *qui fructificabant*, Volkmar's assumption that it = τῶν τελεσφόρων, "them that paid tribute," is plausible. But the versions rather point to "the just." The Arabic is rendered by *der Unschuldigen*, "the inoffensive."

44. *the proud times.*] It seems very probable that the *superba* of the Vulgate is a misreading of *sua*. Van der Vlis conjectured *superiora*; but *sua* agrees with the versions. The Arabic has "und der Höchste blickte auf seine Zeiten."

CHAPTER XII.

2. The Vulgate reading is here plainly corrupt. Fritzsche adopts the emendation of Van der Vlis, which is supported by MS. A. The sense will then be: "And behold, the head that had remained appeared no more; and the two wings that went unto it set themselves up to reign," &c. The head is that mentioned in xi. 35, and the two wings those mentioned in xi. 24.

4. *done unto me.*] Perhaps rather, "bestowed upon me."

5 Lo, yet am I weary in my mind, and very weak in my spirit; and little strength is there in me, for the great fear wherewith I was affrighted this night.

6 Therefore will I now beseech the Highest, that he will comfort me unto the end.

7 And I said, Lord that bearest rule, if I have found grace before thy sight, and if I am justified with thee before many others, and if my prayer indeed be come up before thy face;

8 Comfort me then, and shew me thy servant the interpretation and plain difference of this fearful vision, that thou mayest perfectly comfort my soul.

9 For thou hast judged me worthy to shew me the last times.

10 And he said unto me, This is the interpretation of the vision:

11 The eagle, whom thou sawest come up from the sea, is the kingdom which was seen in the [a]vision of thy brother Daniel.

[a] Dan. 7. 7.

12 But it was not expounded unto him, therefore now I declare it unto thee.

13 Behold, the days will come, that there shall rise up a kingdom upon earth, and it shall be feared above all the kingdoms that were before it.

14 In the same shall twelve kings reign, one after another:

15 Whereof the second shall begin to reign, and shall have more time than any of the twelve.

16 And this do the twelve wings signify, which thou sawest.

17 As for the voice which thou heardest speak, and that thou sawest not to go out from the heads, but from the midst of the body thereof, this is the interpretation:

18 That after the time of that kingdom there shall arise great strivings, and it shall stand in peril of falling: nevertheless it shall not then fall, but shall be restored again to his beginning.

19 And whereas thou sawest the eight small under feathers sticking to her wings, this is the interpretation:

20 That in him there shall arise eight kings, whose times shall be but small, and their years swift.

21 And two of them shall perish, the middle time approaching: four

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5. *little.*] Rather, "not even a little;" Lat. *nec modica*, plainly representing *οὐδὲ μικρά*.

7. *am justified.*] Or rather, perhaps, "deemed worthy," if we assume ἠξιώθην, and not ἐδικαιώθην, to have been the original word. The Latin is *justificatus sum*, while the Arab. and Aeth. both have "blessed."

8. *plain difference.*] Lat. *distinctionem*, the *distinguishing* or *discernment* of the vision. The word "comfort," twice used in this verse, represents two different Latin words, (1) = "strengthen," (2) = "console."

11. *the kingdom.*] The Oriental versions read "the fourth kingdom," and this is supported by MS. A. (Bensly, p. 30). The reference is to Dan. vii. 7.

12. *therefore.*] Rather, "as I now," &c.; the version in the text rendering neither the *quoniam* of the Vulgate, nor the better reading *quomodo*.

13. *it shall be feared.*] The Vulgate has *et erit timor acrior*. Volkmar's conjecture of *timoratior* = "more feared," in place of the last two words, is confirmed by the reading *timoratio* found in A. (Bensly, p. 61). The succeeding genitive would be explained by the influence of the Greek idiom. The rendering in the text seems almost to anticipate this emendation.

14. *In the same, &c.*] Rather, "And there shall reign in it."

15. *Whereof.*] The Lat. is *nam*, a rendering of δέ (according to Hilgenfeld), as in iv. 34. Read: "and the second," &c.

18. *after the time.*] The Arabic has, apparently more agreeably to the sense, "in the midst of the time,"—*aus der Mitte der Zeit jenes Reiches*. So at the end, instead of "to his beginning," the Arabic has, more suitably, "to his former dominion,"—*zu seiner frühern Herrschaft*. The difference probably arose, as Van der Vlis points out, from the double meaning of which εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν would be capable.

19. *sticking.*] Rather, "attached;" Lat. *cohærentes*. Comp. xi. 3, 11.

20. *in him.*] Rather, "in it," referring to the "kingdom" of *v.* 18.

shall be kept until their end begin to approach: but two shall be kept unto the end.

22 And whereas thou sawest three heads resting, this is the interpretation:

23 In his last days shall the most High raise up three kingdoms, and renew many things therein, and they shall have the dominion of the earth,

24 And of those that dwell therein, with much oppression, above all those that were before them: therefore are they called the heads of the eagle.

25 For these are they that shall accomplish his wickedness, and that shall finish his last end.

26 And whereas thou sawest that the great head appeared no more, it signifieth that one of them shall die upon his bed, and yet with pain.

27 For the two that remain shall be slain with the sword.

28 For the sword of the one shall devour the other: but at the last shall he fall through the sword himself.

29 And whereas thou sawest two feathers under the wings passing over the head that is on the right side;

30 It signifieth that these are they, whom the Highest hath kept unto their end: this is the small kingdom and full of trouble, as thou sawest.

31 And the lion, whom thou sawest rising up out of the wood, and roaring, and speaking to the eagle, and rebuking her for her unrighteousness with all the words which thou hast heard;

32 This is the [1]anointed, which the Highest hath kept for them and for their wickedness unto the end: he shall reprove them, and shall upbraid them with their cruelty.

[1] Lat. *wind*, or, *spirit*.

33 For he shall set them before him alive in judgment, and shall rebuke them, and correct them.

34 For the rest of my people shall he deliver with mercy, those that have been preserved upon my borders, and he shall make them joyful until the coming of the day of judgment, whereof I have spoken unto thee from the beginning.

35 This is the dream that thou sawest, and these are the interpretations.

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21. *until their end, &c.*] The Latin has: *cum incipiet appropinquare tempus ejus ut finiatur*, "when the time for it (*i.e.* the kingdom) to be ended shall begin to approach." The English translator has anticipated Van der Vlis's alteration of *ejus* to *eorum*.

23. *In his last days.*] The use of the pronouns here, as in *vv.* 21 and 25, is confusing. In the Latin it is: *in novissimis ejus suscitabit Altissimus tria regna, et revocabit* (*al. renovabit*) *in ea multa*. The *ea* refers to "kingdom" (the word being feminine in the Greek), and the preceding *ejus* therefore to the same. Following the versions in reading *tres reges* for *tria regna*, the passage would run: "in the last days of it (the kingdom) shall the Most High raise up three kings, and they shall renew," &c.

25. *accomplish.*] Lat. *recapitulabunt*, plainly meant to render ἀνακεφαλαιώσουσι, "shall put the coping-stone upon," "shall consummate."

his wickedness.] In modern English "his" would be "its," referring to the eagle. But as in xi. 2 *sqq.* the eagle was spoken of as feminine, the change is misleading.

26. *great.*] Rather, "greater;" Lat. *majus*.

29. *feathers under the wings.*] See notes on xi. 25, 31.

31. *the lion.*] Comp. xi. 37.

32. *the anointed.*] The reading of the Vulgate, *ventus* for *unctus*, on which the marginal rendering is based, has less authority than the other. In the versions a clause is added, "who shall arise from the seed of David." Compare the notes on vii. 28, 29.

upbraid them, &c.] The text is here uncertain. The best MS. has *infulcit* for *incutiet*, and *spretiones* for *discerptiones*, with the idea of "heaping up before their eyes their contempt (of his commandments)." With this the Arabic partly agrees: "der ihre Raubgelüste vor die Augen häufen wird."

34. *upon my borders.*] *I.e.* the borders of the promised land. But the Arabic has "upon my holy mountain," as if ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων had been read for ὁρίων.

35. *these are.*] In MS. A. the reading is *et hæc interpretatio ejus*, "and this is the interpretation of it" (Bensly, p. 33).

36 Thou only hast been meet to know this secret of the Highest.

37 Therefore write all these things that thou hast seen in a book, and hide them:

38 And teach them to the wise of the people, whose hearts thou knowest may comprehend and keep these secrets.

39 But wait thou here thyself yet seven days more, that it may be shewed thee, whatsoever it pleaseth the Highest to declare unto thee. And with that he went his way.

40 And it came to pass, when all the people saw that the seven days were past, and I not come again into the city, they gathered them all together, from the least unto the greatest, and came unto me, and said,

41 What have we offended thee? and what evil have we done against thee, that thou forsakest us, and sittest here in this place?

42 For of all the [1]prophets thou only art left us, as a cluster of the vintage, and as a candle in a dark place, and as a haven or ship preserved from the tempest.

[1] Or, *people.*

43 Are not the evils which are come to us sufficient?

44 If thou shalt forsake us, how much better had it been for us, if we also had been burned in the midst of Sion?

45 For we are not better than they that died there. And they wept with a loud voice. Then answered I them, and said,

46 Be of good comfort, O Israel; and be not heavy, thou house of Jacob:

47 For the Highest hath you in remembrance, and the Mighty hath not forgotten you in temptation.

48 As for me, I have not forsaken you, neither am I departed from you: but am come into this place, to pray for the desolation of Sion, and that I might seek mercy for the low estate of your sanctuary.

49 And now go your way home every man, and after these days will I come unto you.

50 So the people went their way into the city, like as I commanded them:

51 But I remained still in the field seven days, as the angel commanded me; and did eat only in those days of the flowers of the field, and had my meat of the herbs.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *He seeth in his dream a man coming out of the sea.* 25 *The declaration of his dream.* 54 *He is praised, and promised to see more.*

AND it came to pass after seven days, I dreamed a dream by night:

2 And, lo, there arose [1]a wind from the sea, that it moved all the waves thereof.

[1] *a certain man as the wind,* Junius.

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37. Comp. xiv. 26. The rendering "hide them" is inadequate to the Latin, *et pone ea in loco abscondito*, expressing the idea of apocryphal writings.

40. Comp. v. 16. For "saw" should be read "had heard," the Lat. being *audisset*. The translator would seem to have had *vidisset* before him. The "seven days" are those enjoined in ix. 23.

42. *prophets.*] This is the reading of the best MS. The Vulgate has *populis*, as in the margin.

a candle.] Lat. *lucerna*, "lamp." The literal rendering would make the resemblance to 2 Pet. i. 19 ("a lamp that shineth in a dark place") more apparent.

a haven or ship.] Lat. "portus *et* navis salvata," whence Van der Vlis conjectures *est navi salvatæ*: "as a haven is to a ship preserved," &c.

48. *sanctuary.*] See note above on x. 21.

CHAPTER XIII.

SIXTH VISION (ch. xiii. 1—ch. xiii. 58).

2. *And, lo.*] The want of connection between this verse and the next, as they stand in the A.V., is apparent. There is nothing in the Latin to supply the link, but the Arabic has "and I saw that wind drive upwards from the depth of the sea one who seemed as a man." The other Oriental versions present

3 And I beheld, and, lo, that man waxed strong with the [1]thousands of heaven: and when he turned his countenance to look, all the things trembled that were seen under him.

[1] *clouds.*

4 And whensoever the voice went out of his mouth, all they burned that heard his voice, like as the earth faileth when it feeleth the fire.

5 And after this I beheld, and, lo, there was gathered together a multitude of men, out of number, from the four winds of the heaven, to subdue the man that came out of the sea.

6 But I beheld, and, lo, he had graved himself a great mountain, and flew up upon it.

7 But I would have seen the region or place whereout the hill was graven, and I could not.

8 And after this I beheld, and, lo, all they which were gathered together to subdue him were sore afraid, and yet durst fight.

9 And, lo, as he saw the violence of the multitude that came, he neither lifted up his hand, nor held sword, nor any instrument of war:

10 But only I saw that he sent out of his mouth as it had been a blast of fire, and out of his lips a flaming breath, and out of his tongue he cast out sparks and tempests.

11 And they were all mixed together; the blast of fire, the flaming breath, and the great tempest; and fell with violence upon the multitude which was prepared to fight, and burned them up every one, so that upon a sudden of an innumerable multitude nothing was to be perceived, but only dust and smell of smoke: when I saw this I was afraid.

12 Afterward saw I the same man come down from the mountain, and call unto him another peaceable multitude.

13 And there came much people unto him, whereof some were glad, some were sorry, some of them were bound, and other some brought [1]of them that were offered: then was I sick through great fear, and I awaked, and said,

[1] Junius, *of the things that were offered.*

14 Thou hast shewed thy servant these wonders from the beginning, and hast counted me worthy that thou shouldest receive my prayer:

15 Shew me now yet the interpretation of this dream.

16 For as I conceive in mine under-

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something similar. The reading in the margin, given from Junius, inverts the proper order of the words: "a wind in the likeness of a man," *ventus . . . in similitudinem hominis*, as it is in the Syriac. For the vision, comp. Dan. vii. 2.

3. *waxed strong.*] Lat. *convalescebat;* but as the best MSS. read, just after, *nubibus*, "clouds," instead of *millibus*, "thousands," it is probable that *convolabat*, "was flying," is the right reading. Comp. Dan. vii. 13.

4. *as the earth faileth.*] Lat. *sicut quiescit terra.* But though the best MSS. agree in this, the reading of the Oriental versions points to *liquescit cera* as the right text. So the Arabic, in Ewald's rendering: "und es schmolzen die seine Stimme hörten, wie Wachs wenn es Feuer fühlt." Hence, too, Hilgenfeld's conjecture is a probable one, that for ἐτάκησαν the Latin translator took ἐκάησαν as the original, and so rendered it *ardescebant*, "burned," instead of "melted."

6. *graved.*] Or "hewn:" Dan. ii. 45.

9. *instrument of war.*] Lat. *vas bellicosum.* So *vasa mortis* in Ps. vii. 14.

11. *I was afraid.*] Vulg. *extimui.* But the best MSS. have *exstiti* = ἐξέστην, "I was astonied." After *pulvis* S. adds *cineris*.

13. *much people.*] This is not an adequate rendering of *vultus hominum multorum*, "faces of many people," recalling the upturned countenances of the throng.

of them that were offered.] The marginal reading looks plausible; but Churton rightly compares Isa. lxvi. 20, "they shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the Lord."

then was I sick.] In place of *ægrotavi*, the best MSS. have *ego*, so that the rendering should probably be: "and through great fear I awaked." Comp. xii. 3.

16-20. The sense of this passage is much obscured in the A.V. Reading *erunt* (with A.) for *erant*, in *v.* 17, and leaving out the word "behind" in *v.* 16, which spoils the antithesis, we may render what follows: "For they that are not left will be in heaviness, understand-

standing, woe unto them that shall be left in those days! and much more woe unto them that are not left behind!

17 For they that were not left were in heaviness.

18 Now understand I the things that are laid up in the latter days, which shall happen unto them, and to those that are left behind.

19 Therefore are they come into great perils and many necessities, like as these dreams declare.

20 Yet is it easier for him that is in danger to come into [1]these things, than to pass away as a cloud out of the world, and not to see the things that happen in the last days. And he answered unto me, and said,

[1] Or, *this day.*

21 The interpretation of the vision shall I shew thee, and I will open unto thee the thing that thou hast required.

22 Whereas thou hast spoken of them that are left behind, this is the interpretation:

23 He that shall endure the peril in that time hath kept himself: they that be fallen into danger are such as have works, and faith toward the Almighty.

24 Know this therefore, that they which be left behind are more blessed than they that be dead.

25 This is the meaning of the vision: Whereas thou sawest a man coming up from the midst of the sea:

26 The same is he whom God the Highest hath kept a great season, which by his own self shall deliver his creature: and he shall order them that are left behind.

27 And whereas thou sawest, that out of his mouth there came as a blast of wind, and fire, and storm;

28 And that he held neither sword, nor any instrument of war, but that the rushing in of him destroyed the whole multitude that came to subdue him; this is the interpretation:

29 Behold, the days come, when the most High will begin to deliver them that are upon the earth.

30 And he shall come to the astonishment of them that dwell on the earth.

31 And one shall undertake to fight against another, one city against another, one place against another, [a]one people against another, and one realm against another.

[a] Matt. 24. 7.

32 And the time shall be when these things shall come to pass, and the signs shall happen which I shewed thee before, and then shall my Son be declared, whom thou sawest as a man ascending.

33 And when all the people hear his voice, every man shall in their

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ing what things are laid up in the last days, and (that) they will not meet with them; but woe also to them that are left, on this account, that (lit. for) they will see great perils and many straits, as these dreams do shew. Yet is it a happier thing to run the risk of coming to these things than to pass away as a cloud," &c. For *facilius*, "an easier thing," in *v.* 20, Hilgenfeld conjectured *felicius*, "a happier thing," as above, which suits the sense better, and is supported by the versions.

23. The sense of this verse also is lost in the A. V., partly from a wrong punctuation of the Latin. Render: "He that bringeth the peril upon them in that time, will himself guard such as have fallen into peril: these are they that have works and faith towards the most Mighty." For the *aufert* of the Vulgate, S. has *adferet*.

25. *the midst of the sea.*] The Lat. *de corde maris*, "from the heart of the sea," points to ἐκ τῆς καρδίας in the Greek; an expression found in Matt. xii. 40, "the heart of the earth." So in iv. 7 above.

28. *rushing in.*] Or "onset."

30. *And he shall come.*] Rather, "And astonishment shall come;" the versions pointing to *excessus mentis*, not *in excessu*, as the true reading. The phrase *in excessu mentis* has occurred before, in v. 33, where it is rendered "sore troubled in mind."

32. *And the time, &c.*] Rather, "And it shall be, when these things shall come to pass . . . then shall my Son," &c. The apodosis begins with "then shall," the *et* of the Latin merely representing a καὶ temporal, as often in this book.

own land leave the battle they have one against another.

34 And an innumerable multitude shall be gathered together, as thou sawest them, willing to come, and to overcome him by fighting.

35 But he shall stand upon the top of the mount Sion.

36 And Sion shall come, and shall be shewed to all men, being prepared and builded, like as thou sawest the hill graven without hands.

37 And this my Son shall rebuke the wicked inventions of those nations, which for their wicked life are fallen into the tempest;

38 And shall lay before them their evil thoughts, and the torments wherewith they shall begin to be tormented, which are like unto a flame: and he shall destroy them without labour by the law which is like unto fire.

39 And whereas thou sawest that he gathered another peaceable multitude unto him;

40 Those are the ten tribes, which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of Osea the king, whom [b]Salmanasar the king of Assyria led away captive, and he carried them over the waters, and so came they into another land.

41 But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country, where never mankind dwelt,

42 That they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land.

43 And they entered into Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river.

44 For the most High then shewed [c]signs for them, and held still the flood, till they were passed over.

45 For through that country there was a great way to go, namely, of a year and a half: and the same region is called [1]Arsareth.

[b] 2 Kings 17. 3.

[c] Exod. 14. 21. Jos. 3. 15, 16.

[1] Or, *Arnrath.*

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34. *willing.*] *I.e.* "wishing," or "purposing." Compare *v.* 5 above.

35. *Sion.*] Comp. Rev. xiv. 1. Hilgenfeld quotes the 'Oracula Sibyll.' iii. 663 *sqq.*, describing the confederation of the kings of the earth against the Temple of God: Ἀλλὰ πάλιν βασιλῆες κ.τ.λ.

36. *being prepared.*] Omit "being."

37. *inventions.*] This word is due to the Vulgate reading *adinvenerunt*, for which the best MSS. have *advenerunt*. Understanding, with Van der Vlis, *eorum* to refer to *gentes* (the gender being due to the influence of the Greek, as above, xi. 4), we may render: "But my Son shall himself convict the nations that have drawn nigh of their wickednesses, even those that have approached the tempest, and shall upbraid them face to face with their evil devices and the torments wherewith," &c.

38. *by the law.*] In *v.* 10 the destroying agent was the "blast of fire," and there was no mention of any "law." Hence it is possible that instead of διὰ τὸν νόμον = *per legem*, the original may have been διὰ τὸ ἄνομον = "through, or owing to, their lawlessness." The Arabic somewhat favours this: "durch ihre Sünden."

40. *the ten tribes.*] See 2 Kings xvii. 3. There is a curious variation among the authorities as to the number here given. In the Aeth. it is "nine;" in the Arabic, "nine and a half." In MS. A. it is "viiii," with *decem* written over it (Bensly, p. 33). The omission of one from the ten may be due to the absence of Dan in the list given in Rev. vii. 5–8 (on which see Grotius's note). Possibly also the peculiar total of nine and a half may be connected with the omission of the half-tribe of Ephraim from the same list; the number twelve being there made up by the inclusion of Joseph and Levi.

over the waters.] Lat. *trans flumen;* i.e. the Euphrates.

43. *narrow passages.*] *I.e.* where the river was narrow, or more easily fordable.

44. *held still the flood.*] Lat. *statuit venas fluminis*, "stayed the springs of the river," as in *v.* 47. Comp. Isa. xi. 15, 16. The writer's aim is to shew that God still interposed on behalf of His people, as in the days of Moses and Joshua.

45. *Arsareth.*] Volkmar gives various supposed identifications of this region; but there can be little doubt that Dr. Schiller-Szinessy is right in taking it to be simply the Hebrew for "other land," answering to the *terram aliam* of *v.* 40, and so occurring in Deut. xxix. 27. See Bensly, p. 23 *n.* Josephus

46 Then dwelt they there until the latter time; and now when they shall begin to come,

47 The Highest shall stay the springs of the stream again, that they may go through: therefore sawest thou the multitude with peace.

48 But those that be left behind of thy people are they that are found within my borders.

49 Now when he destroyeth the multitude of the nations that are gathered together, he shall defend his people that remain.

50 And then shall he shew them great wonders.

51 Then said I, O Lord that bearest rule, shew me this: Wherefore have I seen the man coming up from the midst of the sea?

52 And he said unto me, Like as thou canst neither seek out nor know the things that are in the deep of the sea: even so can no man upon earth see my Son, or those that be with him, but in the day time.

53 This is the interpretation of the dream which thou sawest, and whereby thou only art here lightened.

54 For thou hast forsaken thine own way, and applied thy diligence unto my law, and sought it.

55 Thy life hast thou ordered in wisdom, and hast called understanding thy mother.

56 And therefore have I shewed thee the treasures of the Highest: after other three days I will speak other things unto thee, and declare unto thee mighty and wondrous things.

57 Then went I forth into the field, giving praise and thanks greatly unto the most High because of his wonders, which he did in time;

58 And because he governeth the same, and such things as fall in their seasons: and there I sat three days.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *A voice out of a bush calleth Esdras,* 10 *and telleth him that the world waxeth old.* 22 *He desireth, because the law was burnt, to write all again,* 24 *and is bid to get swift writers.* 39 *He and they are filled with understanding:* 45 *but he is charged not to publish all that is written.*

AND it came to pass upon the third day, I sat under an oak, and, behold, there came a voice out of a bush over against me, and said, Esdras, Esdras.

2 And I said, Here am I, Lord. And I stood up upon my feet.

('Ant.' xi. 5, § 2) believed in the existence of a land called Arsareth, where numbers of his countrymen still dwelt beyond the Euphrates. See the art. CAPTIVITIES OF THE JEWS in the 'Dict. of the Bible,' p. 277 *b*.

47. *the multitude.*] After this, in the Latin, the best MSS. have *collectam*, "gathered together." Comp. *v.* 39.

48. The construction here is somewhat doubtful. Hilgenfeld, on the authority of the Syriac, inserts "shall be saved," so that the verse would run: "yea, they also that be left, &c., shall be saved, even they that are found within my holy border." In place of the Vulgate *factum*, it will be observed, Hilgenfeld conjectures *sanctum* to be the reading.

52. *as thou canst.*] The best MSS. have *potest*, not *potes*: "as one cannot seek out or know," &c. Churton aptly compares Ps. lxxvii. 19, "Thy way is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known."

but in the day time.] Rather, "in the time of his day," with the versions. "One of the days of the Son of man" is an expression found in Luke xvii. 22.

53. *whereby.*] Rather, "wherefore," or "on account of which." Volkmar would read the clause interrogatively, thus: "And wherefore hast thou alone been enlightened in this?" The best MSS. have *hæc* for *hic*. The answer would then be given in the following verse.

55. Churton compares Prov. vii. 4, "Say unto wisdom, Thou art my sister; and call understanding thy kinswoman."

56. *the treasures.*] The Vulgate has *ostendi tibi merces*, but probably the true reading is *quæ merces*, "have I shewed thee what reward there is with the Highest."

mighty.] Rather, "weighty;" Lat. *gravia*.

57. *in time.*] Lat. *per tempus;* perhaps meant to represent κατὰ καιρόν, "in season." Instead of *ipsum*, rendered "the same," the best MSS. have *tempora*, "the seasons."

[a] Exod. 3. 2, &c.

3 Then said he unto me, [a]In the bush I did manifestly reveal myself unto Moses, and talked with him, when my people served in Egypt:

4 And I sent him, and led my people out of Egypt, and brought him up to the mount of Sinai, where I held him by me a long season,

5 And told him many wondrous things, and shewed him the secrets of the times, and the end; and commanded him, saying,

6 These words shalt thou declare, and these shalt thou hide.

7 And now I say unto thee,

8 That thou lay up in thy heart the signs that I have shewed, and the dreams that thou hast seen, and the interpretations which thou hast heard:

9 For thou shalt be taken away from all, and from henceforth thou shalt remain with my [1]Son, and with such as be like thee, until the times be ended.

[1] Or, *counsel.*

10 For the world hath lost his youth, and the times begin to wax old.

11 For the world is divided into twelve parts, and the ten parts of it are gone already, and half of a tenth part:

12 And there remaineth that which is after the half of the tenth part.

13 Now therefore set thine house in order, and reprove thy people, comfort such of them as be in trouble, and now renounce corruption,

14 Let go from thee mortal thoughts, cast away the burdens of man, put off now the weak nature,

15 And set aside the thoughts that are most heavy unto thee, and haste thee to flee from these times.

16 For [b]yet greater evils than

[b] Matt. 24. 8.

CHAPTER XIV.

EPILOGUE, OR SEVENTH VISION (ch. xiv. 1–47).

3. *manifestly reveal.*] This strengthened form of expression is used to represent the *revelans revelatus sum* of the Latin, a Hebrew idiom often found in this book.

9. *thou shalt be taken away from all.*] Vulg. *recipieris ab omnibus*. In the quotation of the passage made by Ambrose, 'De bono Mortis,' c. xi., the reading is *ab hominibus*, and so in the versions. For "received up" in this sense, comp. Mark xvi. 19. The Arabic has "aus den Menschen aufgenommen werden."

with my Son.] The Vulgate has *cum consilio*, whence the rendering in the margin; but the best MSS. *cum filio*, "with my Son." It is evident that *cum filio* might easily be mistaken for *consilio*. Hilgenfeld draws from this and other passages a proof of the Jewish belief in the pre-existence of Messiah, who, before his manifestation to the world, had as companions those who had not tasted death,—Enoch, Elias, and (as now foretold) Ezra.

11. *twelve parts.*] According to Hilgenfeld, these *parts*, or periods, of the world's great æon are weeks of jubilees, or 7 × 49 = 343 years. Taking the year of the world 3000 as that in which the author of this book would place the building of the Temple (x. 46), and adding 470 years for the time it stood (according to Josephus's computation), and 30 years from the beginning of the Captivity, we get 3500 as the year of these Visions of Ezra. Ten and a part of the cycles of 343 years would then have been completed, but not ten and a *half* exactly, which would bring us to the year of the world 3601. This want of agreement is not very satisfactory. On the other hand, if we start with the year B.C. 588 given by Usher as the date of the destruction of the Temple, the 30th year of the Captivity would be 558. One and a half *parts* from this, or 514½ years, would place the expected end of the world about B.C. 23, or near the date at which Hilgenfeld is inclined to place the pseudo-Ezra.

The reading *decimam*, for the Vulgate *decima*, is explained by the *decima jam* found in A. (see Bensly, p. 29).

13. *such of them as be in trouble.*] The Latin is simply *humiles eorum*, "their lowly ones." Comp. Matt. v. 3.

14. *the burdens of man.*] *I.e.* all belonging to his bodily or corruptible nature. Comp. 2 Cor. v. 4: "For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened." From this point to *v.* 20 the numbering of the verses in the A. V. does not agree with that in the Vulgate.

15. *to flee from.*] Rather, "to remove from," as an emigrant; Lat. *transmigrare*.

16. *greater.*] Rather, "worse;" Lat. *deteriora*.

those which thou hast seen happen shall be done hereafter.

17 For look how much the world shall be weaker through age, so much the more shall evils increase upon them that dwell therein.

18 For the truth is fled far away, and leasing is hard at hand: for now hasteth the vision to come, which thou hast seen.

19 Then answered I before thee, and said,

20 Behold, Lord, I will go, as thou hast commanded me, and reprove the people which are present: but they that shall be born afterward, who shall admonish them? thus the world is set in darkness, and they that dwell therein are without light.

21 For thy law is burnt, therefore no man knoweth the things that are done of thee, or the works that shall begin.

22 But if I have found grace before thee, send the Holy Ghost into me, and I shall write all that hath been done in the world since the beginning, which were written in thy law, that men may find thy path, and that they which will live in the latter days may live.

23 And he answered me, saying, Go thy way, gather the people together, and say unto them, that they seek thee not for forty days.

24 But look thou prepare thee many [1]box trees, and take with thee Sarea, Dabria, Selemia, [1]Ecanus, and Asiel, these five which are ready to write swiftly;

[1] Or, *box tables to write on*: See ver. 44.

[1] Or, *Banus*.

25 And come hither, and I shall light a candle of understanding in thine heart, which shall not be put out, till the things be performed which thou shalt begin to write.

26 And when thou hast done, some things shalt thou publish, and some things shalt thou shew secretly to the wise: to morrow this hour shalt thou begin to write.

27 Then went I forth, as he commanded, and gathered all the people together, and said,

28 Hear these words, O Israel.

29 [c]Our fathers at the beginning were strangers in Egypt, from whence they were delivered:

[c] Gen. 47. 4.

30 [d]And received the law of life, which they kept not, which ye also have transgressed after them.

[d] Acts 7. 53.

31 Then was the land, even the land of Sion, parted among you by

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18. *is fled far away.*] Vulg. *prolongavit se*, "is deferred," or "put off." Comp. Seneca, 'De Benef.' v. 17, "Ut prolongetur tibi dies mortis, nihil proficit ad felicitatem."

19. The awkwardness of "before thee" in this verse is removed by inserting *loquar* (on the authority of the versions) before *coram te* in the Vulgate. The sense would then be: "And I answered and said, I will speak before thee, Lord. For behold," &c.

21. *is burnt.*] Perhaps with an allusion to Jehudi's cutting to pieces and burning the roll of the Law (Jer. xxxvi. 26). But comp. iv. 23, above.

the things . . . the works.] Rather, "the works that have been done, or that are about to be done, by thee." The *incipient* of the Latin points to some form of μέλλειν in the Greek.

23. *forty days.*] Here, as in the mention of "the bush" in *v.* 1, there is an evident assimilation to the events recorded of Moses. Comp. Exod. xxiv. 18

24. *box trees.*] Lat. *buxos multos.* The versions have "tablets," as in the margin. The existence of the word πυξίον for a writing-tablet (Aristoph. 'Fr.' 671) is a proof of box-wood having been used for that purpose. The error in gender in the Latin should be noticed.

Sarea, &c.] Each of these names is variously spelt in the Latin and in the versions. Sarea is probably the same name as Seraiah, mentioned in Ezra ii. 2. A Dibri (LXX. Δαβρεί) occurs in Levit. xxiv. 11. For Selemia, Hilgenfeld compares the Shalmai (LXX. Σελαμί) of Ezra ii. 46; but the name is rather identical with the Selemias of 1 Esdras ix. 34, the Shelemiah of Ezra x. 39. Ἀσιήλ is the Greek form of Asael in Tobit i. 1; while several Levites of the name of Elkanah are recorded in the Old Testament, as in 1 Chron. ix. 16.

25. *candle.*] Rather, "lamp;" Lat. *lucernam.* The words as they stand may have prompted Hugh Latimer's famous saying.

31. *land of Sion.*] Hilgenfeld, rather

not: but your fathers, and ye yourselves, have done unrighteousness, and have not kept the ways which the Highest commanded you.

32 And forasmuch as he is a righteous judge, he took from you in time the thing that he had given you.

33 And now are ye here, and your brethren among you.

34 Therefore if so be that ye will subdue your own understanding, and reform your hearts, ye shall be kept alive, and after death ye shall obtain mercy.

35 For after death shall the judgment come, when we shall live again: and then shall the names of the righteous be manifest, and the works of the ungodly shall be declared.

36 Let no man therefore come unto me now, nor seek after me these forty days.

37 So I took the five men, as he commanded me, and we went into the field, and remained there.

38 And the next day, behold, a voice called me, saying, Esdras, [a]open thy mouth, and drink that I give thee to drink.

[a] Ezek. 3. 1.

39 Then opened I my mouth, and, behold, he reached me a full cup, which was full as it were with water, but the colour of it was like fire.

40 And I took it, and drank: and when I had drunk of it, my heart uttered understanding, and wisdom grew in my breast, for my spirit strengthened my memory:

41 And my mouth was opened, and shut no more.

42 The Highest gave understanding unto the five men, and they wrote the wonderful visions of the night that were told, which they knew not: and they sat forty days, and they wrote in the day, and at night they ate bread.

43 As for me, I spake in the day, and I held not my tongue by night.

44 In forty days they wrote [1]two hundred and four books.

[1] Or, *nine hundred and four.*

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strangely, supposes this to be the land of Sihon (Σηών), king of the Amorites, comparing Deut. iv. 46. No doubt the Jewish mind was deeply impressed by their conquest of this chieftain, but the inheritance of Mount Sion seems the natural one to think of here. The Arabic has: "He gave us the land for an inheritance, and Sion for an ornament."

33. *among you.*] The peculiar expression in the Latin, *introrsum vestrum*, may point to ἐντὸς ὑμῶν. Volkmar thinks this a deviation from an original ἐκτὸς ὑμῶν, "separated from you." Hilgenfeld, with some probability, renders it back by ἐνδότερον ὑμῶν, "are more inland than you," referring to the migration of the ten tribes in xiii. 41.

39. *water . . . fire.*] Comp. the "sea of glass mingled with fire" in Rev. xv. 2.

40. *my spirit, &c.*] Vulg. *spiritus meus conservabatur memoria.* But the best MSS. have *conservabat.* If we read *memoriam*, with D., the sense would be much simpler: "for my spirit retained a memory." So the Arabic: "und mein Geist behielt das Gedächtniss frisch."

42. *which they knew not.*] The Vulg. has *et scripserunt quæ dicebantur excessiones noctis, quas non sciebant.* In the versions there is an interesting variation of reading, "in characters which they knew not" (Aethiopic, *in characteribus litterarum quas non sciebant*). Comp. the Arabic: "auch die Zeichen die sie nicht kannten." Hence it might be conjectured that *noctis* in the text was a misreading of *notis.* Jerome has preserved the tradition of Ezra being the inventor of a fresh character for writing. See the passage ('Op.' ix. 454) quoted by Hilgenfeld.

44. *two hundred and four books.*] The correction of this to "ninety-four" in the versions is easy to understand, the seventy "mystic" books and the twenty-four of the Hebrew Canon making up that number. As Van der Vlis also points out, the change of ϘΔ' to CΔ' (*Koppa Delta* = 94, to *Sigma Delta* = 204) would be easy. The marginal reading of 904 (found in the best MSS. of the Latin) is not so readily accounted for, as ϡ' (*Sampi* = 900) is not easily mistaken.

On the subject of the re-writing of the lost books of the Law, see the articles APOCRYPHA (p. 79 *b*), CANON (p. 251 *b*), and EZRA in the 'Dict. of the Bible.' In 2 Macc. ii. 13, a similar collection is ascribed to Nehemiah. The books of the O. T. were generally reckoned as twenty-two, to agree in number with the letters of the Hebrew

45 And it came to pass, when the forty days were fulfilled, that the Highest spake, saying, The first that thou hast written publish openly, that the worthy and unworthy may read it:

46 But keep the seventy last, that thou mayest deliver them only to such as be wise among the people:

47 For in them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and [1]the stream of knowledge.

[1] Or, *the light of knowledge.*

48 And I did so.

CHAPTER XV.

1 *This prophecy is certain.* 5 *God will take vengeance upon the wicked,* 12 *upon Egypt.* 28 *An horrible vision.* 43 *Babylon and Asia are threatened.*

BEHOLD, speak thou in the ears of my people the words of prophecy, which I will put in thy mouth, saith the Lord:

2 And cause them to be written in paper: for they are faithful and true.

3 Fear not the imaginations against thee, let not the incredulity of them trouble thee, that speak against thee.

4 For [a]all the unfaithful shall die in their unfaithfulness.

[a] John 3. 36.

5 Behold, saith the Lord, I will bring plagues upon the world; the sword, famine, death, and destruction.

6 For wickedness hath exceedingly polluted the whole earth, and their hurtful works are fulfilled.

7 Therefore saith the Lord,

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alphabet; but Ruth and Lamentations were sometimes counted separately, thus making a total of twenty-four.

46. *only to such, &c.*] These words disclose to us the real estimation in which writings called Apocryphal were at first held. They were supposed to contain the esoteric teaching, the inner and mystical knowledge, of the body in which they originated.

47. *spring of understanding.*] With this compare the title Πήγη γνώσεως given by John of Damascus to his great work, or collection of works. The marginal rendering assumes *lumen* for *flumen*.

48. *And I did so.*] The Latin text ends here. But in the versions a passage follows, as below, which is supposed to have been displaced from the end of the Latin by the Christian compiler who added chapters xv. and xvi.; his object being to make the connection of those two chapters seem more natural. According to Ewald's rendering of the Arabic, the chapter thus ends in that version: "And I did so in the fourth year after the Sabbatical year, 5025 since the Creation, on the twelfth day of the third month of the ninety-second year. Then was Ezra taken up, and borne to the land of the immortal ones like him. He wrote all these things, and was called the writer of the law and understanding and knowledge of God; to whom be honour and dominion for all eternity." The reckoning of two months and twelve days ("the twelfth day of the third month") may be accounted for by supposing the visions to have begun with the beginning of the thirtieth year of the Captivity. Adding together the times recorded in v. 20, vi. 31, ix. 23, x. 58, xii. 39, xiii. 56, xiv. 23, we have a total of 72 or 73 days = 2 months 12 days. The "ninety-second year" is understood by Ewald to be that of the prophet's life. The year A.M. 5025 is difficult to account for, and Hilgenfeld reads conjecturally "in the fourth year of the second week (of years) of the seventy-fourth jubilee from the creation of the world." This gives $73 \times 49 + 11 = 3588$ as the year *anno mundi*, or B.C. 558.

CHAPTER XV.

1. The beginning of this chapter should be compared with the end of ch. ii.; these four chapters (i., ii., xv., xvi.) making together a later supplement to the book, as was said in the Introduction. Hence they are sometimes called collectively the Fifth Book of Esdras. But the connection of xv. 1, either with ii. 48 or xiv. 48, is not very skilful; xv. 1 speaking of prophecies to be revealed, but ii. 48 of wonders which the seer had beheld.

2. *in paper.*] Lat. *in charta.* This passage should be added to the two (2 John 12, 3 Macc. iv. 20) mentioned in the article on WRITING in the 'Dict. of the Bible' as the only two passages in the Bible where the use of papyrus is alluded to.

3. *that speak against thee.*] As the Lat. *dicentium* would hardly bear this sense, and is incomplete as it stands, Hilgenfeld proposes *discentium*, "them that learn," or "thy disciples."

6. *hath . . . polluted.*] Rather, "hath prevailed over;" Lat. *superpolluit . . . super.*

8 I will hold my tongue no more as touching their wickedness, which they profanely commit, neither will I suffer them in those things, in which they wickedly exercise themselves: behold, the [b]innocent and righteous blood crieth unto me, and the souls of the just complain continually.

[b] Rev. 6. 10. & 19. 2.

9 And therefore, saith the Lord, I will surely avenge them, and receive unto me all the innocent blood from among them.

10 Behold, my people is led as a flock to the slaughter: I will not suffer them now to dwell in the land of Egypt:

11 But I will bring them with a mighty hand and a stretched out arm, and smite Egypt with plagues, as before, and will destroy all the land thereof.

12 Egypt shall mourn, and the foundation of it shall be smitten with the plague and punishment that God shall bring upon it.

13 They that till the ground shall mourn: for their seeds shall fail through the blasting and hail, and with a fearful constellation.

14 Woe to the world and them that dwell therein!

15 For the sword and their destruction draweth nigh, and one people shall stand up to fight against another, and swords in their hands.

16 For there shall be sedition among men, and invading one another; they shall not regard their kings nor princes, and the course of their actions shall stand in their power.

17 A man shall desire to go into a city, and shall not be able.

18 For because of their pride the cities shall be troubled, the houses shall be destroyed, and men shall be afraid.

19 A man shall have no pity upon his neighbour, but shall destroy their houses with the sword, and spoil their goods, because of the lack of bread, and for great tribulation.

20 Behold, saith God, I will call together all the kings of the earth to reverence me, which are from the rising of the sun, from the south, from the east, and Libanus; to turn themselves one against another, and

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10. Comp. Isa. liii. 7; Ps. xliv. 22.

11. *smite Egypt with plagues.*] Egypt might, of course, be used as a mystical name for any land in which God's people were oppressed. But the addition of "as before" combines with other circumstances to make us think the literal Egypt to be here intended. Those who would place the composition of these chapters at about the same date as that of the later Sibylline Oracles (the time of the death of Odenathus), see a fulfilment of these predictions in the troubles of Alexandria under Gallienus (A.D. 260–268). The ravages of barbarian tribes and the scourge of pestilence seemed ready to bring the empire to utter dismemberment. The plague alone is said to have carried off nearly two-thirds of the entire population of Alexandria at this time. See the 'Dict. of Biography,' art. GALLIENUS.

15. *swords.*] The word used in the second part of the verse is *rhomphæa*, the word rendered "sword" in Rev. ii. 12; being properly a Thracian spear with long, sharp blade.

16. *the course of their actions.*] Vulg. *via gestorum*. The differences of reading, *me gestorum* (T.) and *me gestanorum* (S.), lead with certainty to Rönsch's emendation of *megistanorum*. Render: "For there shall be sedition among men. Waxing strong against one another, they will not heed their king and the chief of their great ones in their power." Such claims to independent power are what we read of before the genius of an Aurelian and a Probus consolidated the empire again. See the 'Dict. of Biography' under AUREOLUS.

19. *shall destroy.*] The Lat. is peculiar: *ad irritum faciendum domos eorum in gladium*; perhaps suggestive of ἀκαταστάτους ποιῆσαι, "to unsettle" or "break up" their homes.

20. *to reverence me.*] Vulg. *ad me verendum*. But a more appropriate reading is *ad movendum*, "to the commotion," found in the best MSS.

Libanus.] As other quarters are denoted by winds, it is probable that *a Libano* here is due to a misunderstanding of ἀπὸ Λιβός. It would then be: "from the sunrising and from the south, from the south-east and from the south-west."

repay the things that they have done to them.

21 Like as they do yet this day unto my chosen, so will I do also, and recompense in their bosom. Thus saith the Lord God;

22 My right hand shall not spare the sinners, and my sword shall not cease over them that shed innocent blood upon the earth.

23 The fire is gone forth from his wrath, and hath consumed the foundations of the earth, and the sinners, like the straw that is kindled.

24 Woe to them that sin, and keep not my commandments! saith the Lord.

25 I will not spare them: go your way, ye children, from the power, defile not my sanctuary.

26 For the Lord knoweth all them that sin against him, and therefore delivereth he them unto death and destruction.

27 For now are the plagues come upon the whole earth, and ye shall remain in them: for God shall not deliver you, because ye have sinned against him.

28 Behold an horrible vision, and the appearance thereof from the east:

29 Where the nations of the dragons of Arabia shall come out with many chariots, and the multitude of them shall be carried as the wind upon earth, that all they which hear them may fear and tremble.

30 Also the Carmanians raging in wrath shall go forth as the wild boars of the wood, and with great power shall they come, and join battle with them, and shall waste a portion of the land of the Assyrians.

31 And then shall the dragons have the upper hand, remembering their nature; and if they shall turn themselves, conspiring together in great power to persecute them,

32 Then these shall be troubled, and keep silence through their power, and shall flee.

33 And from the land of the Assyrians shall the enemy besiege them, and consume some of them, and in

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23. *hath consumed.*] Better, perhaps, "shall consume;" Lat. *devorabit* (in MS. D.) for *devoravit*. But A. has *devoravit*.

25. *from the power.*] Vulg. *a potestate*. The reading *apostate* in T. suggests at once the true reading *apostatæ*, "ye apostate children." This is confirmed by MS. A., and by the text of a passage of Gildas, where these verses are quoted. See Bensly, p. 37.

26. *delivereth.*] Vulg. *tradidit*, "hath delivered." MS. A. reads *tradet*, "will deliver."

29. *and the multitude.*] Vulg. *et sicut flatus eorum numerus feretur, etc.* Instead of *sicut* the best MSS. have *sic*, while for *sic flatus* A. has *sibilatus*. In like manner for *numerus* the best authorities have *in die itineris*. Hence the sense would be: "and their hissing is borne over the earth from the day of their setting forth."

30. *Carmanians.*] Some MSS. have *Armenii*, on the principle (as Bensly says, p. 23) of putting the known for the unknown. Carmania was a region above the Persian Gulf, to the west of Gedrosia. Its name survives in Kirman. The Vulg. has Carmonii.

The events here obscurely shadowed forth may have been the conquests of the Sassanidæ, especially Sapores I. (A.D. 240–273), and their conflicts with the Roman generals. Sapores had pushed his arms to the north-west, so far as to destroy Antioch and overrun Syria,—"a portion of the land of the Assyrians," *v.* 30. Odenathus and his brave queen Zenobia attacked him, and, having driven him back beyond the Euphrates, founded a new empire, with Palmyra for its capital. They might thus represent the "dragons" or "fiery flying serpents" (comp. Isa. xxx. 6) of Arabia. The forces of Zenobia, after the death of Odenathus, were in turn attacked by Aurelian, driven from their position on the Orontes, and Zenobia herself finally cooped up within Palmyra, which was invested and taken. This would answer in some measure to the language of *v.* 33.

31. *nature.*] Rather, "birth," or "origin;" Lat. *nativitatis*. The words "if they" are not in the Latin.

32. *their power.*] *I.e.* through the power of their adversaries.

33. *the enemy.*] Rather, "the lyer-in-wait;" Lat. *subsessor*,—thought by Hilgenfeld to denote Mæonius, the cousin or nephew of Odenathus, who slew him by treachery at Emesa, in A.D. 266 or 267.

some of them.] Rather, "one of them;" Lat. *unum ex illis*. In the clause which

their host shall be fear and dread, and strife [1]among their kings.

34 Behold clouds from the east and from the north unto the south, and they are very horrible to look upon, full of wrath and storm.

35 They shall smite one upon another, and [c]they shall smite down a great multitude of stars upon the earth, even their own star; and [d]blood shall be from the sword unto the belly,

36 And dung of men unto the camel's [1]hough.

37 And there shall be great fearfulness and trembling upon earth: and they that see the wrath shall be afraid, and trembling shall come upon them.

38 And then shall there come great storms from the south, and from the north, and another part from the west.

39 And strong winds shall arise from the east, and shall open it; and the cloud which he raised up in wrath, and the star stirred to cause fear toward the east and west wind, shall be destroyed.

40 The great and mighty clouds shall be lifted up full of wrath, and the star, that they may make all the earth afraid, and them that dwell therein; and they shall pour out over every high and eminent place an horrible star,

41 Fire, and hail, and flying swords, and many waters, that all fields may be full, and all rivers, with the abundance of great waters.

42 And they shall break down the cities and walls, mountains and hills, trees of the wood, and grass of the meadows, and their corn.

43 And they shall go stedfastly unto Babylon, and [1]make her afraid.

[1] Or, *against.*
[c] Matt. 24. 29.
[d] Rev. 14. 20.
[1] Or, *pastern*, or, *litter.*
[1] Or, *destroy.*

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follows, for *contentio in reges ipsorum*, MS. A. has *inconstabilitio regno illorum*, "unsettlement in their kingdom." The word *inconstabilitio*, not elsewhere found (?), looks like a close rendering of ἀκαταστασία.

34. This is thought to refer to the invasion of the provinces of Asia Minor by Goths and Scythians from the north of the Euxine. Gallienus marched against them, but was recalled by the rebellion of Aureolus in Italy, and Marcian was left to carry on the campaign. See the passage from Syncellus, quoted by Hilgenfeld, p. 210.

35. This verse is obscure. By "stars" in biblical language are sometimes meant luminaries of the Church, as in Dan. viii. 10; Rev. viii. 10. But here temporal powers would rather seem to be denoted; a use of language for which the *Julium sidus* of Horace affords some precedent. In the concluding words the text is very uncertain. The marginal reading "litter" is due to the Vulgate *substramen*, in place of which S. has *suffraginem*, "hough" or "pastern." If in place of *fimus*, "dung," we read *femoribus* (see Bensly, p. 21), the sense would be: "and there shall be blood from the sword even to the horse's belly, and from men's thighs even to the camel's hough." Comp. Rev. xiv. 20, and the Book of Enoch, c. 100, "A horse will walk up to his breast in the blood of sinners."

38. *from the west.*] Perhaps referring to the insurrection of Aureolus in Italy; as, in like manner, the counterblast from the East, that was to drive back this storm-cloud, would prefigure the return march of Gallienus, when he shut up and besieged the insurgents in Milan. See above, on *v.* 34.

39. *shall open.*] Lat. *recludent.* This word may bear the sense given in the English, that of "opening" or dispelling the cloud. But though this is its classical meaning, the later sense of "shutting up," as in Ammianus and Tertullian, seems preferable here. By "it" is meant the "other part" of *v.* 38; while "he," as I understand it, denotes the mover of the rebellion, the raiser of the cloud, himself.

40. *an horrible star.*] I do not see how to give "star" here the same interpretation as in *v.* 35. It seems to denote here the baleful influence of these wars and insurrections. Compare the "pestifero sidere icti" of Livy (viii. 9), and the ἀστροβολεῖσθαι of the Greeks. In *v.* 13 the same words are rendered "fearful constellation."

41. *flying swords.*] It is suggested by Churton that this may be used to denote lightnings, called the "arrows" of God in Ps. xviii. 14 and elsewhere. But the sword would not, like the arrow, be a fitting symbol of something shot forth. It is more natural to refer it to such omens foreboding war as were the flaming swords seen in the sky by the terrified Romans after the battle of the Trasimene Lake.

43. *Babylon.*] *I.e.* Rome, as in 'Orac. Sibyll.' v. 158:

Καὶ φλέξει πόντον βαθὺν, αὐτήν τε Βαβυλῶνα,
Ἰταλίης γαῖάν τε.

44 They shall come to her, and besiege her, the star and all wrath shall they pour out upon her: then shall the dust and smoke go up unto the heaven, and all they that be about her shall bewail her.

45 And they that remain under her shall do service unto them that have put her in fear.

46 And thou, Asia, that art [1]partaker of the hope of Babylon, and art the glory of her person:

[1] Or, *like unto Babylon.*

47 Woe be unto thee, thou wretch, because thou hast made thyself like unto her; and hast decked thy daughters in whoredom, that they might please and glory in thy lovers, which have alway desired to commit whoredom with thee!

48 Thou hast followed her that is hated in all her works and inventions: therefore saith God,

49 [a] I will send plagues upon thee; widowhood, poverty, famine, sword, and pestilence, to waste thy houses with destruction and death.

[a] Rev. 18. 7, 8.

50 And the glory of thy power shall be dried up as a flower, when the heat shall arise that is sent over thee.

51 Thou shalt be weakened as a poor woman with stripes, and as one chastised with wounds, so that the mighty and lovers shall not be able to receive thee.

52 Would I with jealousy have so proceeded against thee, saith the Lord,

53 If thou hadst not always slain my chosen, exalting the stroke of thine hands, and saying over their [1]dead, when thou wast drunken,

[1] Lat. *death.*

54 Set forth the beauty of thy countenance?

55 The reward of thy whoredom shall be in thy bosom, therefore shalt thou receive recompence.

56 Like as thou hast done unto my chosen, saith the Lord, even so shall God do unto thee, and shall deliver thee into mischief.

57 Thy children shall die of hunger, and thou shalt fall through the sword: thy cities shall be broken down, and all thine shall perish with the sword in the field.

58 They that be in the mountains shall die of hunger, and eat their own flesh, and drink their own blood,

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make her afraid.] Rather, "destroy;" Lat. *exterent.* So in *v.* 45 Rönsch would read *exteruerunt* (late perfect from *extero*) instead of *exterruerunt*, and in *v.* 39 *extritionem*, "destruction," for *exterritationem*, "terror." The reading *exteritionem* in S. makes the alteration plausible.

46. The marginal reading "like unto" is due to a reading *concors in specie* instead of *concors in spem.* Hilgenfeld takes this and the next verses as pointing to the association of Odenathus in the empire, A.D. 264, when Asia was made the "consort" of Rome.

50. Compare James i. 11.

51. *with wounds.*] Fritzsche adopts the reading *a mulieribus*, though two of the best MSS. have *vulneribus.* The reading of the latter part is shewn by Bensly (p. 34) to be almost certainly *ut non possis tuos*, &c. Hence we may render: "Thou shalt be weakened as a poor woman beaten and chastised by women, so that thou canst not receive thy powerful ones and thy lovers." Baruch vi. 43 portrays such a picture of jealous cruelty.

53. *exalting the stroke.*] *I.e.* uplifting the hands higher, to make the stroke fall heavier. But the reading of this verse is not certain. For *dicens*, "saying," which requires *v.* 54 to be taken as a taunt addressed by the persecutor to the victim, Fritzsche reads on conjecture *ridens*, making the sentence to end with *v.* 53. The next verse would then be an indignant apostrophe addressed to the offending one, Asia.

The sufferings in the persecution just after the death of Decius, when there was a massacre of Christians at Alexandria, may be alluded to here.

54. *Set forth.*] Rather, "set off," or "adorn;" Lat. *exorna.*

55. *thy whoredom.*] Rather, "of a harlot;" *fornicariæ* being the reading of the best MSS.

56. *as thou hast done.*] Lat. *facies*, "as thou wilt do."

58. *their own blood.*] More exactly, "shall drink blood;" Lat. *sanguinem bibent*, which would of itself be an abomination. Comp. Acts xv. 20, 29.

for very hunger of bread, and thirst of water.

59 Thou as unhappy shalt come through the sea, and receive plagues again.

60 And in the passage they shall rush on the idle city, and shall destroy some portion of thy land, and consume part of thy glory, and shall return to Babylon that was destroyed.

61 And thou shalt be cast down by them as stubble, and they shall be unto thee as fire;

62 And shall consume thee, and thy cities, thy land, and thy mountains; all thy woods and thy fruitful trees shall they burn up with fire.

63 Thy children shall they carry away captive, and, look, what thou hast, they shall spoil it, and [1]mar the beauty of thy face.

[1] Or, *blemish.*

CHAPTER XVI.

1 *Babylon and other places are threatened with plagues that cannot be avoided,* 23 *and with desolation.* 40 *The servants of the Lord must look for troubles:* 51 *and not hide their sins,* 74 *but leave them, and they shall be delivered.*

WOE be unto thee, Babylon, and Asia! woe be unto thee, Egypt, and Syria!

2 Gird up yourselves with cloths of sack and hair, bewail your children, and be sorry; for your destruction is at hand.

3 A sword is sent upon you, and who may turn it back?

4 A fire is sent among you, and who may quench it?

5 Plagues are sent unto you, and what is he that may drive them away?

6 May any man drive away an hungry lion in the wood? or may any one quench the fire in stubble, when it hath begun to burn?

7 May one turn again the arrow that is shot of a strong archer?

8 The mighty Lord sendeth the plagues, and who is he that can drive them away?

9 A fire shall go forth from his wrath, and who is he that may quench it?

10 He shall cast lightnings, and who shall not fear? he shall thunder, and who shall not be afraid?

11 The Lord shall threaten, and who shall not be utterly beaten to powder at his presence?

12 The earth quaketh, and the foundations thereof; the sea ariseth up with waves from the deep, and the waves of it are troubled, and the fishes thereof also, before the Lord, and before the glory of his power:

13 For strong is his right hand that bendeth the bow, his arrows that he shooteth are sharp, and shall not miss, when they begin to be shot into the ends of the world.

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59. *Thou as unhappy.*] This is a somewhat stiff rendering of *infelix per maria venies.* But the best MSS. have *primaria* for *per maria* = "unhappy before all others."

60. *rush on.*] Rather, "crush;" Lat. *allident.* In place of *ociosam,* rendered "idle," which is the best reading, the Vulgate has *occisam,* the "slain city." To what this partial devastation of Asia, and utter subversion of Rome, may point, I am unable to say.

63. *and, look, what thou hast.*] The Lat. is *et censum tuum in prædam habebunt,* "shall take thy possessions for a prey."

CHAPTER XVI.

6. *or may any one.*] The quotation in Gildas, and MS. A., agree in a better text here: *aut nunquid extinguet (-it) ignem cum stramen incensum fuerit?* = "Or will anything quench the fire when straw hath been set on fire?" See Bensly, p. 39.

10. *be afraid.*] Lat. *pavebit.* But Gildas and A., as above, agree in reading *horrebit,* a stronger word.

11. *beaten to powder.*] Or "crushed;" Lat. *conteretur.* The words "at his presence," or "from before his face" (Lat. *a facie ipsius*), are best connected, as in A. and Gildas, with what follows. Comp. Ps. lxxviii. 16; cxiv. 7.

12. Comp. Ps. xviii. 15.

13. *shall not miss.*] Churton compares the "right aiming thunderbolts" of Wisdom v. 21.

14 Behold, the plagues are sent, and shall not return again, until they come upon the earth.

15 The fire is kindled, and shall not be put out, till it consume the foundation of the earth.

16 Like as an arrow which is shot of a mighty archer returneth not backward: even so the plagues that shall be sent upon earth shall not return again.

17 Woe is me! woe is me! who will deliver me in those days?

18 The beginning of sorrows and great mournings; the beginning of famine and great death; the beginning of wars, and the powers shall stand in fear; the beginning of evils! what shall I do when these evils shall come?

19 Behold, famine and plague, tribulation and anguish, are sent as scourges for amendment.

20 But for all these things they shall not turn from their wickedness, nor be alway mindful of the scourges.

21 Behold, victuals shall be so good cheap upon earth, that they shall think themselves to be in good case, and even then shall [1]evils grow upon earth, sword, famine, and great confusion.

[1] Or, *plagues.*

22 For many of them that dwell upon earth shall perish of famine; and the other, that escape the hunger, shall the sword destroy.

23 And the dead shall be cast out as dung, and there shall be no man to comfort them: for the earth shall be wasted, and the cities shall be cast down.

24 There shall be no man left to till the earth, and to sow it.

25 The trees shall give fruit, and who shall gather them?

26 The grapes shall ripen, and who shall tread them? for all places shall be desolate of men:

27 So that one man shall desire to see another, and to hear his voice.

28 For of a city there shall be ten left, and two of the field, which shall hide themselves in the thick groves, and in the clefts of the rocks.

29 [a]As in an orchard of olives upon every tree there are left three or four olives;

[a] Isa. 17. 6.

30 Or as when a vineyard is gathered, there are left some clusters of them that diligently seek through the vineyard:

31 Even so in those days there shall be three or four left by them that search their houses with the sword.

32 And the earth shall be laid waste, and the fields thereof shall wax old, and her ways and all her paths shall grow full of thorns, be-

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18. *and great death.*] Vulg. *et multi interitus*, which, like *multi gemitus* before, should probably be taken as a kind of apodosis in the nom., not genit. But the best reading is *et multi interient* (= *interibunt*). The sense, slightly paraphrased, appears to be: "Though it is but the beginning of sorrows, many shall wail; though but the beginning of famine, many shall perish; though but the beginning of wars, powers shall be in terror; though but the beginning of evils, all men shall tremble." The Geneva Version supplies the clause missing in the A. V., "and all shall tremble" (Lat. *et trepidabunt omnes*), which is needed to complete the parallelism of the sentence.

20. *shall not.*] Rather, "will not."

21. *so good cheap.*] An expression often found in old writers, answering to the French *à bon marché*.

to be in good case.] A rather loose rendering of *sibi esse directam pacem*, "that peace is assured for them." This meaning of *directam* appears to follow from the notion of being "straightforward," and so "unimpeded."

22. *famine . . . hunger.*] Another instance of the translator's fondness for varying words. It is *fames* in both cases in the Latin.

23. *shall be wasted.*] Rather, "shall be left desolate;" Lat. *derelinquetur . . . deserta;* and for "the cities" read "its cities."

26. *all places.*] Rather, "for there shall be great desolation in places;" Lat. *erit enim locis magna desertio.*

28. Comp. Rev. vi. 15, 16.

32. *shall grow full of thorns.*] Rather, "shall grow thorns;" Lat. *germinabunt spinas.* In what follows *transeat ouis* is said by Bensly to be the true reading of both A. and

cause no man shall travel there-through.

33 The virgins shall mourn, having no bridegrooms; the women shall mourn, having no husbands; their daughters shall mourn, having no helpers.

34 In the wars shall their bridegrooms be destroyed, and their husbands shall perish of famine.

35 Hear now these things, and understand them, ye servants of the Lord.

36 Behold the word of the Lord, receive it: believe not the gods of whom the Lord spake.

37 Behold, the plagues draw nigh, and are not slack.

38 As when a woman with child in the ninth month bringeth forth her son, within two or three hours of her birth great pains compass her womb, which pains, when the child cometh forth, they slack not a moment:

39 Even so shall not the plagues be slack to come upon the earth, and the world shall mourn, and sorrows shall come upon it on every side.

40 O my people, hear my word: make you ready to the battle, and in those evils be even as pilgrims upon the earth.

41 [b]He that selleth, let him be as he that fleeth away: and he that buyeth, as one that will lose:

[b] See 1 Cor. 7. 29, 30, 31.

42 He that occupieth merchandise, as he that hath no profit by it: and he that buildeth, as he that shall not dwell therein:

43 He that soweth, as if he should not reap: so also he that planteth the vineyard, as he that shall not gather the grapes:

44 They that marry, as they that shall get no children; and they that marry not, as the widowers.

45 And therefore they that labour labour in vain:

46 For strangers shall reap their fruits, and spoil their goods, overthrow their houses, and take their children captives, for [1]in captivity and famine shall they get children.

[1] Or, *for*.

47 And they that occupy their merchandise with robbery, the more they deck their cities, their houses, their possessions, and their own persons:

48 The more will I be angry with them for their sin, saith the Lord.

49 Like as a whore envieth a right honest and virtuous woman:

50 So shall righteousness hate iniquity, when she decketh herself, and shall accuse her to her face, when he cometh that shall defend him that diligently searcheth out every sin upon earth.

51 And therefore be ye not like thereunto, nor to the works thereof.

52 For yet a little, and iniquity shall be taken away out of the earth, and righteousness shall reign among you.

S., instead of *transient homines*. Hence it should be: "because no sheep passeth through it." For "wax old" comp. Ps. cii. 26.

36. *the gods*.] Lat. *diis*. Comp. Deut. xxxii. 37. But Fritzsche reads *iis* on conjecture.

40. *as pilgrims*.] Comp. Heb. xi. 13. The reminiscences of the N. T. in this and the following verses (see marg. ref.) cannot but strike the reader.

43. *planteth*.] Rather, "pruneth;" Lat. *putat*.

46. *their goods*.] Lat. *substantiam illorum*.

47. *the more*.] Rather, "as long as;" Lat. *quantum diu*, or *quamdiu*.

49. The comparison, as will be seen, is inverted. "Righteousness" is what should answer to the "virtuous woman." The twofold rendering "envy" and "hate" is also uncalled for, the word being the same in both cases in the Latin—*zelari*. Fritzsche amends the text so as to read: "Like as a becoming and good woman is very jealous of, &c., so will righteousness be jealous of iniquity." This is taking *valde* to qualify *zelatur*. If not so, it will be *bona valde*, "a right good woman," as in the text.

51. *thereunto*.] *I.e.* to Iniquity, personified.

53 Let not the sinner say that he hath not sinned: for God shall burn coals of fire upon his head, which saith before the Lord God and his glory, I have not sinned.

54 Behold, the Lord knoweth all the works of men, [c]their imaginations, their thoughts, and their hearts:

55 Which spake but the word, Let the earth be made; [d]and it was made: Let the heaven be made; and it was created.

56 In his word were the stars made, and he knoweth the [e]number of them.

57 He searcheth the deep, and the treasures thereof; he hath measured the sea, and what it containeth.

58 He hath shut the sea in the midst of the waters, and with his word hath he hanged the earth upon the waters.

59 He spreadeth out the heavens like a vault; [f]upon the waters hath he founded it.

60 In the desert hath he made springs of water, and pools upon the tops of the mountains, that the floods might pour down from the high rocks to water the earth.

61 [g]He made man, and put his heart in the midst of the body, and gave him breath, life, and understanding.

62 Yea, and the Spirit of Almighty God, which made all things, and searcheth out all hidden things in the secrets of the earth,

63 Surely he knoweth your inventions, and what ye think in your hearts, even them that sin, and would hide their sin.

64 Therefore hath the Lord exactly searched out all your works, and he will put you all to shame.

65 And when your sins are brought forth, ye shall be ashamed before men, and your own sins shall be your accusers in that day.

66 What will ye do? or how will ye hide your sins before God and his angels?

67 Behold, God himself is the judge, fear him: leave off from your sins, and forget your iniquities, to meddle no more with them for ever: so shall God lead you forth, and deliver you from all trouble.

68 For, behold, the burning wrath of a great multitude is kindled over you, and they shall take away certain of you, and feed you, [1]being idle, with things offered unto idols.

69 And they that consent unto them shall be had in derision and in reproach, and trodden under foot.

70 For there shall be in every place, and in the next cities, a great

[c] Luke 16. 15.
[d] Gen. 1. 1.
[e] Ps. 147. 4.
[f] Ps. 24. 2.
[g] Gen. 2.
[1] Or, *being unable to resist.*

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53. *coals of fire.*] Fritzsche compares Prov. xxv. 22; Rom. xii. 20. But the heaping coals of fire on an enemy's head, there spoken of, is to soften and melt, that better feelings may be drawn out, as the metal from the ore in the furnace. The act here spoken of is one of vengeance. Hence Ps. cxx. 3 (in the Prayer Book version) is a truer parallel.

54. *knoweth.*] Rather, "will know," or "will take knowledge of;" Lat. *cognoscet.*

56. *made.*] Rather, "founded," or "established;" Lat. *fundatæ.* So in *v.* 59 the same word is used, and there correctly rendered. The idea is that of the στερέωμα, or *firmamentum.*

57. *the deep, &c.*] Lat. *abyssum et thesauros illarum.* The plural *illarum* shews that *abyssos* should be read, as it is by Hilgenfeld.

58. Comp. Job xxxviii. 8.

59. This is quoted by Ambrose ('Epist.' xxix.). See Bensly, p. 36 *n.* The original is Isa. xl. 22, which Ambrose cites differently.

62. *Spirit.*] The best MSS. waver between *spiramentum* and *spiramen*, meant, I suppose, to be a close rendering of πνεῦμα. The word "Spirit" is in the same construction as "breath," &c. in *v.* 61. The full stop should be placed at the end of this verse.

68. *and feed you, being idle, &c.*] The Lat. is *et cibabunt idolis occisos*, which would naturally mean, "and shall feed the slain with idols;" or possibly, "and shall give the slain as food (= as an offering) for idols." The translator appears to have found *ociosos* in his copy for *occisos*, whence the rendering in the text. A like variation appears in xv. 60.

70. *in every place.*] The Latin here is almost certainly corrupt: *erit enim locis locus.* Fritzsche conjectures: *erit enim locis multis*

insurrection upon those that fear the Lord.

71 They shall be like mad men, sparing none, but still spoiling and destroying those that fear the Lord.

72 For they shall waste and take away their goods, and cast them out of their houses.

73 Then shall they be known, who are my chosen; and they shall be tried as the gold in the fire.

74 Hear, O ye my beloved, saith the Lord: behold, the days of trouble are at hand, but I will deliver you from the same.

75 Be ye not afraid, neither doubt; for God is your guide,

76 And the guide of them who keep my commandments and precepts, saith the Lord God: let not your sins weigh you down, and let not your iniquities lift up themselves.

77 Woe be unto them that are bound with their sins, and covered with their iniquities, like as a field is covered over with bushes, and the path thereof covered with thorns, that no man may travel through!

78 It is [1]left undressed, and is cast into the fire to be consumed therewith.

[1] Or, *shut out*.

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motus, et, &c., "for there shall be disturbance in many places." Instead of "next" read "neighbouring;" Lat. *vicinas*.

73. More literally, "Then shall the trial of my elect appear, as gold that is tried in the fire." Comp. 1 Pet. i. 7.

77. *covered.*] Two Latin words are here rendered by the same word in English. "Covered with bushes" should rather be "choked" or "overrun with underwood;" Lat. *constringitur a silva*.

78. *is cast.*] As the subject is still "a field" (*ager*), this would be more fitly rendered "is left to," or "is given up to;" Lat. *mittitur*.

A subscription is found in some MSS., "Explicit liber Ezræ quintus," or "Expliciunt libri Esdre."

APPENDIX.

Vision of the Eagle (ch. xi. 1—ch. xii. 39).

As the question of the date of this Book turns in part on the interpretation given to the Vision of the Eagle, it may be worth while to endeavour to state clearly what the Vision was. From the fluctuating use of words in the English Version, it is difficult, without some study, to form any distinct conception of it.

An Eagle is seen by the prophet to rise from the sea, having twelve "feathered wings" (*alæ pennarum*). These wings are spread so as to overshadow the earth. Out of her wings (*pennæ*, but plainly the same as the *alæ pennarum*) were growing eight "contrary feathers" (*contrariæ pennæ*), or wing-like growths (see note on *v.* 3), which came to be "little wings" (*pennacula modica*), or, as we may call them for distinction, pinions. It is not said that the twelve large wings were on one side, and the eight small ones on the other, nor that they were arranged in any special manner. The Eagle has three heads, which remain at rest during its flight, the middle one being greater than the other two. As the Eagle rises upon its talons, a cry is heard proceeding from the midst of its body, bidding the wings to "watch not all at once," but by course, and the heads to be reserved till the last. On the "right side" there now arises one wing, which reigns till it comes to an end. The second follows, and has a "great time;" so that the declaration is made that no succeeding one will reign as much as half its length of time. In this way all the twelve wings reign and pass away in succession, save only that some of them "were set up but ruled not." Two also of the eight pinions rise and fall in like manner. There are thus left (*v.* 23) only the three heads which are at rest, and the remaining six out of the eight pinions. Of the six pinions left, two separate themselves, and "remain under" the head on the right side; the other four continuing as before. These four (now called, *v.* 25, "the feathers that were under the wing;" and in xii. 19, "under-feathers") attempt to raise themselves to power. One is "set up," but shortly disappears. The second of the four does the same, but has a still briefer course. Two pinions alone are left of these four. They aspire to reign, but are devoured by the central head, with the co-operation of the two on either side. This central head now reigns with more power than any of the wings had done, and puts the earth in fear. But on a sudden it is gone,

even as the wings. There survive now only the two outside heads, and the two pinions that had taken shelter under the right-hand one (*v.* 24). These two heads bear sway over the earth, as the middle one had done, till in process of time the one on the right hand devours that on the left.

A roaring Lion is now seen to rush from a forest, and, with human voice, to upbraid the Eagle for its oppression, commanding it to appear no more. On this the head still left disappears, and the two pinions (see note on xii. 2) which had sheltered under it have a semblance of dominion, but their kingdom is "small and full of uproar;" till at length "the whole body of the eagle is burnt," and nothing remains of it upon the earth.

In ch. xii. a partial explanation of this mysterious vision is given. It is declared (*v.* 11, cf. xi. 39) to be the kingdom symbolized by the fourth living creature in Daniel's vision (Dan. vii. 7). The twelve wings are so many kings, who reign in succession; the term of the second exceeding that of any of the rest. The voice from the midst of the body is the cry of internal discord and commotion. The eight pinions are eight kings, "whose times shall be but small, and their years swift." Two of these are the last survivors. The three heads are three kingdoms, more powerful and oppressive than those of the wings before them. The middlemost and greatest of the three is to "die upon his bed, and yet with pain" (*v.* 26). The other two are to be slain with the sword. The Lion is the Anointed of the Lord, who will rebuke the Eagle for its oppression, and make it come to an end.

Now, admitting that an eagle may be a natural emblem of any kingdom, the express reference in xii. 11 to "the kingdom" ("the fourth kingdom," in all the versions) of Daniel's vision seems to limit the application in this case to Rome. As the wings and heads are constituent parts of one body, it would be unnatural to assume that the wings can represent a series of monarchs in one of the great empires of antiquity, and the heads a series in another. If this be allowed, it shuts out such theories as those of Hilgenfeld, that by the wings may be meant the Ptolemies or the Seleucidæ, and by the heads the members of a Roman triumvirate. Hence it would seem that the fulfilment of the Vision must be sought in the history of Rome herself. Moreover, one point of resemblance seems to arrest attention at once. The second of the twelve wings, interpreted (xii. 14) to mean kings, has a reign more than twice as long as any succeeding one. If we begin the series with Julius Cæsar, as is done in the 'Sibylline Oracles' (v. 10–15), this might be held to be fulfilled in the case of Augustus, whose "reign" may be taken as lasting from B.C. 43, when he was made Consul, to his death in A.D. 14. But then, if this be taken as a starting-point, with whom is the line of twelve to end? Why should it cease at Domitian? And who are the three heads? An ingenious solution is proposed by Gfrörer (quoted by Dr. Westcott, art. SECOND BOOK OF ESDRAS in the 'Dict. of the Bible'); namely, that, as some of the twelve were only "set up, but ruled not," the series may consist of the nine Cæsars proper (Julius Cæsar to Vitellius) and three pretenders, Piso, Vindex, and Nymphidius. The three heads would then be the three Flavian emperors, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. This seems more probable than the theory of Volkmar, that, as the eagle would require pairs of wings balancing on each side, in order to fly, we should assume a pair of wings to represent one sovereign, and in like manner a pair of the lesser wings or pinions. But the language of xii. 14, 20 seems irreconcilable with this.

On the whole, then, the hypothesis of Gfrörer, given above, seems the most satisfactory. It leaves many things unexplained, especially the sequence of the eight pinions,—or rather the first six of the eight, as the last two are obscurely described as lingering on after the destruction of the third head. But it presents some striking coincidences with history. The first of the three heads expired by a natural death, yet with pain. This was true of Vespasian in A.D. 79. The second was destroyed by the sword of the third, who in turn fell a victim to the sword. While it may not be considered proved that Titus was murdered by Domitian, there was a strong conviction in the popular mind that such was the case, as is evident from the statements of Suetonius and Dion Cassius; and this is enough to justify the writer of this book. A Jew who had seen the destruction of his City and Temple under the first two of these Flavian emperors, and who was smarting under the exactions of the third, might well look and pray for the speedy coming of the "Lion of the tribe of Judah," and break out into a prophecy of that which his soul longed for.

TOBIT.

INTRODUCTION.

§ I. Contents.

The book, after a few words of preface (i. 1, 2), declaring the work to be the record of the deeds (or words) of Tobit, "an honest and good man" (vii. 7), of the tribe of Naphtali, begins with an autobiography (i. 3—iii. 6). Tobit describes himself as having "walked all the days of his life in the way of truth and justice," and illustrates the statement by some notes of his life before and after his removal to Nineveh. In the day of national apostasy others might have sacrificed to Baal, he had never done so; others might have neglected the festival visits to Jerusalem and the payment of tithes, he had scrupulously observed both the letter and the spirit of the Law (i. 4–8); in the days of national captivity others might have eaten "the bread of the Gentiles," he, like another Daniel (i. 8), had kept himself from the defiling meats. He was married to Anna, one of his own tribe, and an only son Tobias had been born to them. The brief description of his life in Nineveh gives the picture of what must often have happened—the life of the exile happy or sad according to the nature of the reigning king. Under "Enemessar" (see note) he acquired position and secured employment; and he used his hour of prosperity in benefiting his more needy brethren, and in placing in safe hands money for his own future use: under another king, Sennacherib, he had to endure the loss of all his goods, and his acts of mercy to the unburied dead imperilled his life. Rest and security came to him again when "Sarchedonus" reigned in Nineveh (i. 13–22).

Chap. ii. gives the history of Tobit's blindness—his efforts to procure relief—the poverty which fell upon his household — and his domestic unhappiness. Some years passed (see ii. 10, note), and matters had not improved. Tobit took refuge in prayer, and that a prayer for deliverance "out of his distress" and for rest in "the everlasting place" (iii. 1–6). The same day the prayer of a sorrowing woman—Sara, the daughter of Raguel—rose from the "upper chamber" of a house in Ecbatane, a city of Media. She had been married seven times, and her seven husbands had died before the consummation of marriage. The taunts of others maddened her to contemplate suicide; a better mind impelled her to prayer: "If it please not Thee that I should die, command some regard to be had of me and pity taken of me, that I hear no more reproach" (iii. 7–15). "The prayers of them both," says the chronicler, "were heard before the majesty of the great God. And Raphael was sent to heal them both" (iii. 16, 17).

Ch. iv. leads up to the events which brought about the introduction of Raphael to Tobit's household. Tobit,

anxious to set his money matters in order before his death, summons to him his son Tobias, informs him of the money left with Gabael, and bids him seek out a guide for the journey to Media (v. 3). The old man gives his son admirable advice, illustrated by his own practice. Duty to the mother who may survive the speaker, and duty to the God Who alone can make life worth living, will preserve to his son an upright, honest course. Free but discriminating alms-giving (urged more than once; cp. iv. 7–11, 16, 17), a happy and lawful marriage (iv. 12, 13), a perception of the responsibilities of his position (iv. 14, 15), and a readiness to accept sound counsel are to be features of a character which will count the "fear of God" the "departure from all sin," and "the doing that which is pleasing in God's sight" "much wealth," in spite of and in the midst of earthly poverty (iv. 21). The guide is found in Raphael, who assumes the name of Azarias, and claims kindred with Tobit's own family (v. 12). The old man satisfies himself of the trustworthiness of his son's companion, and they pass away followed by a father's blessing and a mother's tears (v. 16–22).

Ch. vi. recounts the capture of the fish in the river Tigris (*v.* 2). Tobias, at Raphael's bidding, reserves the heart, the liver, and the gall; the use of the two first being explained to him thus: "if a devil or an evil spirit trouble any, we must make a smoke thereof before the man or the woman, and the party shall be no more vexed" (*v.* 7); and of the last-named, "it is good to anoint a man that hath whiteness in his eyes, and he shall be healed" (*v.* 8). Tobias would hail with joy the prospect of seeing his father restored to sight by so simple a remedy; but what interest could he take in the utility of the other medicines? This interest Raphael presently arouses in him. As they pass on, Tobias learns the intention of his guide to stay at the house of Raguel, his cousin; and that he, Sara's husband-to-be by right of inheritance, should also become her preserver through the help of a "merciful God," and by the use of the smoking heart and liver. The Angel's words arouse the young man's deepest sympathies;—"when he had heard these things, he loved Sara, and his heart was effectually joined unto her." The travellers reach Ecbatane in due course, and are received by Raguel, Edna his wife, and Sara with a true Oriental courtesy, changed into affectionate demonstrativeness and hospitality when the half-suspected relationship is made known (vii. 1–8). Tobias, however, like another of old (Gen. xxiv. 33), will eat nothing till a marriage contract has been agreed and sworn to between him and Sara. With the ardour of love at first sight he sets aside Raguel's frank confession of their great trouble (*vv.* 9–15); and the chapter closes with a mother's prayer for her weeping child as she leads her to the marriage-chamber (*vv.* 16–18).

Chapter viii. gives the consequences of using the means suggested by the Angel for the expulsion of "the evil spirit," who had so long plagued Sara: "he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the Angel bound him" (viii. 1–3). This is followed by the simple but touching prayer of the delivered couple (*vv.* 4–8); Raguel's outburst of genuine thanksgiving to Him Who had "had mercy of two that were the only begotten children of their fathers;" and the prolongation of the marriage festivities for fourteen days (*vv.* 19–21). During this time Raphael, at the request of Tobias, goes to Rages and fetches away the money left with Gabael (ch. ix.). On his return Tobias, resisting the pressure to detain him, departs with his wife and Raphael, his goods, money, and servants, homewards to Nineveh, followed by the blessings of Raguel and Edna; the mother giving her son-in-law one parting word of affectionate caution, "Behold, I commit my daughter unto thee of special trust, wherefore do not entreat her evil" (x. 8–12).

In the meantime Tobit and Anna had been counting the days for the journey out and home which they had calculated would be required by Tobias and Raphael. When these days had expired, and neither son nor guide appeared, there fell a distressing anxiety upon the hearts of the blind father and the mother. "Are they detained?" was

Tobit's question. "Is Gabael dead, and no man to give the money?" The mother's thoughts were more sad and more positive: "My son is dead," she cried; "now I care for nothing, since I have let thee go, the light of mine eyes." "Every day," says the narrative, "she went out into the way which they went, and did eat no meat in the day-time, and ceased not whole nights to bewail her son" (x. 1–7). It was as she sat thus one day, "looking about toward the way for her son," that "she espied him coming, and the man that went with him" (xi. 5, 6). At Raphael's suggestion Tobias and he had pushed on ahead of the caravan, the love of a bridegroom yielding for awhile to the affection of a son. In a few moments the mother's arms were round his neck. Tobias carried in his hand the gall of the fish; he saw his blind father "stumbling" towards him: with one hand he saved him from falling, with the other he "strake of the gall on his father's eyes, saying, Be of good hope, my father. And when his eyes began to smart, he rubbed them; and the whiteness pilled away from the corners of his eyes; and when he saw his son, he fell upon his neck," weeping for joy and blessing God (xi. 2–15). The chapter concludes with the arrival of Sara, and an account of the festivities which followed.

There remained one thing more to be done, to reward the faithful Azarias. Father and son agreed that his services merited more than the covenanted wages; and gratitude prompted Tobias to suggest, "Give him half of those things which I have brought." With this princely gift Tobit would have dismissed Azarias. But the time of self-revelation had come, and Azarias took them both apart. "Give God thanks," he said, "not me. Bless Him, praise Him for the things which He hath done unto you. It is good to keep close the secret of a king, but it is honourable to reveal the works of God" (xii. 5, 6). He declared to them his true nature (xii. 19): "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy Angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One" (xii. 15). Did they marvel why he had come to them? Let them recall certain facts, certain prayers, certain deeds. Tobit's prayers and Sara's prayers had been brought by him in remembrance before the Holy One: Tobit's deeds of mercy to the dead had been witnessed by him. Therefore had God sent him to heal those who prayed, and those who practised what they prayed "with fasting and alms and righteousness" (xii. 8–14). And then he cheered those "troubled" and worshipping men: "Fear not. It shall go well with you. Give God thanks, for I go up to Him that sent me" (xii. 16–22).

One especial injunction was left with Tobit and his son by the Angel: "Write all things which are done in a book" (xii. 20). Tobit remembered the charge, and chapter xiii. gives as an instalment the "prayer of rejoicing" which he "wrote." It is a prayer dictated by the experience of his own life, and a continuous commentary on the truth with which it opens, "God doth scourge, and hath mercy; He leadeth down to hell and bringeth up again" (xiii. 2). The history of his own life was from darkness to light, from sorrow to joy: might it not, must it not, be the same with his fellow-countrymen and with Jerusalem, the holy city? A few extracts will shew this: "In the land of my captivity do I praise God," he exclaims, "and declare His might and majesty to a sinful nation. O ye sinners, turn and do justice before Him! Who can tell if He will accept you and have mercy on you?" (xiii. 6 *b*). "Confess Him before the Gentiles, ye children of Israel; for He is the God our Father for ever. He will scourge us for our iniquities, and will have mercy again. If ye turn to Him with your whole heart, and deal uprightly before Him, then will He turn unto you and will not hide His face from you" (xiii. 3–6 *a*). From God's people to God's city the transition was easy; in spirited and pathetic language the "seer" foretells the future: "O Jerusalem, the holy city, He will scourge thee for thy children's works, and will have mercy again on the sons of the righteous. Praise" (note the thought) "the everlasting King that His tabernacle may be builded in thee again with joy, and make joyful there in thee

those that are captives, and love in thee for ever those that are miserable" (xiii. 9, 10). In his vision of the future Tobit sees "the children of the just gathered together" in Jerusalem, and blessing "the Lord of the just, and many nations coming from far with gifts in their hands, even gifts to the King of Heaven, and all generations praising the holy city with great joy" (xiii. 11–13). The vision creates in him an ecstasy of happiness: "O blessed are they which love thee (Jerusalem), for they shall rejoice in thy peace: blessed are all they which have been sorrowful for all thy scourges; for they shall rejoice for thee, when they have seen all thy glory, and shall be glad for ever" (xiii. 14). In terms which reflect the inspiration of Isaiah and Jeremiah and foreshadow the vision of the Apocalypse, he beholds "Jerusalem built up with precious stones, and her towers with pure gold;" he hears the very "streets singing Alleluia," and men's voices proclaiming, "Blessed be God, Which hath extolled it for ever" (xiii. 16–18).

Tobit was 66 years old when his sight was restored to him, and he lived to be 158 (xiv. 1, 11). The occupation of that span of 92 years was the same as that of his previous life: it may be summed up in those words of the dying man which are also the motto of the Book: "Consider, my son, what alms doeth, and how righteousness doth deliver" (xiv. 11). The words form part of the last counsel the "very aged" father gave to Tobias and his six sons. In that counsel he advised Tobias to take his family from Nineveh, the destruction of which he believed inevitable, and find peace "for a time" in Media, far away from the "good land" of Palestine, from "desolate Jerusalem" and the "burned house of God" (xiv. 4, 8). "For a time" only; because though he and Tobias might never live to see it, yet would their children find it true, "that again God will have mercy on them, and bring them again into the land, where they shall build a Temple, but not like to the first, until the time of that age be fulfilled; and afterward they shall return from all places of their captivity and build up Jerusalem gloriously, and the house of God shall be built in it with a glorious building, as the prophets have spoken" (xiv. 5). Tobias remained in Nineveh till his mother was also dead; to both he gave "honourable" burial, and then with Sara went to Media to Ecbatane, to the home of Raguel (xiv. 12). There in due course he buried Raguel and Edna, and there too he himself died at the age of 127; but not before he had "heard of the destruction of Nineveh" by Nebuchadnezzar, and had "rejoiced over" its fall (xiv. 13–15).

§ II. Texts and original Language.

The popularity and charm of the Book of Tobit are attested both by its early circulation in Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Greek, and Latin texts; and by the frequent comments, numerous illustrations, and additional details which, in these Versions, give variety to the form of the story while preserving intact the main facts. But of these texts which is the original? Or, are they in their present form reproductions of a lost original? A few words upon the texts themselves must precede any attempt at answering this still disputed problem.

(*a*.) The *Hebrew* text exists in two forms: (a_1) *Hebræus Münsteri*, first printed at Constantinople (1516) and reproduced by Sebastian Münster—to whom it was a "libellus vere aureus"—at Basle (1542). It has been published often since: *e.g.* by Walton (who printed the edition of 1516 in vol. iv. of his Polyglott), and—in modern times—by Neubauer.[1] (a_2) *Hebræus Fagii*, a text published by Fagius from a Constantinopolitan copy of 1517 (or 1519), and assigned to the 11th and 12th century, also printed in Walton's Polyglott. Of

[1] Neubauer (A.), 'The Book of Tobit,' p. xii. &c., Oxford, 1878. The Constantinopolitan text has been collated by him (1) with a Heb. MS. (No. 1251) in the National Library at Paris; (2) with the Persian translation of the Hebrew MS. (No. 130) in the National Library at Paris; (3) through the librarian of the Parma Royal Library with MS. 194 of De Rossi's Catalogue. Neubauer dates the Hebrew text published by him from the 5th to the 7th century.

Cp. Bissell, 'The Book of Tobit' (Lange's Commentary on the Apocrypha), Introduction, p. 111 &c.

these texts a_2 is for the most part a free translation or paraphrase of the Roman edition of the LXX.; a_1 is considered by Neubauer a translation of an earlier recension of the Bodleian Chaldee text.

(*b.*) The *Chaldee* text. St. Jerome, in his preface to the Book of Tobit, says that he translated it into Latin from the lips of an expert who rendered into Hebrew the words of a *Chaldee* text before him. The translation occupied Jerome but a single day, and was written down by an amanuensis from his dictation.[1] No critic ever doubted Jerome's veracity, but nothing—till modern times—was known of a Chaldee text. The discovery of such a text is a chapter in the history of the romance of ancient Bibliography.[2] A MS. was bought at Constantinople for the Bodleian Library (Oxford). When examined, it was found to be a collection of Midrashim (expositions or commentaries) copied in the 15th century in Greek-Rabbinical characters. Of this collection 'The Book of Tobit' forms the fifth piece, being given as a commentary on Gen. xxviii. 2; and it purports to be an extract from the Midrash Rabba de Rabbah, a work identified with the Midrash major on Genesis of Martini. This Chaldee Tobit was therefore known amongst the Jews at the beginning of the 11th century; but, if anterior to the Hebrew text of the 5th to 7th century, it is of course older. Neubauer in fact concludes that "Jerome had our present Chaldee text in a fuller form before him when he made his translation of the book." The Bodleian text agrees substantially with the Greek Sinaitic text (see *c*), and is by some derived from it (see p. 169).

(*c.*) Of the *Greek* Version there are three texts: (c_1) that of the Codex Alexandrinus and of the Codex Vaticanus, and known as A; (c_2) the more expanded text of the Codex Sinaiticus, known as B[1]; (c_3) the incomplete text (containing only vi. 9—xiii. 8) of the codices 44, 106, 107 (according to Holmes and Parsons' notation), known as C and akin to B[2]. Of the texts A and B—between which the question lies—A is considered to be the original by Fritzsche, Bickell, Nöldeke, Hilgenfeld, Grimm, and Preiss; B by Ewald, Reusch, and Schürer.[3] This divergence of opinion is due to the old difficulty, Does a shorter recension of a subject mark originality or abbreviation? In this case, Is the diffuseness of B due to enlargement on the score of paraphrase, or has its greater circumstantiality been pared down to the dimensions of A? The point is of importance, but it seems at present impossible to obtain unanimity of opinion. If Fritzsche does not convince Schürer, Schürer fails to convince Grimm.

(*d.*) The *Latin* texts are represented by the Itala and Vulgate. (d_1) The Itala, as printed by Sabatier[4]—and not very accurately—has for its ground-text a Paris MS. (Codex Regius) of the 8th century, compared with two other MSS. of about the same date marked by many variations. A second[5] recension of the Itala is perhaps to be found in a Vatican codex, formerly belonging to

[1] The Preface is to be found in most modern copies of the Vulgate. Jerome's actual words are: "Exigitis ut librum Chaldæo sermone conscriptum, ad Latinum stylum traham; librum utique Tobiæ, quem Hebræi de catalogo divinarum Scripturarum secantes, his quæ hagiographa memorant, manciparunt. . . . Et quia vicina est Chaldæorum lingua sermoni Hebraico, utriusque linguæ peritissimum loquacem reperiens, unius diei laborem arripui, et quicquid ille mihi Hebraicis verbis expressit, hoc ego accito notario, sermonibus Latinis exposui." Cp. Gutberlet, 'Das Buch Tobias,' p. 19.

[2] See Neubauer, *op. cit.*, Pref. p. vii. &c.

[1] Published separately by Reusch, 'Libellus Tobit e Codice Sinaitico editus et recensitus,' 1870.

[2] Fritzsche gives this in the 'Kurzgefasstes Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testamentes; das Buch Tobi,' p. 89 &c.

[3] Cp. the following papers &c. on Tobit: Bickell, 'Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie' (1878), Heft i. p. 216 &c.; Nöldeke, 'Monatsbericht der Königlich Preussischen Akademie' (Jan. 1879); Hilgenfeld, 'Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie' (1862), p. 161 &c. (1886), p. 147 &c.; Grimm, Ibid. (1881), p. 48; Preiss, Ibid. (1885), p. 39; Ewald, 'Jahrbuch der biblische Wissenschaft,' ix. p. 191; Schürer, 'Theologische Literaturzeitung' (1878), No. 14; cp. also his 'Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi,'[2] ii. 607.

[4] 'Bibliorum sacrorum Latinæ Versiones antiquæ,' i. Neubauer's text (p. lxviii. &c.) is a reproduction of that MS. of Sabatier's which contained the whole Book.

[5] Bianchini gives this text in the 'Vindiciæ canonicarum Scripturarum,' p. cccl. &c. Reusch ('Libellus' &c., p. iv.) considers it more accurate than that of Sabatier: see Bickell, p. 218.

Queen Christina of Sweden, of unknown date, and containing only i.—vi. 12. There are fragments of a third[1] recension contained in a Roman MS. of the 6th or 7th century which differ considerably from the other recensions, especially in the matter of expansion.

The Greek text B (Codex Sinaiticus) is the basis of the text of the Itala; but the Latin translator used also the Greek text A, or—as Reusch thinks more probable—the Itala has been altered here and there to make it more in accordance with the Greek A. Certain peculiarities of the accepted Itala text, such as unique readings, interpolations, or omissions, may be assigned to the translator; and the text itself is to be dated at the latest about A.D. 200, since it is quoted by Cyprian (Bishop of Carthage *c.* 248 A.D.).

(d_2.) The Vulgate, undertaken by Jerome at the desire of Chromatius bishop of Aquileia and of Heliodorus bishop of Altinum and made direct from the Chaldee (see (*b*) above), is among the earliest of his translations, and is older than that of the Book of Daniel.[2] The rapidity with which it was made[3] did not militate against its general faithfulness; and more than that is hardly to be expected, if he proceeded upon the plan he described in the Preface to the Book of Judith, "magis sensum e sensu, quam ex verbo verbum transferens." Further, he must have had the Itala before him; for he employs it more frequently than in other Books, if he also permitted himself considerable independence of treatment. There are many places where Jerome is an epitomiser first and a translator next.[4] One notable feature in this Version is its very large additions to the ordinary text;[5] but that explanation is considered adequate which refers them to Jerome's method, or to the work of a later hand, or to the Chaldee MS. from which his teacher was reading.

(*e.*) A *Syriac* Version is given in Walton's Polyglott.[1] It is based upon two MSS., and follows exactly the LXX. or Greek A as far as vii. 10, and the Greek B from vii. 11. Nöldeke believes the former of these MSS. to belong to the Hexapla of Paulus of Tela (*c.* beginning of the 7th cent.); its literalness gives it a certain value for the criticism of the LXX. The text of this Syriac Version is confirmed by the Syriac translation preserved in the Medicean library at Rome. The second Syriac MS. agrees principally with the Greek text C.

It will be seen, by the dependence of these Versions upon either a Greek or Semitic text, that the question of originality resolves itself into the choice of a text composed in one or other of these two languages. The chief supporters of a Greek original are Fritzsche, Hitzig, and Nöldeke; on the other hand, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, Grätz, Bickell, and Rosenthal strongly advocate a Semitic original. Patient examination of the arguments advanced on either side—dependent as these arguments frequently are upon negative considerations, philological niceties, textual variations, and opinions ingenious rather than ingenuous as to tendency, date, place, and time of composition—has not yet led to a decision which commands unanimous acceptance. Many critics leave the matter where they find it. They are unable to satisfy themselves, and are unwilling, with only the existing evidence before them, to recommend any judgment as final. In the whole question one positive fact alone is forthcoming, viz. St. Jerome's unquestioned statement that his translation was a translation from the Chaldee. That would imply a Semitic original, whether or not this "Chaldee" was, as Grätz and Bickell unite in considering it, the neo-Hebraic dialect; and whether or not his copy was but an incomplete copy or recension of an earlier text. Is there then anything which, on philo-

[1] See Mai, 'Spicilegium,' ix.; Reusch, 'Das Buch Tobias,' p. xxvi.

[2] Reusch, p. xxxii.

[3] He states that he also translated the three books of Solomon in three days (see Præf. in libr. Salom.).

[4] Cp. on these points Reusch, pp. xxxiv.–xxxviii.

[5] Many of these will be found in their proper places in the Commentary. Cp. Reusch, pp. xl.–xlii.; Bickell, p. 221.

[1] Cp. Reusch, pp. xxx.–xxxi., who also furnishes notices of the Armenian (*c.* 5th cent., based upon the Greek A) and Arabic (based upon the Vulgate) Versions (pp. xliv., xlviii.).

logical grounds, supports or detracts from this single *positive* factor? To my own mind the Semitic character of the proper names (male and female), the textual difficulties best explained as faults of translation, as well as the whole cast and style of the narrative are strongly in support of it; but it is only just to add that others, competent and experienced in such matters, challenge and reject such a conclusion. St. Jerome's "Chaldee" is to them but a translation or adaptation of a Greek original.[1]

Other considerations therefore require examination. For example, what light does the narrative itself, its tendency, its doctrinal teaching, its historical statements &c. throw upon the period and place in which the writer of the Book lived? After these have been fairly estimated, the light they furnish may perhaps reflect light upon the original language in which the Book was written.

§ III. Date of Composition.

The difference of opinion with respect to this is at first sight startling and bewildering. One school,[2] maintaining the historical integrity and authenticity of the Book, places its composition in the 7th century B.C. Another class ot critics, following the lead of Hitzig, Kohut, and Grätz, would make it eight or nine centuries later. Others, lastly, seek a judicious mean between such extremes.

(*a*) The first opinion demands of the reader a literal acceptance of statements respecting two Jewish families living in Nineveh and in Ecbatane in the time of the Assyrian captivity. A certain Assyrian and Median colouring does without doubt present itself naturally and unobtrusively in the sections where it might be expected;[3] and the injunction (xii. 20) to hand down in permanent form events fraught with something more than a passing significance may rightly be referred to a holy purpose inspired in a devout mind; but historical in the

[1] See Excursus i. at the end of the Introduction.

[2] Cp., as representatives, the Roman Catholic writers Gutberlet, § 3; Kaulen, 'Einl.' § 256 &c.

[3] Cp. notes on i. 15, 22; ii. 11; v. 3, 14; vi. 1. Windischmann, 'Zoroastr. Studien,' p. 145, thought this colouring so marked, that he also dated the Book in the 7th cent. B.C.

usual sense of the term the Book can hardly be, without considerable elasticity be admitted as regards names, places, distances, and numbers.[1] There may well have been a family history in which figured such Jewish persons as Tobit and Raguel, Tobias and Sarah, Anna and Edna, residents in the cities and countries named. Healing may well have been vouchsafed to Tobit and Sarah in answer to prayer. Prosperity after poverty, a happy end after a sad beginning, is true to real life. Nevertheless most critics outside this school unite in considering the Book a work of imagination, founded possibly upon genuine occurrences in the lives of those described, but without further pretension to historical accuracy.

(*b*) The second school, declining to consider the authenticity of any details matters of moment or interest, goes to the opposite extreme of accepting nothing. The Book is to them a pure romance from beginning to end; and, in their opinion, the only serious question is to discover the place and time indicated by the local allusions and the "tendency" they find in it. The doctrine and ethics as well as the ceremonial and other practices have therefore been analysed with a view to extracting their historical position independently of the romance or poetry with which they are invested, and a late date has been propounded on internal even more than upon external evidence.

To Hitzig[2] the crucial passage indicative of date is xiv. 4, 5. He considers that the writer is living at a time when the destruction of the second Temple had taken place (cp. *v.* 5; xiii. 9, 10), and therefore that the earliest date possible to the Book would be A.D. 70. Proceeding to a more definite conclusion, he finds in the destruction of "Nineveh" (xiv. 4) a masked allusion to that destruction of Antioch, the Rome of Asia Minor, which was due to an earthquake

[1] Cp. notes on i. 2, 4, 15, 21; xiv. 11, 14. The so-called "improbabilities" discovered in the mode in which Tobit became blind (ii. 9, 10), in the experience of Tobias with the fish (vi. 3), and in the introduction of the dog (v. 16, xi. 4), need not be considered serious.

[2] 'Zeitschrift f. wissensch. Theologie' (1860), p. 250 &c.

(A.D. 113) in the reign of Trajan. The country was soon after agitated by revolt while Media or Parthia was at peace; and this is the explanation of the writer's advice to his countrymen to depart to a quieter land till their then distress was overpast (xiv. 4, 12). The requirements of this theory point to a date *c.* A.D. 116. Rosenthal[1] concurs with Hitzig in recognizing a reference to Nineveh, and in dating the composition of the Book after the revolt under Trajan; but in addition he finds this emperor's portrait and deeds, or those of his cruel lieutenant Lucius Quietus,[2] in Sennacherib's character and actions (i. 15 &c.); and those of the Emperor Hadrian in Esarhaddon (i. 21, 22). It is true that in the first years of Hadrian's reign an expectation of better days and of a restoration of the Temple was rife among the Jews;[3] and accordingly in those first years does Rosenthal find the happy time in which the Book of Tobit, marked by "a tender, peaceful, and hopeful tone," might have been written. Rosenthal, however, is in these identifications with emperors in direct antagonism with Grätz (see below); and Hilgenfeld's[4] objections to one and all such parallelisms—viz. the incongruousness of the type and antitype, the absence from the Book of any circumstances approaching those required by the theory, as well as the improbabilities inherent in it—are stronger than the arguments adduced to support it. It is urged, moreover, with much probability, that the inference from the passages upon which these and similar hypotheses lay stress—viz., allusion to the destruction of the *second* Temple—is unwarranted.[5] The expressions used and the Messianic anticipations generally are far more appropriately and naturally referred to a writer who looks back upon the past to the destruction of the first Temple by Nebuchadnezzar. The language of xiii. 11 is that of well-known prophetic expectation; xiii. 13 expresses the familiar hope of the return of the Diaspora to Jerusalem; xiii. 16, 17, but reflects the previous portraiture of an Isaiah (see reff. in notes). Long before the second destruction of Jerusalem, the "troublous times" (Dan. ix. 25) inspired men with the yearning for happier days and for the promised glory of the Jerusalem of the future. Even while the second Temple was standing, and men could not but admit its beauty, the circumstances under which they, as subject to heathen powers, were permitted to embellish and frequent it, but deepened the craving for the Temple of the future when they should tread the sacred courts as freemen, and where their sacrifices should be offered with a liberty and a lavishness recalling the palmy days of a Solomon.

The opinion of Kohut is in favour of a still later date. He finds traces of Persian thought, belief, and practice, everywhere in the Book; and notably (1) in the recorded conceptions of the powers good and evil of the spiritual world, and (2) in the acts of Tobit towards the dead.

(1) The angelology and demonology of the Book is no doubt marked by a particularity which would at any time attract attention. The teaching on this subject, descriptive and ethical, is, broadly stated, in advance of the teaching of the canonical Books of Scripture; but it is only by strained applications and frequently mistaken interpretations that the conceptions of Parseeism or the puerilities of Rabbinism can be evolved from or paralleled with the representations of the Book of Tobit. An investigation conducted elsewhere[1] has led me to the conclusion that this Book, while certainly affected by foreign and external belief on these points, presents its ideas in a form far more advanced than the Book of Daniel, but also far short of that of the Book of Enoch.

(2) Tobit's care for and burial of the dead—acts seemingly quite natural among devout Jews at any period of

[1] 'Vier apokryph. Bücher,' p. 135.

[2] See the events in Grätz, 'Geschichte d. Juden,'[2] iv. 123 *sq.*; Milman, 'Hist. of the Jews,' ii. 419 &c.

[3] Grätz, iv.[2] 137 &c. Kindly, or not unfriendly, feeling on the part of Hadrian could not have lasted long: see Milman, 'History of the Jews,' ii. 423.

[4] 'Zeitschr. f. w. Th.' (1881), p. 42.

[5] See Hilgenfeld, 'Zeitschr. f. w. Th.' (1862), p. 193; Grimm, ibid. (1881), p. 4.

[1] See Excursus ii. at the end of the Introduction.

their history—has yet been interpreted both by Kohut and Grätz as indicative of a special and late date. The former[1] finds in Tobit's actions a protest against the conduct of Ardeshir (A.D. 226), the first Persian monarch of the Sassanian dynasty. In his time, burial of the dead was forbidden to the Jews. To his co-religionists, burial of the dead was objectionable on religious grounds; and they carried their objections to such a point that they ordered the disinterment of the bodies. But this law they applied to all, whether Jews or not; and the alleged parallelism with the history of Tobit is imperfect. That history does not present burial as universally interdicted, but only to the Jews when they sought it for their slaughtered compatriots (i. 18, 19). Grätz,[2] objecting to Kohut's view, advances another which, if not inapposite as regards parallelism, has yet not met with acceptance. In Sennacherib the furious (i. 15–20) he finds the portrait of the Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117–38); in Esarhaddon the gentle, the portrait of the Emperor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–61). The reign of Hadrian is indeed marked, in the annals of the Jews, by the sanguinary rebellion under the false Messiah Bar-cochba and Akiba, greatest of the Rabbins.[3] Of its many terrible episodes, the siege of Bether, the metropolis and citadel of the insurgents, is amongst the most terrible. The story runs that Hadrian commanded the dead to be set as a surrounding enclosure to a vine-clad hill, and forbad their burial till a new king should arise and permit it. This story, or one containing events akin to it, Grätz finds reflected in the Book of Tobit. The Talmudical passages which are quoted by him as authority for his view are, however, too full of exaggerations and marvels to merit much confidence; and his interpretation and use of them are seriously impugned by Rosenthal and Grimm.[4] Further, though it seems certain that Antoninus Pius was far less stern towards the Jews than his predecessor;[1] yet if his treatment of the Christians be at all a guide to his treatment of any who opposed that Roman religion which was essentially political, and that deification of the living emperor which would be as blasphemous to Christian as to Jew,[2] then the Jews would not expect or receive such toleration and favour as is supposed to be implied in the actions of the Roman Esarhaddon. Grätz's hypothesis is, in fact, far-fetched, and reflects too evidently the desire to find in this particular conduct on the part of Tobit the leading thought of the book. The cruelty of a Bacchides (1 Macc. vii. 17), the criminal record of a Jason (2 Macc. v. 10), the madness of an Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. ix. 15), exhibited—in their sacrilegious treatment of the dead—quite sufficient parallels, were parallels required; while acts such as those of Tobit must frequently have been repeated wherever the heathen slaughtered and massacred Israelites who asked for no quarter and gave none.

Passing from historical to other considerations adduced by the advocates of a late date, much stress has been laid upon the prominence and efficacy alleged to be attached to fasting and almsgiving;[3] but, certainly as regards the former, far more has been read into the Book than it actually contains. There is only one passage (xii. 8) in which fasting is advocated; and even there not for any merit it might possess in itself, but only as linked in triple union with prayer and almsgiving. Too great a wish to discover distinctions between the teaching of apocryphal and canonical Books of Scripture has been here father to the thought that fasting is advocated as "a regularly recurring, and in itself meritorious, observance." There is nothing which on this point

[1] 'Etwas über d. Moral u. d. Abfassungzeit d. B. Tobias,' pp. 19–21.

[2] 'Monatschrift,' p. 513 &c. Cp. also his 'Gesch. d. Juden,' iv. note 17 (p. 462 &c.). He is followed by Preiss, pp. 50–1.

[3] For the events see Grätz, 'Gesch.' iv. chs. vii.–ix.; Milman, 'Hist. of the Jews,' ii. bk. xviii.

[4] Grimm, 'Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theologie' (1881), p. 41; Rosenthal, pp. 109, 110.

[1] See Grätz, 'Gesch.' iv. pp. 184–6; Milman, ii. p. 440.

[2] See Lightfoot's 'S. Ignatius,' i. p. 444.

[3] On fasting, see xii. 8 (note). Observe that the Vulgate alone mentions Sarah's fasting (iii. 10, note) and the continence of the newly-married couple (viii. 4, note). On almsgiving, see i. 3, 16; iv. 7–11, 16; xii. 8, 12; xiv. 2, 10, and notes.

exceeds the teaching of the Old Testament, or approximates it to the Pharisaism of the time of Christ.

Almsgiving is commended, and strongly; but it is a decided mistake to find in the inculcations of this duty the leading object of the Book, or to press the language which describes it as "making void the Law of God through tradition." The description given of Tobit's almsdeeds (i. 3, 16; xiv. 2, 10) is quite simple and without exaggeration, and his own admonitions respecting it (iv. 7–11, 16) are found amongst other counsels; holding, it is true, a very prominent place among them, but by no means the first in point of order (cp. iv. 3–6), or to the undue exclusion of other matters of moment, such as (*e. g.*) that which a Jewish father in exile would have so much at heart, the marriage of his son (iv. 12, 13; cp. vi. 15). It is with the writer but an illustration, though a grand one, of the principle enunciated in iv. 5, 6. Note also that not one word is spoken about almsgiving in the thanksgiving (xiii. 6), where it might reasonably have been expected, had so much merit been attached to it; and it is somewhat significant that Anna is represented as not only contemning Tobit's almsdeeds as profitless (ii. 14), but also as blaming her husband for that greediness after gold which she, in the bitterness of a mother's sense of wrong, unjustly considered to have cost their son his life (v. 18; cp. xii. 8). Raphael's eulogy of almsgiving (xii. 8) partakes of the same character and repeats the same words as Tobit's, but without investing it with undue honours or claiming for it other merit than that of a practical illustration of a similar principle, "Do that which is good, and no evil shall touch you" (xii. 7).

An examination of the language employed both by Tobit and Raphael will, perhaps, remove some misapprehensions. Much stress, for example, has been laid upon the phrases, "alms do deliver from death" (iv. 10; xii. 9), "(alms) shall purge away all sin" (xii. 9); and they are—in themselves and apart from their context—strong phrases; but to be estimated aright they must be taken in connexion with the immediate narrative. Thus an investigation of the first of these passages would seem to shew that the "death" from which almsdeeds rescued such men as Tobit and Manasses was death at the hands of a Sennacherib and some unknown persecutor respectively. It had nothing to do with death as a punishment for sin. This latter sense has been perhaps legitimately deduced from it by commentators, but it was not the primary sense. Similarly with regard to the second phrase, a meaning has been attributed to it, fair enough when put forward as a legitimate deduction, but which is not the original meaning. It is not perhaps possible to assign to this phrase so definite an application as to the former; but taken in connexion with the whole history, and with the contrast between Tobit's whole mode of life and that of his neighbours (cp. i. 6, 12; ii. 8; and the whole tenor of the teaching in ch. iv.), there is a present deliverance or purgation implied in the words which falls far short of the eschatological interpretation some have attached to it (see below, p. 161).

Historically, the view presented on both these points is that of the period to which so much else converges, viz. the pre-Maccabean era. Grätz and Rosenthal do indeed affirm that the teaching is Haggadic rather than Biblical, and find in the merit of atonement attributed in the second phrase to almsgiving indications of a date requiring the final destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem; but their arguments would apply as forcibly to the events which followed the first destruction of the Temple as to the last. Atonement for sin by sacrifice in the Temple was as impossible to the exile in Assyria and Babylonia, in the time of Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, as it was to the Jew who wept over the desecration consummated by Titus. In both cases a substitute for animal sacrifice was required, and the propitiatory character of righteous deeds was recognised in the time of Daniel (iv. 27; see note. Cp. Prov. x. 2, xi. 4[1]). The recogni-

[1] In the original of these passages צדקה תציל ממות, Grätz (pp. 451 &c.) finds the source of Tob. iv. 10. The word צדקה (righteousness) is there rendered by the LXX. *δικαιοσύνη*: here the word employed is *ἐλεημοσύνη*, as in Deut.

tion of a spiritual religion as equivalent and even superior to the purely ceremonial worship dates, not from the first century after Christ, but from the time of the Captivity.[1]

The conditions and circumstances connected with the marriage of Tobias and Sarah (vii. 13) are also advanced as indicative of a specific date. The "instrument of covenants" there mentioned is taken [2] to represent the document signed by a husband which assured to the wife a claim upon his property. This practice, an emendation upon previous arrangements which had been proved faulty in working, is said to date from the time of Simon ben Shetach, brother of the Queen Salome–Alexandra (B.C. 79–70), and to have become general about B.C. 50. But Simon's action was rather the improvement of an existing practice than the introduction of a new one; and the language of vii. 13 may well refer to the old practice of depositing a sum or document with the father of the bride. Admitting, however, Grätz's interpretation, the date B.C. 50 is a century earlier than that to which his other deductions would point.

To the above views as to late date, two more only need be added. The suggestion of Linschmann [1] that the book reflects the fables or myths of Armenia, is, as a whole, surrendered by Preiss;[2] but this latter critic feels himself enabled to argue—from what he can accept of Linschmann's view, and from deductions similar to those of Kohut and Grätz—that the Book exhibits Persian influence working upon a Jew of Babylonia about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. This conclusion is in striking contrast with that of Ewald,[3] who, also arguing from the evidence of Persian influence upon a Jew resident in the far East, dates the Book in the 4th century B.C.

(*c*) Between these extremes and those already noted is there no medium?

(1.) *External evidence.*—A large number of critics decide in favour of the 2nd or 1st century B.C.[4] The *terminus ad quem* is found in the references to the Temple (xiv. 4, &c.), to which allusion has already been made. That Temple was the Temple of Zerubbabel; "not like to the first" (*v.* 5; see reff. in note) which Israel owed to Solomon, but also not yet the "glorious building" (ibid.) with its glittering masses of white marble and pinnacles of gold which the lavish hand

vi. 25, xxiv. 13; Dan. iv. 24. The change is ethically (see Cremer, 'Wörterbuch d. N. T. Gräcität,'[4] *s. nn.* δικαιοσύνη and ἐλεημοσύνη) and historically interesting, but hardly to be deferred, in point of time, to the Talmudic period. The non-selection of the Septuagintal word is only a proof that the LXX. text was not always adhered to. In the Talmud (Baba Batra, 10 a) the question is asked, Why the Book of Proverbs repeats this maxim twice? and the answer is given, Because almsgiving delivers from two kinds of death—(1) an unnatural death, and (2) from the punishment of hell. This purports to be the Haggadic interpretation of Rabbi Jochanan; itself, probably, the interpretation of an earlier teacher, Rabbi Simon ben Jochai. Similarly the language of Tobit, xii. 9, is to be explained, according to Grätz, by the following story:—Rabbi Jochanan ben Sakkai was walking after the destruction of the Temple (*i.e.* by Titus) with his disciple Joshua. "Woe to us," cried the latter; "the Temple in which atonement was made for the sins of Israel is destroyed." "Sorrow not," answered the master; "we have an atonement equally effectual, and that is—mercy. Is it not written, 'I desire mercy (marg. kindness) and not sacrifice'" (Hos. vi. 6; see R. V.). Interesting as these extracts are, it is hypothetical to a degree to conclude with Weiss ('Zur Gesch. d. Tradition,' ii. 40), Grätz (p. 454), and Rosenthal (p. 134), that Jochanan ben Sakkai was the first to make this deduction from the passage in Hosea, or that the writer of the Book of Tobit was influenced by it.

[1] Cp. *int. al.* Weber, 'System d. Altsynagogalen Paläst. Theologie,' §§ 1, 10; Schürer, 'Geschichte d. Jüd. Volk. im Zeitalter Jesu Christi,'[2] § 24 (see p. 204); Rosenzweig, 'Das Jahrhundert nach dem Babylonischen Exile,' pp. 5, 6.

[2] Grätz, p. 447; cp. his 'Geschichte d. Juden,'[2] iii. pp. 120, 475–6. Preiss and Rosenthal agree with him. On the other hand, see Rabbinowicz, 'Législation civile du Thalmud;' 'Les Femmes' &c. pp. xxv.–xxvii.

[1] 'Zeitschrift f. w. Th.' (1882), pp. 359–62.

[2] Ibid. (1885), pp. 24 &c.

[3] Ewald, 'Gesch. d. Volkes Israel,'[2] iv. pp. 233–8. Westcott, 'Dict. of the Bible,' *s. n.* 'Book of Tobit,' agrees with Ewald.

[4] *E.g.* Vaihinger (Herzog, 'R. E.'[1] *s. n.* Tobias), *circ.* 1st cent. B.C.; Herzfeld ('Gesch. d. V. Israel,' i. p. 316), a few years after the Maccabean wars; Fritzsche (*op. cit.* § 10), a little before or a little after these wars, but not while they lasted; Jahn ('Einl.' *s. n.*), B.C. 200–150; Keil ('Einl.' *s. n.*), 1st or 2nd cent. B.C.; Grimm ('Z. d. w. Th.' 1881, p. 38), before the Maccabean struggle; Hilgenfeld (Ibid. 1862, p. 181; 1886, p. 152), during the Maccabean era; Schürer ('Gesch. d. V. Israel,'[2] ii. p. 605), in the course of the last two centuries B.C.

of a Herod was to rear on Mount Moriah (B.C. 17). And if a date before the time of Herod may be thus asserted, an *argumentum e silentio* helps to carry that date many years further back. In the prediction of ch. xiv. there is no allusion to the frightful persecutions of an Antiochus Epiphanes, or to his desecration of the Temple (B.C. 167). The act was one which had stung to the quick every patriot's heart; and had it been perpetrated at or before the time that this Book was written, it is difficult to understand the absence of all reference to it. It seems then permissible to go farther back than the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. How far? Definite deductions from references to canonical Scripture, such as that to the Book of Jonah[1] (xiv. 4), would be more justifiable were the Greek Version supported by the other texts; but all that can be fairly deduced from that passage is acquaintance on the part of the writer with what God had spoken, either by Jonah or by other prophets (see note *in loco*), with regard to Nineveh. The alleged reflexion of the history of Job and his wife (see ii. 10, 15, and the additions of the Vulgate in the notes), or of practices enjoined by the example of Daniel (i. 12, 13, notes), or of episodes in the history of Esther (xiv. 10; see note), are either such as would be familiar to every Jew of the pre-Maccabean age, or are of too superficial and even uncertain a character to support any argument as to date.[2]

The *terminus a quo* is rather to be gathered from the general tone of the narrative, and slight and unobtrusive indications. A picture is presented of Jewish life and feeling during some thirty to forty years (xiv. 1). The nation had passed through great distress and oppression, and the individual and devout Jew had been first punished (i. 19) and then mocked (ii. 8) for devotion to religious and national habits. Marriages between God's people and aliens still required discouragement (iv. 12, vi. 15), while intercourse between families in exile had become comparatively easy and safe (chs. iv.–x. contrasted with i. 15). Ardent hopes of a full restoration of the people scattered among the nations (xiii. 5, xiv. 4), of a greater freedom for the dwellers in Jerusalem (xiii. 10), of a rebuilding of the Holy City and of the upraising of the Sanctuary, animated the language of the writer when he closed his reminiscences in the midst of a time of calm after much political and domestic sorrow. The names Tobit and Tobias selected for two of the principal personages in the tale are, under varying forms, equivalent to or the actual reproduction of a name once hateful to every patriotic Jew. They would hardly have been selected had not the evil recollections been obscured or superseded by later memories of good. The odium attaching to Tobias the Ammonite, "the slave," the adversary of Nehemiah (B.C. 445, ii. 10, 19; iv. 3–5; vi. 17, 19), required to be, and perhaps was, obliterated by the reputation of another Tobias, whose career, and that of his more famous son Joseph, was contemporaneous with that of "the great" Antiochus III. (B.C. 223–187). The thirty-six years' reign of this prince presents, in its vicissitudes of distress and peace among the Jews, many points of general parallelism with the alternations of sorrow and happiness, national and individual, depicted in the Book of Tobit. And the family history of this Tobias supplies a fact illustrative of the determination of such as Tobit to maintain Jewish purity in matrimonial alliances. Joseph the son of Tobias was married to his own niece. The maiden was deliberately substituted by her father in the place of a dancer, in order that his brother

[1] Written, according to many critics, between the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities. See Bleek-Wellhausen, 'Einl. in d. A. T.'[4] § 240. For other dates, see 'Speaker's Commentary on the O. T.' vi. p. 580.

[2] References occur in Tobit to the following O. T. Books:—

Genesis ii. 18, 20.	Tobit viii. 6.
,, xxiv. 7.	,, v. 16, 21.
,, xxiv. 33.	,, vii. 11.
1 Sam. ii. 6.	,, vii. 16, viii. 2.
2 Kings xix. 19.	,, viii. 17.
Psalm xvii. 15.	,, iv. 11.
,, lxxxvi. 15.	,, xiii. 6.
,, xcvi. 6.	,, xiii. 7.
,, cxxix. 5.	,, xiii. 11.
Prov. iii. 1, 3, 4.	,, iv. 19.
,, xi. 4.	,, iv. 10, xii. 9.
Isai. xxxi. 17.	,, xiii. 9.
Amos viii. 10.	,, ii. 6.

should not contaminate himself by connexion with a heathen.[1]

(2.) *Internal evidence.* — The indications of date specified in the above paragraphs are but scanty, and in character negative rather than positive; but they are in accordance with conclusions derived from internal evidence, if the Book be compared with another work whose moral precepts are akin to its own.

The Book Ecclesiasticus, a work composed in Palestine and originally written in Hebrew, supplies that kind of parallelism which, by its community of thought and language, suggests for the Book of Tobit a community of origin and date.

(*a.*) Tobit's inculcation of almsgiving (p. 158) has been adduced as an indication of late date; but sentiments parallel to it are frequent in Ecclesiasticus. For example, Ecclesiasticus (iii. 30) declares, "Alms maketh an atonement for sins;" xvii. 22, "The alms of a man is a signet with God;" xxix. 11–13, "Lay up thy treasure according to the commandments of the Most High, and it shall bring thee more profit than gold. Shut up alms in thy storehouses [in the heart of the poor, *Vulg.*], and it shall deliver thee from all affliction. It shall fight for thee against thine enemies better than a mighty shield and a strong spear;" xxxv. 2, "He that giveth alms sacrificeth praise;" xl. 24, "Brethren and help are against time of trouble; but alms shall deliver more than them both." The first and last of these are as strong as Tobit iv. 10, xii. 9: and the language of the Son of Sirach decidedly helps us to understand aright the language of our Book. Evidently "atonement" cannot be taken in our modern sense. Another passage (Eccl. iii. 3), "Whoso honoureth his father maketh an atonement for his sins," invests filial honour with the same efficacy as almsgiving. If it would be an anachronism to discover in this passage of Ecclesiasticus sacrificial or sacerdotal significance or "anti-Biblical efficacy," is it not a mistake to intrude such meanings into Tobit iv. 10? Again, the "deliverance" of which Ecclesiasticus (xl. 24) speaks throws light upon the "deliverance" affirmed in Tobit (iv. 10, xii. 9). The primary sense is a deliverance from "time of trouble" more potent than that which brotherly assistance and extraneous help can afford. There is no thought of a time of death and judgment.

(*b.*) The obscure passage (Tobit iv. 17, see note), "Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just," and Tobit's general conduct towards the dead (i. 17, ii. 2–8), have also been adduced as pointing to a late date. In truth, they find both illustration and parallelism in the Book of Ecclesiasticus. "From the dead withhold not favour" (Ecclus. vii. 33;[1] cp. also xxxviii. 16), is a maxim inculcating that general duty which Tobit so fearlessly discharged; and the passage, "Delicacies poured upon a mouth shut up are as messes of meat set upon a grave" (Ecclus. xxx. 18), is a testimony to the practice (however understood) to which Tobit refers.

(*c.*) Other "precepts" (Tob. vi. 15) upon which Tobit lays so much stress in his advice to his son, and his maxims generally, find frequent place in the chapters of Ecclesiasticus. Devotion to God,[2] purity of marriage,[3] honest dealing towards servants,[4] the right estimate of wealth,[5] the general duty of helping the poor and needy[6] &c., are forcibly urged by both writers. The comparison between a limited number of verses in the Book of Tobit and the whole contents of Ecclesiasticus must not, of course, be pushed too far; but, fairly estimated, it seems to suggest that the sentiments of the writers of these Books which they have in common were the sentiments of

[1] Cp. Josephus, 'Antiq.' xii. ch. iv.; Milman, 'Hist. of the Jews,' i. p. 451 &c.; Grätz, ii. 2 Hälfte, p. 243; Herzfeld, i. p. 186 &c. For Antiochus the Great, see the useful summary in 'Dictionary of the Bible,' *s. n.*

[1] I have adopted here the translation of Bissell.

[2] Tob. iv. 5, 6, 19: cp. Ecclus. vi. 37, viii. 8–14, xxxv. 10, xxxvii. 12.

[3] Tob. iv. 12, 13; viii. 6: cp. Ecclus. vii. 26, xvii. 1, xxxvi. 24.

[4] Tob. iv. 14: cp. Ecclus. vii. 20, 21.

[5] Tob. v. 18, 19: cp. Ecclus. v. 1.

[6] Tob. iv. 7, 14, 17: cp. Ecclus. iv. 1, 5; xii. 4; xiv. 13; xxxiv. 21; xxxv. 10. In examining these parallels, which might be greatly increased, the general impression will probably be that Tobit is more precise and definite than Ecclesiasticus; and this would indicate that of the two Ecclesiasticus is the older Book.

a common era, and express convictions inculcated by the teachers of their period and accepted by the taught. The date of Ecclesiasticus should therefore throw light upon the date of Tobit. Unfortunately, the date of Ecclesiasticus is greatly disputed:[1] and a difference of a whole century exists between modern computations on the subject. But on either supposition—whether Ecclesiasticus be dated about B.C. 280 or about B.C. 190—the tone of thought and the manner of handling these moral subjects had not materially altered in the interval of that century. Neither in the end of the 3rd century B.C. nor in the end of the 2nd century would the treatment of them have stiffened into the mould of the latter part of the 1st century B.C. or of the 1st Christian century. For this reason therefore the internal evidence of the Book seems to point to a date not more recent than the 2nd century B.C.; or to the same date as that suggested by the external evidence.

§ IV. Aim of the Book.

Most critics are agreed that the Book is didactic in character, but the difference of opinion is great as to whether that character be general or special. Specialists like Kohut, Grätz, and Neubauer[2] urge that the aim of the writer is to inculcate the duty of burying the dead. The Midrash which prefaces the Chaldee Version[3] finds in the Book the reward of one who gives alms and tithes. To Rosenthal[4] the Book is an illustration of a saying attributed to Rabbi Akiba (*c.* A.D. 110–35), "All that God does, He does for good." Others again read in it, with Ewald,[5] the inculcation of the duty of worshipping the true God in the midst of the heathen; or deduce from it with De Wette and Hilgenfeld[6] the special laudation of prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and righteousness. On the other hand, a more general scope is asserted by Bertholdt, who recognises in the Book a picture of human life in its passage from unhappiness to happiness; or by Eichhorn, to whom it is the record of the answer to prayer.[1] Others expand their range yet more widely still. The Book contains a picture of family life in which parents give counsel to their children, children love and obey their parents, and God's Angel advises, guides, and heals those in whose lives the religious element is strongly expressed, and faithfulness to God is maintained even in times of national disaster and personal poverty. On the whole, if there is something to be said for the specialist, there is more to be said for the generalist. To assert that some one leading idea was specially prominent in the writer's mind, only brings to light the divergence among critics with respect to it. Preference is not so clearly exhibited by the writer himself as to make it possible to choose between the various doctrines and truths he has set forth for appreciation and imitation. It is best, therefore, to rest content with a conclusion as general as that of Cramer:[2] "The leading ideas of the Book are that righteousness, although it may seem to be at the mercy of wickedness, does in the end conquer; that God hears the true prayer of the afflicted in the time of suffering; and that one may win the love of Jehovah by the practice of almsgiving, the burial of the dead, and other pious acts." This would have been as true in the days of Sennacherib as of Ardeshir I., as practicable in Assyria as in Parthia.

§ V. Place of Composition.

Was this in or out of Palestine? This is usually answered in accordance with the date and aim attributed on other grounds to the writer. The text itself selects Assyria (xii. 20, xiii. 1); Kohut prefers Persia, Ewald the far East—more closely defined by Westcott as in some

[1] See this Commentary: Introduction to Ecclesiasticus; Bissell, p. 278; Schürer,[2] ii. p. 595.
[2] See above, p. 157, and Neubauer, p. xvi.
[3] Cp. Neubauer, pp. xxvii. xliii.
[4] Pp. 114, 123. Cp. Milman, 'Hist. of the Jews,' ii. 427.
[5] 'Gesch. d. V. I.' iv. 233.
[6] De Wette-Schrader, 'Einl. in d. A. T.' § 375; Hilgenfeld, 'Z. f. d. w. Th.' (1862), p. 198.

[1] See Grimm, 'Z. f. d. w. Th.' (1881), p. 52.
[2] Quoted in Bissell, p. 117.

city subject to Persia, perhaps Babylon. The geographical inaccuracies exclude these countries in the opinion of Grätz and Grimm,[1] and the acceptance of a Semitic original is opposed to the conclusion advanced by Nöldeke[2] alone, that Egypt was its home. A larger support is given to the alternative view that it was written in Judæa, but whether in the southern or northern part of the province must be left undecided.[3]

§ VI. History.

Philo, Josephus, and the New Testament[4] make no mention of the Book. There is no reason why they should or should not, and their silence cannot be quoted for or against its existence. With the acceptance of the LXX. Version as a whole was also included the recognition of the Book of Tobit contained in it. In the Greek Church it met with more favour than in the Latin. Westcott, Lightfoot, and Schürer[5] agree in considering St. Polycarp's advice—"When ye can do good, defer it not, ὅτι ἐλεημοσύνη ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται" ('Ad Philipp.' ch. x.)—a quotation from Tobit (iv. 11; xii. 9); and a still earlier reference to the precepts of the Book is furnished by the 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' (see iv. 14, note). The Gnostics called the Ophites counted Tobias among the prophets;[6] and Clement of Alexandria[7] considered the book canonical. Origen's testimony[1] to it is of a like kind. He points out that the Jews did not admit this Book or Judith into their lists because they had them not in Hebrew,[2] and rests the authority of the former on the usage of the Church. St. Athanasius appears to have at times used it as possessing canonical authority; but when giving a formal and critical list of the sacred Books, he classes it among the Apocrypha as a writing "to be read by those but just entering on Christian teaching, and desirous of being instructed in the rules of piety." In the Latin Church the Book is quoted by Cyprian, Hilary, and Lucifer as authoritative, and the majority of the Latin Fathers endorsed the opinion of St. Augustine, accepting it with the other Apocrypha of the LXX., "among the Books which the Christian Church received."

St. Augustine was probably influenced both by his liking for the LXX. and by the teaching of his spiritual father, St. Ambrose, to whom the Book was prophetic; and who made it the subject of an essay, in which he discussed the evils of usury. St. Jerome, on the other hand, refused to it canonical recognition. "The Church," he said, "reads it, but does not receive it among her canonical Scriptures." The Council of Trent finally took upon itself to assert its canonicity. Since then commentators have been content to dwell by preference on the moral beauty and idyllic tenderness of the work. "Is it history?" says Luther; "then is it a holy history. Is it fiction? then is it a truly beautiful, wholesome, and profitable fiction, the performance of a gifted poet." "Read it," says Pellican, "as a little book of the greatest usefulness. It is full of maxims, most profitable both for faith and morality." The Church of England has never been behindhand in recognising these excellences. The Second Book of Homilies illustrates its teaching on Almsdeeds—"that merciful almsdealing is profitable to purge the soul from the

[1] Grätz, p. 445; Grimm, p. 46.

[2] Nöldeke, p. 63.

[3] Grätz, pp. 405 &c., 445, decides against Galilee on the ground of inaccurate description of Tobit's birthplace; but his arguments are proofs of an inaccurate text rather than of inaccuracy as to the fact. A slight but valuable hint in favour of Judæa is furnished by ii. 11 (see note).

[4] Alleged parallels between Tob. iv. 15 and St. Matt. vii. 12; Tob. xiii. 16–18 and Rev. xxi. 18; Tob. iv. 9 and 2 Cor. viii. 12, resolve themselves into resemblances of the most general character.

[5] Cp. Westcott in 'Dict. of the Bible,' *s. n.* Tobit (Book of), § 6; Lightfoot, 'Apostolic Fathers,' part ii. vol. ii. § ii. p. 923; Schürer, 'Apokryphen d. A. T.' in Herzog's 'R. E.'[2] He finds also a reference to Tobit xii. 8, 9 in '2 Clem. ad Cor.' xvi. 4.

[6] Irenæus, 'Adv. Hæres.' i. 30, 11.

[7] 'Stromata,' ii. 23, vi. 12, quoting Tob. iv. 16, xii. 8. He dignifies it by the name ἡ γραφή.

[1] For the authorities which follow, see Westcott in 'Dict. of the Bible,' Book of Tobit; Fritzsche, p. 18; Bissell, p. 121.

[2] In Fritzsche, p. 19, Tobit iv. 17, v. 12, vi. 7 are given as passages which might make the Jews unwilling to reckon the Book canonical.

infection and filthy spots of sin"—by referring to Tob. iv. 10 with the words, "The same lesson doth the Holy Ghost also teach in sundry places of the Scripture." Until the re-arrangement of the Lectionary, the Book was read in the daily Lessons of the Church, and quotations from it are to be found in the Offertory Sentences of the Communion Service (cp. Tob. iv. 7–9), in the Marriage Service (cp. Tob. vi. 17, note), and in the Litany (cp. Tob. iii. 3, note).

EXCURSUS I.

THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE BOOK OF TOBIT.

I. A Semitic original.
II. A Greek original.
III. Priority of Chaldee or Hebrew.

The question as to the original language of the widely-diffused story of the Book of Tobit practically resolves itself into a choice between a Semitic and a Greek text. And that choice still baffles many. There are no decisive grounds, says Schürer,[1] in favour of a *Hebrew* original. The *Greek* of the book, says Grimm,[2] is of that character that it may be either original or a translation. Weighty names range themselves on both sides in this literary contest, but what has been most fully said will be found in Nöldeke's monograph[3] in favour of a Greek, and in Grätz's papers[4] in favour of a Semitic, original. Both critics have had the advantage of writing with the Bodleian Chaldee text before them, but from it they have deduced the most opposite results. The advocate of a Semitic original has found in it that which has enabled him to supersede conjectural by real arguments; the supporters of a Greek original are convinced by it that their reasoning is correct.

One element in the question is the difference which distinguishes this Chaldee text and St. Jerome's Vulgate from the other texts with regard to the *form* of the narrative. The Chaldee and the Vulgate uniformly employ the third person in speaking of Tobit; the Greek and all the other texts use the first person in section i. 1—iii. 6, and after that section the third person. This latter usage, exhibiting transition or variation in form, is evidently more original than the fixed uniformity existing in the former; and it seems therefore clear that the Bodleian Chaldee text could not have been the foundation of the existing Greek Version. To establish such a foundation an older Chaldee, or at least Semitic, text must be conceived, which preceded the present Chaldee, and preserved the first person in the section referred to. The Hebrew texts, though much later, possess this requisite change, and therefore present the model of such a Semitic original as is desired.

[1] Schürer, 'Apokryphen d. A. T.' in Herzog, 'R. E.'[2] § vi. 7. His preference for a Greek original is more strongly expressed in 'Geschichte d. Jüdischen Volke,'[2] ii. p. 606.

[2] 'Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theologie,' 1881, p. 49.

[3] 'Monatsbericht der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin,' 1879, p. 45 &c.

[4] 'Monatschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft der Judenthums,' 1879, p. 157 &c.

I. The original Language was Semitic, Hebrew or Hebraic.

(1) The language of St. Jerome is sufficiently distinct as to one fact. When he met the wish of his brother bishops, Chromatius and Heliodorus, and translated into Latin the Book of Tobit, he had before him "librum Chaldæo sermone conscriptum." It may be admitted that he made this translation without being moved by any great respect for a work which the Jews excluded from the Canon of Holy Scripture and placed in the Apocrypha; but why did he translate it at all? He marvels, he tells his friends, at the persistency with which they pressed their wish, but he complied with it. Why? Possibly for two reasons. First, the Book was current in the Roman and Greek churches; secondly, its doctrines were acceptable, its enforcement of religious practices desirable. This both explained and fostered its popularity; it was a reason for the circulation of the Book. Then why were the Versions, Greek and Latin (for example), in which it circulated unsatisfactory? Evidently because they were not accounted true and accurate reproductions of an original text. Now, if that original text had been Greek or Latin, the Bishops would not have troubled St. Jerome to do what they could have done for themselves. Their appeal to him was to do for them what he alone in his day was capable of

doing in a satisfactory manner. And his response was to translate afresh and from a Semitic original.

There is no need to deny the fact that St. Jerome's mode of supplying the want was peculiar; but this result, which in our day would be eminently unsatisfactory, was, in his case, in part due to the hostility which pursued his studies. His translations of the canonical Books of the Old Testament direct from the Hebrew had brought upon him odium and charges as offensive as they were unjust. "Arguunt," he says in his Preface to Tobit, "nos Hebræorum studia, et imputant nobis contra suum canonem Latinis auribus ista transferre." His adversaries were not likely to be more charitable when he dealt with a Book, Apocryphal it is true, but enshrined in the sacred ark of the Alexandrian Version. Therefore, as regards the Book of Tobit, he emphasises the fact: "Feci satis desiderio vestro, non tamen meo studio." He thought it better to displease the "Pharisees" about him than disobey the commands of the Bishops: and the result was the Vulgate Version. It is a mistake to assert that this Version is an abbreviation; but it is in many places nearer to the Chaldee than to the recognised Greek Version.

(2) The evidence from names in the Apocrypha is proverbially unsatisfactory; but in the case of this Book Raphael and Reuel, Tobi and Anna, Tobias and Sarah, Gabrias and Azarias are actually Hebrew, or easily reducible to Hebrew forms. Other names, even when disputed (see below), and such names as Asmodeus, Enemessar, and Achiacharus, do not dispel the general impression that the proper names are mostly Hebraic.

(3) Variations, if not mistakes, exhibited by the Greek Version are adduced as due to faults of translation from a Semitic Version, or indicative of this class of error.

(*a*) i. 13. The words of the E. V., "grace and favour," find their parallel in the חנא וחסדא of the Chaldee (or חן וחסד of the Hebrew). But the Greek text reads *χάριν καὶ μορφήν*. The sentiment is not in question (see note *in loco*), but how came *μορφή* in the text? It is the word frequently used in Daniel (*e.g.* iv. 33, v. 6, vii. 28) for זיו (A. V. "brightness"); but here Grätz thinks that instead of חסדא the reading חזוא, "form" (see Levy, 'Ch. W. B.' *s. n.*) was followed.

(*β*) i. 22, *ἐκ δευτερᾶς*. Fritzsche (*i. l.*), supplying the word *χώρας* or *τάξεως*, would make this expression = משנה, or "second in rank." This would presuppose a Hebrew original text. But a variant reading (Vatic. *δ*), "præstitit *me* rex *iterum*," suggests that a text existed וישיבני שנית (cp. the general tenor of the Heb., Chald., and Itala renderings), which applied the king's acts to Tobit and not to Achiacharus. Another text, however, had וישיבנו, and that was followed by the Greek.

(*γ*) v. 18, *ἀργύριον τῷ ἀργυρίῳ μὴ φθάσαι*. The last words are Hebrew in cast = אל יקדם; while the absence of any corresponding words in the existing Hebrew and Chaldee texts imply the currency of a text which contained them. Ilgen's reproduction of the words in Hebrew, כסף להכסף אל יקדם, if faulty in grammar and sense, can be easily corrected (*e.g.* by the Syriac כספא לכספא לא נמטא; cp. Rosenthal, p. 147, n. 4): alterations such as הכסף לסוף אל יקום (Grätz) or כספא לכסופא לא ייתי (Rosenthal), are too drastic and conjectural.

(*δ*) vi. 15 (E. V. 14), *κατάξω τὴν ζωὴν τοῦ πατρός μου . . . εἰς τὸν τάφον*: so Itala, "vitam." But the usual phrase is והורדתי את שיבת אבי וגו׳; cp. Gen. xlii. 38, "he shall bring down my grey hairs" &c., *i.e.* metaphorically, my old age: cp. the Vulgate here, "deponam senectutem illorum." The conclusion is that the Greek followed a reading חית instead of שיבת.

(*ε*) vi. 10, *προσήγγισαν τῇ 'Ράγῃ*. The other Versions (see note *in loco*) read more correctly Ecbatana; but how did the reading 'Ράγῃ arise? On the supposition that a Hebrew text was before the writer, the original may have been קרבו לעיר אגבתנא. The word לעיר was changed into לרעי, and rendered *ἐν 'Ράγῃ*. Grätz would further see in this misreading a proof that the translator had a Hebrew and not a Chaldee text before him. In Chaldee a city = קרתא, and the Chaldee text of the Bodleian uses that word here in its shortened form, בקורי רגיש.

(*ζ*) v. 15. In the sentence *τίνα σοι ἔσομαι μισθὸν διδόναι, ἔσομαι διδόναι* is not so much a barbarism or a change from *ἔσται μοι* (Fritzsche), as a literal reproduction of עתיד אני לית (or) לתת. So Rosenthal (p. 150).

(*η*) xiii. 6, *τίς γινώσκει, εἰ θελήσει ἡμᾶς*. The first two words recall מי יודע, with its sense of "perhaps" (cp. Jon. iii. 9).

(*θ*) iv. 17. In the Additional Note to this passage are specified some of the alterations proposed to make this difficult verse more clear. In Grätz's opinion the verse presents "the most pregnant proof of a Hebrew original;" but this proof depends upon the acceptance of his alterations. Inasmuch as these alterations have not commanded, and do not command, universal acceptance, the broader position—to which he also draws attention — can alone be considered here. The previous verse (iv. 16) is rightly alleged to be Hebraistic in cast; and this might be with equal justice affirmed of the entire

section. The next verse as restored by Grätz would be פרוס לחמך ושפך (ומסך (or יינך בקרב הצדקים ואל הרשעים אל תתן . . .

If Rosenthal's objection (p. 145) that the use of בקרב in the sense intended is not Hebraic may be dismissed as hypercritical and one which he himself does not press, there is more force in his contention that to introduce the pouring out of wine is to introduce as a requisite a new and unnecessary element in the description of well-doing. Rosenthal's preference is for a reading which combines several emendations: שפך רחמיך בקרב הצדיקים ולרשעים אל תתן.

Both writers are, however, agreed that a text was before the writer of the Greek Version which he failed to understand, and Rosenthal finds in the variations of the other texts so many attempts to escape from the difficulty of the Greek text upon which they depended.

To these illustrations of textual misunderstandings and mistranslations of a Semitic original Rosenthal adds the following.

(ι) vii. 13, *ἔγραψε συγγραφὴν καὶ ἐσφραγίσατο*. On the ground that such sealing was not a Jewish practice (see, however, Introduction, p. 159), Rosenthal (p. 132, n. 1) argues that the translator misunderstood the original text before him. The Hebrew and Chaldee texts printed by Neubauer have one and the same word; but he translates them differently. The Hebrew, ויחתם אותה בעדים, he renders "and he *sealed* it before witnesses;" the Chaldee, וחתמו יתה סהדיו, "and witnesses *signed* it." The document would certainly be signed and the technical word descriptive of the act would be in neo-Hebraic or Talmudical diction, חתם (cp. Levy, 'N. H. Lex.' *s. n.*) without the superfluous בעדים of the Hebrew. The Greek translator did not, however, understand the expression neo-Hebraically and technically, but Biblically; hence his rendering.

(κ) iii. 5, *πολλαὶ αἱ κρίσεις σού εἰσι καὶ ἀληθιναί, ἐξ ἐμοῦ ποιῆσαι κ.τ.λ.* The words *ἐξ ἐμοῦ* seem to have but little connexion with their context (Rosenthal, p. 143), and are hardly explained grammatically by the Itala: "multa sunt judicia tua et vera, quæ de me exigas" &c. The Bodleian Chaldee and the Hebrew text do not help here; but a Hebrew rendering of the Greek passage would be רבים משפטיך ונאמנים ממני לעשות. Giving to ממני a comparative sense, and taking it in conjunction with נאמנים, the sentence would mean: "Many are Thy judgments and more faithful than I" &c. This grammatical form, if not common, is not opposed to neo-Hebraic diction; but this infrequency the Greek translator did not know, and his translation, *ἐξ ἐμοῦ*, is alleged to be an evidence of his ignorance and helplessness.

(λ.) ii. 14, *ποῦ εἰσὶν αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι σου καὶ αἱ δικαιοσύναι σου;* What, asks Rosenthal (p. 144), had almsgiving to do with Tobit's suspicion? The answer might be found in the simple fact that, when two persons are quarrelling, a retort is frequently quite outside the special point of blame which provokes it; but Rosenthal discovers in the Greek translator, not now an ignorance of neo-Hebraic, but acquaintance with it. The rendering of the Chaldee אן טובך וזכוותך says nothing about almsgiving; the Hebrew, איה חסדיך וצדקותיך, presents in חסד the sense of love or affection, and expresses the protest, "where is thy love and justice, that thou makest against me so unloving and unjust a charge?" This sense the Greek translator declined, while he adopted the neo-Hebraic meaning of חסד, love of one's neighbour, and expressed that sense in *ἐλεημοσύναι*.

(μ.) ix. 6, *καὶ εὐλόγησε Τωβίας τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ*. See Additional Note to this passage. Here the Greek reading is simply recorded as being one which to Rosenthal (p. 147) is a fault in translation.

(ν.) x. 5, *οὐ μέλει μοι, τέκνον, ὅτι ἀφῆκά σε κ.τ.λ.* In the note to this passage are given some conjectural emendations. Rosenthal (p. 149) conjectures a Hebrew reading, בני לו לא שלחתיך, "O my son! Would that I had not sent thee" &c., which an error of a copyist altered into לי לא, and the Greek translator rendered *οὐ μέλει μοι*. A less unsupported conjecture may be found in the hint furnished by the Greek C, *οἴμοι, τέκνον, . . . πρὸς τί κ.τ.λ.*, where the *οἴμοι* reproduced the Chaldee of the Bodleian ווי לי.

(4) The proper names, in several cases, are presented in the three Greek texts under forms which shew defects due to misunderstanding or misreading a Semitic original.

(*a*) *Enemessar* (i. 2, 13; see note). This faulty rendering of Shalmaneser must have penetrated into the Greek Version after the time of St. Jerome; the Vulg. as well as the Itala having Salmanassar. In i. 17 the Greek text is further corrupt by the misreading of Ἐνεμεσσὰρ for Σενναχηρίμ.

(*b*) *Gabael* (i. 14) is not considered by Grätz a Hebrew-sounding name, but a corruption of Gabriel, the reading of the Syriac. He does not, however, approve of the alliteration "Gabriel son of Gabrias" (cp. iv. 20), and would—by the help of faults and gaps—restore a reading *καὶ παρεθήμην Γαβριήλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου, τοῦ . . . τοῦ Γαβριήλου.* The alteration of the Hebrew Fagius עביאל בן גבריאל is less forced than this, and Neubauer's acceptance of the name as Hebrew, with a meaning "treasure of God" (p. xvi.), is

certainly admissible. The name may have come down from exilic times.

(*c*) *Achiacharus* (i. 21). The name can of course be put into Hebrew letters (אקיקר), but it is not Hebrew; and the rendering אחי אהרון (Heb. Fag.) is at once a confession that it is not and an attempt to make it so.

(*d*) *Edna* (vii. 2) is disclaimed by Grätz. He does not consider the meaning of the name ("delight") applicable to so harmless and passive a person, and prefers the name Anna given by Itala (and Vulgate) as being nearer to the original. Neubauer differs from him.

(5) Confusion with respect to topographical and geographical sites.

(*a*) The birthplace of Tobit (i. 2; see note) has always been a crux to critics. Three neighbouring localities are given, and vast ingenuity is exercised in preventing confusion becoming worse confounded. The Greek texts A and B and the Chald. call the place Thisbe (var. Tibe, Tibos); some Latin (not Vulg.) texts call it Gebuel, Bihel (formed from Ge-bihel). This place, thus variously called Thisbe and Gebuel, was defined to be (a) *εἰς δεξιῶν Κυδιώς τῇ Νεφθαλὶ ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ* (A); or better (B and C) *Κυδίων τῆς Νεφθαλὶμ ἐν τῇ ἄνω Γαλιλαίᾳ*. Approximations sufficiently intelligible to this are found in the Latin, "in dextra parte Cidissi civitate ex Nephtalim quæ est super Galilaea," or (Itala) "in dextera parte Edisse civitatis Nepthalim in superioribus Galileæ." The name Kadesh-Napthali can be easily discovered under these curious spellings. (b) takes the identification a step further: *ὑπερανὼ Ἀσὴρ* (A), or *Ἀσσὴρ* (B and C), *ὀπίσω δυσμῶν τοῦ ἡλίου*. The name *Ἀσὴρ*, a corruption of *Ἀσὼρ*, is Hazor (חצור), a name, as Raumer has ingeniously shewn, reproduced in the reading of the Latin texts Naason [= Naasor = Anaasor = *ἀνὼ* (part of *ὑπερανὼ*) *Ἀσὼρ*]: and the remaining words direct the reader generally to the west of Tobit's birthplace (cp. the Itala: "post viam quæ ducit in occidentem"). (c) A step further is given. The texts B and C (absent from A) have *ἐξ ἀριστερῶν Φογώρ*; the Itala, "ex sinistra parte Raphain;" the Vulgate, "in sinistra habens Sephet." Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' ii. xx. 6) mentions a *Σέφ* in Upper Galilee; and it is thought that he meant *Σεφέθ* = Safed, of Crusader fame. Saphet or Safed might be rendered in Hebrew צפת, which again might be an abbreviation of מצפה. The Itala scribe read *Ρεφ* instead of *Σεφ*, and reached the name Rephain—a name familiar ın the nomenclature of the Holy Land—though no such place was to be found in Galilee. But how came the name *Φογώρ*? Grätz's explanation is ingenious. Safed was situated on a hill. It may have been known by the name צפת טורא or צפת טור = *Σεφεθὼρ* = *Σεφεγώρ* (by a change of *θ* into *γ*). The syllable *Σε* fell away, and the remainder, *φεγὼρ*, was, after the analogy of פעור, changed into *Φογώρ*.

These various steps lead up to the conclusion that Tobit's birthplace lay between Kadesh on the right and Saphet on the left: westward of it was Hazor. Gischala satisfies the requisite conditions according to Grätz; but can Thisbe-Gebuel be the same as Gischala? Yes, says Grätz: change *γ* into *θ*, and *Θισβη* = *Γισβη*; transpose the letters of Gebuel and you have Chalab. Put together Gisbe and Chalab and make a name Gischalab. That is not so very different from Gischala. At the same time Kadesh was not on the right but on the left of Gischala, and Sephet not on the left but on the right of the same place. Where so much can be altered in a manner satisfactory to ingenuity, this difference is trifling; or if it be preferred, the mistake in position may be admitted. In either case it only proves that the writers were either not at home in the necessary topography or indifferent to accuracy. But what—it is asked—was the state of the Greek texts which could exhibit or lend themselves to such variations? and what was the writer of A about that he could omit (if he knew it) the topographical hint supplied by B and C?

Grätz finds in text A other mistakes *re* localities due to mistranslation and omission.

(*b*) i. 5 (see note). The reading *τῇ Βάαλ*, *τῇ δαμάλει* is in B and C *τῷ μόσχῳ . . . ἐν Δάν*. The Chaldee (and the Hebrew at greater length) reads: "to the calves . . . at Bethel and Dan." On the supposition that the more original text is presented by the Chaldee, the alteration made by B and C—which consists in dropping Bethel—is venial compared with that of A, which has omitted Dan and corrupted Bethel into Baal. Bickell prefers to consider the Greek text a corruption of בעולה or בעולות.

(*c*) xi. 1 (see note). The Greek text C adds *καὶ ἦλθον εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἥ ἐστι ἀπέναντι τῆς Νινευΐ*. This curious mistake is probably due to a misreading of a name more correctly reproduced in the Latin Versions, Charran or Charam, and emended by Reusch into Chalah = *Χαλάχ* (כלח). The Chaldee and Heb. texts also give a name, Akris. Texts A and B alone have no name, and apparently made no guess at any.

(6) Not only as regards localities, but also as regards other matters is the text A accounted very deficient. Grätz illustrates this by comparing this text not only with the other Greek texts, but with other Versions in the following passages: i. 6–8, ii. 9, 10 (where text A omits, for the sake of brevity, the details furnished by B and the Chaldee

(*int. al.*), and the period of Tobit's blindness, four years, as well as the time, two years, during which Achiacharus supported him), ii. 14 (in the account of Tobit's quarrel with his wife, A is much abbreviated), vi. (*passim*).

The conclusion which will, I think, be drawn from these alleged proofs in favour of a Semitic original will be that, though they are by no means of equal value, and some from their conjectural character of no value at all, yet they present—where of real value—a fairly strong case.

The following pedigree expresses Grätz's conclusions:—

Semitic original.

Ancient Greek. — Vulgate.

Greek texts A & B. — Hebrew.

What is to be said on the other side?

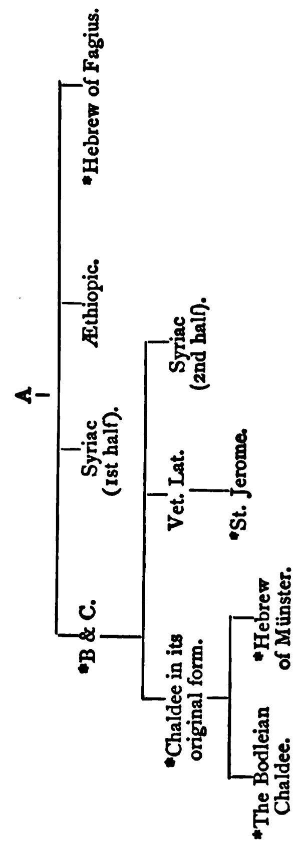
II. The original Language was Greek.

The Greek Version, which furnishes to Grätz and Rosenthal proofs of translation from a Semitic original, furnishes to Nöldeke proofs of an exactly opposite character. It contains grammatical constructions which to him are not Hebraic, and sentences which exhibit a freedom of handling very distinct from the mould prescribed by the LXX. For example, the diction of the following sentences he cannot consider Hebraic (p. 61): i. 6, ἐπορευόμην . . . τὰς ἀπαρχὰς καὶ τὰς δεκάτας τῶν γεννημάτων καὶ τὰς πρωτοκουρίας ἔχων κ.τ.λ. (cp. the LXX. of Deut. xviii. 4); iii. 8, καὶ ἑνὸς αὐτῶν οὐκ ὠνομάσθης; iv. 6, εὐοδίαι ἔσονται ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου; vii. 7, ὁ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἀνθρώπου υἱός; xii. 7, μυστήριον βασιλέως καλὸν κρύψαι, τὰ δὲ ἔργα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνακαλύπτειν ἐνδόξως; and the play upon the words ἀπεστάλη Ῥαφαὴλ ἰάσασθαι exhibits to him no proof of a Hebrew text, but simply such a knowledge of Hebrew as the writer might presuppose in his readers.

Of the Greek texts, that known as A is, in Nöldeke's opinion, the nearest approach to the original text; and from it, as a base, he constructs a table. (See next column. Those Versions marked with a star he considers translations.)

What are the arguments by which preference for A is supported?

(*a*) The fluctuations in the text of A (supported in its first half by a very literal Syriac Version of about the 7th century) are much fewer than in the text of B. This stability does not, it is admitted, prove anything to the detraction of the less stable group (B and its cognates). It may have been due to the fact that the text A was adopted by Eusebius,[1] and that his patronage secured for it permanent acceptance, without its being of necessity the best.



(*b*) On internal grounds, however, Fritzsche and Nöldeke unite in concluding that B is a revision or emendation of A. The brevity and abruptness of A are admitted; but this in the course of time led to expansiveness at the hands of others. The process was followed by the inevitable result; much was improved, but much also was lost. This feature will be seen by examining these texts in such passages as—ii. 6 (the quotation from Amos viii. 10 is by B taken literally from the LXX.; in A it is freely rendered. The latter process is more original than the former); v. 1, 2 (B expands A); v. 3–5 (B improves upon A); viii. 9 &c.

(*c*) The text of A is frequently at fault in matters geographical. Rages and Ecbatana are placed too closely to each other (vi. 9, ix. 6),—an error which B avoided in the first passage by reading Ecbatane in vi. 5; while

[1] See Westcott, 'The Bible in the Church,' p. 155 &c.

its information (v. 6) that the two towns were only two days' journey from each other, and that Rages was in the mountains and Ecbatane in the plain (the very opposite being the fact), indicated a later and correcting hand. Other geographical statements of B (i. 2, xi. 1) are traceable to the same wish to make clear or correct (not always successfully) what was indistinct or mistaken in A.

Per contra, critics who dispute the originality or priority of A do not deny its brevity, but they find in it the correction of the prolixity of an older Greek translation. As illustrations of this tendency such passages as i. 14, v. 3 (the circumstances connected with the history of the bond or bag), iii. 7 (the blaming of Sarah by her maidens), viii. 9–11 (the details of the preparations for the burial of Tobias), present A in a condensed form when compared with B and (sometimes) C. The exact relations of A to B they count it difficult to define.

The argument that the construction of the sentences of the Greek Version is frequently non-Hebraic is also admitted, and a general tendency to Grecize the style is recognised, but the deduction drawn is not that of Nöldeke. These characteristics do not, it is affirmed, affect the question of translation or non-translation.

If some kind of conclusion has now to be drawn where critics and counsels are so divided, must it not rather be one based upon the balance of probabilities? Nöldeke's preference for a Greek original is connected with his view that the work is Alexandrian; in this view he stands alone. Grätz's assertion of a Semitic original is united with the opinion that the work is Palestinian; and with this the majority of critics agree.

Apocryphal literature of the character before us might have one out of three possible birthplaces, and would reflect the language and thought of its home. If it was composed in Palestine, it would be composed in a Hebraic style and diction, however remote that might be from the purer language of the canonical Books. This was the case with Judith, Susanna, Ecclesiasticus, and the 1st of Maccabees. If it was composed in one of those centres, such as Alexandria, Antioch, or Acco, where Jews congregated who had lost the knowledge of Hebrew and used Greek for their commercial and other transactions, then the work would be written either in Greek or that Hellenistic diction permeated by Biblical colouring which was currently used. This accounts for the Book of Wisdom, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of Maccabees &c. Lastly, if it was composed in Mesopotamia, in Nahardea or Nisibis, where numerous Jews were to be found, it would be written in Chaldee or Aramaic, the language there in use. To which now of these places does the accumulated evidence point? The last may be excluded, and the probabilities point to the first.

There remains, however, one question. The Book has come down to us both in Hebrew and Chaldee: which was the language of the original?

III. Priority of Chaldee or Hebrew.

The Bodleian Chaldee (Neubauer) and the Constantinopolitan Hebrew (Münster) are closely connected in diction and in sequence of events. The singular detail connected with the expulsion of Asmodeus (see vi. 17, note), the name "king of the demons" given to that spirit-power, the selection of a "bag" instead of a "bond" as the sign of the contract between Tobit and Raguel (v. 3), the omission of the dog, the interesting expansion in iv. 13–15, and much else common to these Versions, distinguish them from the others and unite them to each other without prejudice to the points of difference.

i. What are these texts? Some details have been given already (see Introduction, § II.); the special questions still requiring answers are questions connected with the Chaldee. (*a*) From what is this Chaldee derived? (*b*) Was it the text used by St. Jerome?

(*a*) Grätz (p. 387) does not consider the Bodleian Chaldee an original text at all, but an abbreviated rendering of a translation from a Greek or Latin text; and Nöldeke singles out the Greek text B as the text employed. Grätz adduces in proof the following points. The proper name Rages appears in forms רגש or ראגיש or ריגש. This is a reproduction of the Greek accusative (not dative, Bickell). Had a Semitic Version been before the writer, he would have found the forms רג or רגא or perhaps רי (cp. the Ragha of the Avesta and the Pehlevi form Ragâ). The Greek name Tigris is expressed in the form תיגרין (vi. 1), whereas דגלת or דקלת (in the O. T. הדקל; cp. Dan. x. 4) was the nomenclature current in the Northern Semitic lands. Ἐκβατάνοις is reproduced in אגבתנים; and Greek words will be readily discerned in אנגרייתא (cp. ἀγγαρεύω), אריסטון (ἄριστον), סימנא (σημεῖον), אנדרונא (ἀνδρῶν as distinguished from γυναικῶν), מרצוף (μαρσύπιον).[1]

These proofs are not universally accepted. By anticipation Neubauer rejects some of them (p. xi) when he affirms that the forms of Ragais or Ragas, Ecbatanes or Egbatanas, and Tigrin would scarcely occur in the text if translated from the Greek or Latin.

[1] Much assistance in examining the forms and reproductions of non-Semitic words in these and similar texts will be found in Strack u. Siegfried's 'Lehrbuch d. neu-hebräischen Sprache:' see especially § 67.

Further, according to Neubauer, the Bodleian Chaldee has sentences which are to be found sometimes in one or other of the Greek or Latin texts; and others are peculiar to it or the Hebrew translation. Bickell (p. 218) admits the approximation of the Bodleian text to B (cp. *e.g.* ix. 6), but explains it by the opinion that the reviser who wrote B aimed at a more accurate agreement with a Hebrew original than did the writers of A and C. In opposition to their antagonists, these critics allege the idiom of the Chaldee text to be of such a character as to render impossible the admission that it is a translation from a non-Semitic text; and Bickell adduces faults of translation as proofs that the original before the writer of that text was a Semitic and not a Greek Version.

What can be said as regards the possibility or impossibility of the Chaldee being a translation has been adduced in the Introduction, § II. The faults of translation remain to be examined. Bickell adduces vi. 15, אקטר מיניה תחת לבושה, as due to a misreading ot the last word. He would substitute for it לבונה. It can, however, be shewn not only that the alteration is unnecessary—the act enjoined being not without parallel (see Excursus II., p. 182)—but the supposition of error is rendered impossible by the Hebrew of the corresponding passage (viii. 2).

Again, the interesting reading in vi. 2, ואכל לחמא דטליא (cp. the Heb., where לחם is omitted by Münster), is thought by Bickell to rest upon a text ויאב ללחם רגל הנער, from which רגל has fallen out, and the opening words altered or misread. But the alteration is far too conjectural, and אבה, in the sense desired, is usually associated with a negative particle.

It has already been noticed that in the narrative of the transactions between Tobit and Gabael the Versions differ as to the character of the pledge between them. When Tobit sends Tobias to Gabael, he gives him—according to the Greek and Latin Versions—a handwriting (v. 3, ix. 5); according to the Chaldee and Hebrew texts, a bag. Whence arose this difference? It has been conjectured that the original text had a reading חרט, which meant "writing" (Isa. viii. 1) as well as "bag" (2 Kings v. 3), or a reading דיסקא, "writing," which was mistaken for דיסקיא or דסקי, "a sack." Neither conjecture can pass. The infrequent word חרט is in Isaiah applied to something very different from what is intended by χειρόγραφον, and דיסקא would not occur in an ancient Hebrew work.

The ingenuity in conjecture which is at work here is fatal. By its extravagance it tends to throw discredit upon proof which is more solid. The mistakes in translation had better be omitted from the table of evidence. The derivation of the Bodleian Chaldee from a Semitic text rests upon firmer grounds already specified (p. 164 &c.), and to those one more may be added. If it had been derived from a Greek text, it and its cognates would have been useless to St. Jerome.

(*b*) Was then the Bodleian Chaldee the text before St. Jerome? Neubauer himself thinks that the great Translator had before him "the present text in a fuller form" (p. x.). Nöldeke (p. 60) is more disposed to think that it may have been the actual text. Arguing from the diction of the text, he urges that it may certainly have been in circulation in Palestine in the days of St. Jerome; and reasoning from the presumption that many Chaldee Versions would not in all likelihood be in existence at one and the same time, he reaches the conclusion that it is at least probable that he used this particular one. The great objection to this view is the Vulgate itself. When St. Jerome undertook to produce a Version of Tobit, he had before him the Versions of the day in Greek and Latin which his friends the bishops could procure or which he himself possessed; he used, with the help of his Israelite teacher, a "Chaldee" Version; and the result was—the Vulgate. Now, whatever the Vulgate has in common with the ante-Jeromian texts may be considered parts of the original text. But that is exceedingly little so far as the Bodleian Chaldee is concerned. There is far more approximation between the Chaldee and the Itala. Either therefore St. Jerome treated his materials in the most cavalier fashion, or he had before him, as Neubauer says, a Chaldee with a more expanded text.

ii. An original Semitic text being presupposed, the question recurs, Which Semitic Version can claim priority? Was the original in Chaldee or in Hebrew? Neubauer accounts the Constantinopolitan Hebrew a translation from an earlier recension of the Bodleian Chaldee (p. xi.), in which was preserved the form of Tobit speaking in the first person. Nöldeke also adduces several philological considerations which point to the priority of the Chaldee over the Hebrew. An examination of the diction of the Bodleian text has led him to the conclusion that it was written in Palestine about A.D. 300 or a little earlier,[1] and that it exhibits a current dialect somewhat modified by the literary style of the Targums.[2] The diction of the Constantinopolitan Hebrew is, in the next place,

[1] P. 67. On p. 54 he assigns it to the fourth century; but the date given in the text appears to be his more matured conclusion.

[2] Neubauer (p. xi. n. 5) points out that the biblical verses agree mostly with the translation of Onkelos.

reckoned more modern than the Talmudical period. It is not the Hebrew of the Mishnah (לשון חכמים), but purer, marked by an imitation of Biblical Hebrew (לשון הקודש), modified by Mishnaic forms. In this respect this Hebrew text is purer than the Hebrew text of Fagius, which is more thoroughly Mishnaic, and is a free translation of the Greek A. The diction of the Constantinopolitan Hebrew bears, he thinks, the same relation to Biblical Hebrew on the one hand and to Mishnaic Hebrew on the other, that the Latin of the Humanists bears to classical and mediæval Latinity respectively.

The same conclusion of priority on the part of the Chaldee is affirmed on other grounds. (*a*) The approximation of the Chald. to the Greek B is closer than that of the Hebrew (cp. these texts on i. 16, &c.; ii. 2; iii. 9, 10; viii. 5, 7; x. 1–7, and end). (*b*) The gaps in the Chaldee are considered partly the omissions or abbreviations of a copyist (*e.g.* i. 16, 18; iii. 3, 5, 9, &c.), partly an abridgment for adaptation to the Midrash, and partly (*e.g.* the concluding scene with Raphael) abbreviation on dogmatic grounds. The text of the Hebrew, on the contrary, is sound and full. The alterations and expansions noticeable, for example, in the prayers and hortatory sections do not diminish from the unity characteristic of the composition. They emanated from one and the same translator. The Midrashic character of some of the additions (*e.g.* that which describes the cause of the conspiracy of Sennacherib's sons; see i. 20, note) does not, it is urged, seriously contradict such a conclusion. Their character marks them as later additions, or indirectly indicates a more expanded Chaldee text from which they were taken.

These arguments are to a certain extent supported by the sense attached to "Chaldee" by Grätz, Rosenthal, and Bickell. They prefer the term "neo-Hebraic," as expressing more correctly the nature of the dialect in which the copies of Tobit and Judith lying before St. Jerome were composed. This dialect was no popular dialect (לשון הדיוט), but a dialect for the learned and for literary composition (לשון חכמין or לישנא דרבנן), and the first period of its activity is placed in the first three centuries A.D.[1]

It is, however, to be remarked that this judgment upon the character of the diction affects only the existing copies. If other considerations (Introduction, § III. &c.) require that the original of the Book of Tobit should have been in circulation about two centuries B.C., and if (as I venture to believe) that original was Semitic, an earlier Chaldee copy or an early Hebrew text must have existed then. This, it may be inferred, was the judgment of St. Jerome and of his coadjutor. A reference to his words, "quicquid ille (the translator) mihi Hebraicis verbis expressit," shews that he was probably reproducing in Biblical Hebrew the language of the "Chaldee." St. Jerome understood Biblical Hebrew, and reproduced it in its turn in Latin.

The existence of such an original being thus presupposed, is it not a question of probabilities whether the original was Chaldee (in the sense of Aramaic rather than neo-Hebraic) or Hebrew? Unfortunately little analogy is offered by what has come down to us in the sparse literature of the last two centuries B.C.; but if weight may be attached to the otherwise converging proofs that the Book was the work of a Palestinian Jew, country and patriotism may balance opinion on the side of Hebrew rather than Aramaic, it being understood that such a Hebrew original would not be written in pure Hebrew, but in a diction more or less Aramaized and even affected by the intrusion of foreign words.[2]

[1] Strack und Siegfried, 'Lehrb. d. N. H. Sprache,' § 1, *c*, *e*.

[2] A few such words exist in the Constantinopolitan Hebrew; *e.g.* סימן (*σημεῖον*), אושפיש (*hospes*), ממון (*μαμμων*), אקרים (? *ακρος* in such compounds as Acropolis), פתבג (cp. Dan. i. 5 &c.), מזיקין (evil spirits); but they are not so numerous as in the Bodleian Chaldee. In this Hebrew text Latin words occur; such words were not common till the period of Roman domination (Schürer, 'Geschichte,'[2] ii. p. 48).

EXCURSUS II.

ANGELOLOGY AND DEMONOLOGY.

A right apprehension of the views of the Jews on these points will be of considerable assistance in estimating aright the date of the Book of Tobit.

I. Angelology.

It is generally admitted that the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, the Apocryphal Books, the Pseudepigraphic[1] writings, and the later Jewish literature exhibit a gradual development of doctrine on this subject. In

[1] The title given to writings circulated under the covert of illustrious names: *e.g.* the Book of Enoch, the Sibylline Oracles, the Psalter of Solomon, the Assumption of Moses, the Vision of Isaiah, the Apocalypse of Baruch.

this development the Book of Tobit occupies an important place.

(1.) In the Old Testament, statements and details become more precise and definite during and after the Exile. In the Pentateuch Angelology is but little developed. *The* Angel of the Lord and, comparatively seldom, other Angels of God (Gen. xviii.) do the work assigned to them. God, when dealing with the individual, sends His Angel before His servant (Gen. xxiv. 7, 40), delivers him from all evil (Gen. xlviii. 15), and rewards his obedience (Gen. xxii. 18). Similarly, the history of His people, as contained in the narrative of the Exodus (Ex. xiv. 19, xxiii. 19 &c.; Num. xx. 6) and of the establishment in the Promised Land (Josh. v. 14; Judg. ii. 1-5, vi. 11), presents a like method of procedure. The subject is not, however, free from difficulty; the acts assigned to the Angel being sometimes assigned to Jehovah Himself. Nevertheless it is usually concluded that the Angel presents to man the "descent of God into visibility" (Oehler), leaving it undecided whether that presentment be momentary or permanent, hypostatic or unsubstantial; and that what he does or speaks is the act and speech of Him Whom he represents.

The Prophets developed the Mosaic doctrine of God and His relation to the world. The title "Lord of Hosts" (1 Sam. i. 3) is of significant importance in the history of Angelology (cp. Neh. ix. 6). The host of heavenly spirits appear as the messengers of God, as the appointed instruments of executing His judgments present and final, and as participating in His counsels. Now also appear in more definite delineation Angels of higher order and special office. The imagery of Isai. vi. 2 is developed in Ezekiel. This Prophet's six men, slaughter-weapon in hand, "and one among them clothed with linen, with a writer's inkhorn by his side," are types respectively of destroying and delivering Angels (ix. 2-4); Zechariah's horseman and chief among those who "walk to and fro through the earth" (i. 8 &c.), whether he be identical with "the Angel of the Lord" or not; and the presence of an *Angelus interpres* to explain to Daniel and Zechariah the meaning of their visions:—these are features of Angelology which, if not absolutely novel, are expansions — legitimate expansions—of previously existing conceptions. Names of Angels also begin to appear, such as Gabriel and Michael in the Book of Daniel; the former corresponding to the *Angelus interpres* of Zechariah, the latter to the Angel of the Lord in the same Prophet. These names, if also in some cases the names of men, are instructive. Their etymology embraces some attribute of Him Whom they serve, as well as the nature of the service they render. But the practice of nomenclature is still infrequent. The ineffability attaching to what is most holy is still preserved. In Daniel, the great unnamed Being Himself calls out by name Gabriel and Michael (viii. 15, 16; x. 5, 6, 13); they obey Him, they help Him (x. 13, 21); and He proclaims the final end (xii. 7-13).[1]

(2.) The teaching of the Apocrypha is a development of the teaching of the canonical Books of the Old Testament, but the development is conducted upon lines at once natural and sober. Jewish Angelology was the product of a development from within rather than from without; and Palestine more than Babylonia and Persia was the home of this development. The Book of Tobit bears a part in the history of this development. An Angel, bearing a name, Raphael—expressive of his mission[2] (xii. 14, 18), and yet connected (1 Chron. xxvi. 7), like Michael (1 Chron. xxvii. 18), with the names of men—presents himself to Tobit and his son, to Raguel and his daughter. His appearance is to them, as tradition asserts that it was to Abraham (see iii. 16, note), that of a human being like unto themselves. He is hired as a guide (ch. v.), he is employed as a confidential agent (ch. ix.); he eats and drinks, rests and travels. But his own description of himself is distinctly more definite than those of the Biblical Books: "I am Raphael, one of the seven (the number is absent from some of the texts) holy Angels which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One. . . . All these days I did appear unto you; but I did neither eat nor drink, but ye did see a vision . . . Give God thanks, for I go up to Him that sent me" (xii. 15, 19, 20). Most of these details (*e.g.*, cp. for that of eating and drinking Gen. xviii. 8, xix. 3; Judg. vi. 19) have their prototypes in Biblical parallels; others indicate the effect of influences external to them. For example, the specific number seven connects itself with the Old Testament conception of completion and perfection; and if the local colouring of the Book indicate the external influences perceptible in it, it is a perfectly legitimate deduction

[1] Cp. on the whole subject, from an Old Test. point of view, Oehler, 'Theology of the O. T.' §§ 59-61, 195-199; Schultz, 'Alttestamentliche Theologie,'[2] p. 555 *sq.*; ANGEL in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible;' ENGEL in Hamburger, 'R. E. für Bibel u. Talmud,' Abth. i.; Herzog, 'R. E.'[2]; and Riehm, 'H. W. B.'

[2] "I cannot give thee my name. We are always named after our mission and work," is the Midrash on Gen. xxxii. 30 (quoted by Hamburger). The Talmud gives Bas Basia, Mas Masia, Kas Kasia, Sharlai and Amarlai as other names of Angels of healing (Brecher, 'Der Transcendentale, Magie, u. magische Heilarten im Talmud,' pp. 38, 199).

to associate the number with the "seven spirits" of Babylonian mythology.[1]

(3.) The secrets of Assyrian angelology are not, at present, so largely unravelled (or discovered) as those of Assyrian demonology; but what is known sufficiently indicates that the post-Biblical writings borrowed their conceptions more largely from Babylonia than from Persia. Inferior to the triads of the greater Assyrian Gods was a celestial hierarchy,[2] ranging from the mediator Mardouk to the two guardian spirits, male and female, assigned to each human being.[3] There were spiritual beings who had their homes in heaven, others whose domain was earth. As there were seven spheres, so were there seven good gods and seven evil, seven beneficent spirits and seven evil.[4] It was one of the works of the good spirit to deliver man from the evil spirit or demon who possessed him. There was the good *sed* and the good *oudouq* ready to do battle against the evil *sed* and the evil *oudouq;* the lesser gods themselves neither disdained nor refused to give their help. A tablet [5] records how

"The goddess Istarit, whose palace, abode of delight,
Is inaccessible . . . .
Approached the bed of the dying man."

And a chorus of gods breaks out:—

"Who shall restore this man?
Who shall . . . drive away the demon?
Istarit, daughter of Bel,
Nergal, son of Bel,
Maroudouk, lord of Eridou,
These are they who shall drive out the demon from the body of the dying man."

Other potent celestial powers are Noussouk and Memith (personified),[6] Nin-ki-gal (Assyr. Allat), Tourtak, Announa-ge, Davkina, the Sun with his archangels of earth and heaven.[1] Izbar,[2] the fire-god, plays no insignificant *rôle* among the ministers of good. He approaches Mardouk in a spirit of supplication, as Mardouk approaches Ea his father. By his flame, burning on the domestic hearth, the fire-god expels demons; on the sacrificial altar he is both present and adored.

Curiously enough, a cognate title "prince of fire" is found assigned to Gabriel. An inscription in the interior of a Judæo-Babylonian vase at Cannes,[3] attributed by its decipherer to the 1st (or at latest 2nd) Christian century,[4] records how the house, inmates, and goods of one Zadanferruch, son of Kaki, were sealed against the assaults of demons. "Sealed were they with 70 knots and 70 bands, with 70 seals and 70 stones, and with the seal of Arubdziuah son of Rabe; with the seal of Michael the powerful, the king, the prince of the Law; with the seal of Casdiel the powerful, the king, the prince of the Chaldeans; with the seal of Gabriel, the powerful, the king, the prince of fire; with the seal of Asaph Nadasdiuah, the gardener of Solomon, king, son of David; with the seal of Solomon, king, son of David; and with the great seal of the Lord of the world, whose knot cannot be loosed, and whose seal cannot be broken;[5] blessed art Thou, O Jehovah, our God, King of the world. Amen." The attributes of a "prince of fire" are, in Rabbinical writings, not unfrequently assigned to Gabriel.[6]

(4.) Among Pseudepigraphic writings which are of value in the history of the development of Angelology, a chief place both in date and importance is to be assigned to the Book of Enoch. Accepting the conclusions of Dillmann, Lipsius, and Schürer,[7] that the main work (chaps. i.–xix., xxi.–xxxvi., lxxii.–cv.)

[1] Cp. Delitzsch *s. v.* ENGEL in Riehm's 'H. W. B.,' and the Excursus on Angelology in the Speaker's Commentary on Daniel, p. 349. Kohut, 'Ueber die jüdische Angelologie u. Dämonologie,' p. 7, accepts with many critics the tradition that the Jews, when returning from exile, brought the names of the months and of the Angels (and therefore many angelological conceptions) with them from Babylon; but the Talmudical passage which records the tradition (Talm. Jerus. Rosh Hashana, i. 2; Bereschit Rabba, p. 48) makes no mention of Angels, and his treatise is too strained in its attempt to connect with Parseism the Jewish belief and teaching on these subjects. Cp. Grünbaum in 'Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.' xxxi. 257 &c.

[2] Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 138.

[3] Halévy, 'Documents religieux de l'Assyrie et de la Babylonie,' p. 19. Cp. also the Pastor of Hermas (*c.* A.D. 150), 'Commandment,' VI. ch. ii.: "In regard to faith. There are two angels with a man—one of sternness, the other of evil."

[4] Lenormant, pp. 17, 18; Halévy, pp. 19, 20, 28, 47–8.

[5] Halévy, p. 83.

[6] Ibid., pp. 36, 41.

[1] Lenormant, pp. 10, 16, 22, 161, 164; 'Records of the Past,' xi. 123, 125.

[2] Lenormant, p. 169 &c.; 'Records of the Past,' ix. 144–6; Halévy, p. 136 &c.

[3] Hyvernat, "Sur un Vase judéo-babylonien du Musée Lycklama de Cannes," in 'Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung,' ii. p. 113 *sq.*

[4] Ibid., p. 145. It should be added that Nöldeke, 'Zeitschr. f. K. S. F.' ii. 293, dates it A.D. 700.

[5] In the Talmud demons are frequently declared to be powerless against what was sealed. Cp. Brecher, pp. 52–3, 59.

[6] Hyvernat, p. 129; Grünbaum in 'Z. f. K. S. F.' ii. 223–4 and reff.

[7] Dillmann, "Pseudepigraphen des A. T." in Herzog, 'R. E.'[2] *s. v.* "Die Henoch- u. Noah-Schriften;" Lipsius, "Enoch, Apocryphal Book of," in Smith and Wace's 'Dictionary of Christian Biography;' Schürer, ii.[2] p. 616 &c.; Schodde, 'The Book of Enoch,' p. 43; and Langen, 'Das Judenthum in Palästina,' pp. 35–64,—all date the main work at about 160 B.C.

represents Jewish theological opinion at the close of the second century and beginning of the first B.C., and that the Book of Parables (chaps. xxxvii.–lxxi.) dates from the time of the later Hasmoneans and the Herods, it is interesting to note how the Angelology of the former is expanded in the latter.

In the main work[1] Enoch relates with "tongue of flesh" his vision of "the Holy and Great One."[2] He was lifted into heaven, and passing through the tongue of fire surrounding the wall of a house reached a second building of indescribable magnificence and size. Its floor was fire, and its ceiling was fire. In it was a high throne the appearance of which was like a hoar-frost; around it was, as it were, a brilliant sun. He heard Cherubim-voices. From under the great throne came streams of flaming fire, so that it was impossible to look upon it. And He Who is great in majesty sat upon it. His garment was more glittering than the sun and whiter than pure snow. No Angel could enter there; no mortal could look upon the form of the face of the Lord and the Majesty. Flaming fire was around Him, and a great fire before Him. No one of those around Him could approach Him. Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him, but He needed not the Holy Council. And the Holy ones who were near Him left Him not day or night. From amongst the host of heaven there came to Enoch four "who were like white men" (*i.e.* Angels).[3] They bore the names of Michael, Gabriel, Surjan, and Urjan.[4] The two last are the same as Suriel and Uriel, and Raphael is identified with Suriel.[5] Of these, Uriel, Raphael, Michael, and a fourth, Raguel, acted as guides to Enoch in his travels through heaven and earth;[6] and of some the mission is defined.[7] Raphael (or Rufael) is "bidden to bind Azazel;" Gabriel is to "destroy the children of fornication and the children of the watchers from among men;" Michael is to announce to Semjaza and to the others with him the punishment in store for them.[8] In another vision, when the throne of judgment is set on earth in "the pleasant land," Enoch sees "the first six white ones." They are unnamed, and the number is disputed; but it finds support from Ezek. ix. 2.[1]

In the Parables (chaps. xxxvii.–lxxi.) further details are to be gleaned. The appellation of God most characteristic and frequent is "the Lord of the spirits,"[2] a title which corresponds with the contents of a section dealing essentially with the spirit-world. A more elaborate and definite classification of Angels is given. As before, Enoch is moved by "the spirit" into the heaven of heavens, and he sees the house surrounded by fire; "a house built of crystal stones, and between each stone flames of living fire." Round about were Seraphim, Cherubim, and Ophanim. These are they who do not sleep, but watch the throne of (God's) glory. And he saw Angels who could not be numbered. A thousand times thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand, they surrounded that house. "And Michael and Raphael, Gabriel and Phanuel, and the Holy Angels who are in the heavens go in and out in that house. And they . . . came out, and with them the 'Head of Days' (*i.e.*, One Who is old). His head was white and pure as wool, and His garments such as no man could describe."[3] In another vision[4] Enoch hears the song of those "who do not sleep." They stand before God's glory and sing their Trisagion, "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of the spirits. He filleth the earth with spirits." On the four sides of the Lord of the spirits he saw four beings (πρόσωπα),[5] different from those standing (before the glory of the Lord of spirits), and he learned their names from the Angel (the "Angel of peace") who came with him. And he heard the voices of those four beings as they sang praises before the Lord of glory. The first voice praised the Lord of the spirits from everlasting to everlasting. The second voice praised the Chosen One (Isai. xlii. 1, the Messiah) and the chosen ones who depended on the Lord of the spirits. The third voice prayed for those who dwell upon the earth and made their petition in the

[1] Ch. xiv. Cp. with Dan. vii. 9, 10, and Part II. § 3 of this Excursus.

[2] A characteristic title of this division of the Book. Cp. i. 3 and the notes of Dillmann and Schodde.

[3] Ch. lxxxvii. 2.

[4] Ch. ix.

[5] Syncellus, quoting in his Chronography the fragments of the Greek 'Enoch,' gives twice the four names as Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel. See the fragments in Fabricius, 'Codex Pseudepigraphus in V. T.' i. p. 179 &c.; Dillmann, pp. 82–5. The name Suriel is possibly a misreading (see Dillmann, note to ix. 1).

[6] Chaps. xvii.–xxiv.

[7] Ch. x.

[8] See below, Part II. § 3.

[1] Ch. xc. 21. The six would include the four previously noted (cp. xc. 31). The difficulty about the number, whether it be six or seven, arises from the state of the Æthiopic MS. The number seven finds support from some Versions of Tob. xii. 15, six from the passage in Ezekiel. Were Enoch xx. other than an interpolation of later date, the number of Angels there, viz. six, would resolve the difficulty here; but the functions there assigned to the Angels are novel, and in some points contradict those assigned to them elsewhere. Six is the number of "the Holy Angels of God" in the Pastor of Hermas, Vis. iv.

[2] See ch. xxxvii. 1 and Dillmann's note.

[3] Ch. lxxi.

[4] Chaps. xxxix., xl.

[5] מלאכי הפנים. Cp. Isai. lxiii. 9.

Name of the Lord of the spirits. The fourth voice kept off the Satans, and allowed them not to come before the Lord of the spirits to accuse those who dwelt upon earth. And Enoch asked the Angel of peace who these four beings were, and the answer came: "The first is the holy Michael, merciful, slow to anger; and the second, who is set over all the sicknesses and the wounds of the children of men, is Rufael (Raphael); and the third, who is over all powers, is the holy Gabriel; and the fourth, who is set over the repentance and hope of those who inherit eternal life, is Phanuel."[1]

One other Pseudepigraphic Book — the Fourth Book of Ezra[2] (the Second Book of Esdras in the Apocrypha)—brings forward the name of Uriel (iv. 1). The Angelophany is, as in the Book of Daniel, in visions.

(5.) Marked as is the development in Angelology between the Biblical and Pseudepigraphic writings, it is still more marked in the later Jewish theology.[3] The pure silence and sacred reserve of the canonical Books, abandoned by the author or authors of the Book of Enoch, is now exchanged for what is perhaps symbolically beautiful, but also strangely welded together by a fantastic imagination, national conceit, ignorant superstition, and foreign elements.

God is conceived as more and more isolated, "the Only One in His world" (יחידו של עולם).[4] His sphere is a seven-fold heaven graduating to the summit. In the centre of the highest range is His dwelling-place (מחיצא). The throne of the Glory (כסא הכבוד, in the Targ. כורסי דיקרא) is there; from it issues the Light which, blinding to men (cp. Exod. xxxiv. 29 &c.), is the atmosphere and food of Angels. In the sphere of this highest heaven, yet hidden by the cloudy veil (פרגוד) from celestial beings, He surrounds Himself with His family (פמליא של מעלה), the Angel-host. There too are the souls of the unborn and of the righteous-dead, whose approach to the veil is nearer than that of the host, and whose home is the "Paradise" into which the saint of Christ was "caught up" (2 Cor. xii. 4). No man can tell the number[1] of the innumerable host (Job xxv. 3; Dan. vii. 10), nor state the hour of their creation. Was it on the second day when the heavens were made (Gen. i.), or on the fifth day (Gen. i. 20; Isai. vi. 2), when winged creatures appeared? Nay, was it not, is it not, "day by day" that Angels were and are created, "new every morning" (Lam. iii. 23), issuing from the Light streaming from under the Throne, singing their Hallelujah, and again absorbed in the "river of fire" (נהר דינור)?

From amongst this "family of God" stand forward prominently certain classes and chiefs. In their ranks (according to Maimonides) were ten gradations. The highest was the Chaijoth (חיות), or "living creatures," and in succession to them the Ophanim, Asellim, Chashmallim, Seraphim, Malaachim, Elohim, Bene Elohim, Kerubim, Ishim.[2] As chiefs Michael occupies the highest rank; yet higher than he is the mysterious Metatron, whom tradition identified with the translated Enoch (Gen. v. 24), and associated with Jophiel, Uriel, and Jephiphja in the pious task of burying Moses (Targ. Pseudo-Jonathan on Deut. xxxiv. 6). He was the "Prince of the Presence" (שר פנים); his very name Metatron (מטטרון[3]) was equivalent in numerical value (314) to that of the Almighty

[1] Other visions bring forward names of the leaders of the divisions of the year (ch. lxxxii.), or specify Angels of power and of supremacies (ch. lxi.), or assign spirits to the thunder, lightning, sea, frost, dew &c. (ch. lx.). Consult the notes of Dillmann and Schodde *in locis*.

[2] *Circa* A.D. 81–96. Cp. Schürer, ii.[2] p. 657. In iv. 36 the name Uriel is replaced in some MSS. by Jeremiel.

[3] Cp. Brecher, pp. 8 &c. Weber, 'System d. altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie,' pp. 157 &c. Edersheim, 'Life of Jesus,' ii. 745 &c.; App. xiii., "Jewish Angelology and Demonology."

[4] On this and the following Hebrew or Aramaic titles and words consult Levy's works, 'Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim,' 'Neuhebräisches u. Chaldäisches Wörterbuch üb. die Talmudim u. Midraschim,' *s. nn.*

[1] Brecher, pp. 12, 13. The later Jewish theology environs God with at least 90,000 myriads of angels, because מלך = 90 (Weber, p. 165). Brecher (p. 7) considers the whole conception a reflexion of the Persian estimate of the divinity which doth hedge about a king. The curious in such matters will find in Brecher (p. 9) the names and descriptions of the seven heavens.

[2] Cp. Brecher, p. 33. The derivation of Chashmallim is, according to one Rabbinical passage, singularly beautiful. They are חיות עתים חשות ועתים ממללות, creatures who sometimes keep silence, sometimes speak. They are silent when God speaks, and speak when and what He has spoken. See Levy, *s. n.* חשמל. The Cherubim are in the Talmud depicted as young and blooming; an imaginary etymology making כרוב = כרביא, רביא being the name given in Babylonia to a young lad. The Ishim are the Angels who appear to the prophets and speak with them; their name indicates the approximation of their knowledge to that of men.

[3] Derived from *μετάθρονος* or *μετατύραννος*, the next to the Throne or Lord (Weber, p. 173; Levy, 'Chald. W. B.' *s. n.*). Others connect it with *μεταδρόμος* (Brecher, p. 28), or with *metator*, or with Mithra (cp. Grünbaum, 'Z. d. D. M. G.' xxxi. 236).

(Shaddai = שדי), Whose representative he is in the world. There he is the teacher of His children, and one who pleads before Him for His chosen people. When Moses died and God bewailed him, the Metatron comforted God: "Thine he was when living, Thine he is when dead." With Michael are associated other chiefs, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, whose number is increased later on to seven, by the addition of Sammael, Izidkiel, Hanael, and Kepharel,[1] and under whose charge respectively were placed the several days of the week. Similarly the 70 nations of the world were under the protection of 70 Angel-princes; Michael, chief of Angels, being also prince of Israel, the people of peoples, the prince of Jerusalem, the prince of Zion. Individuals also, like nations, have their guardian Angels (cp. Gen. xxiv. 7; Targ. Jerus. i.), who serve as their protectors against wicked spirits, and incite them to good works. Thus it was Michael who led the daughter of Dinah to Egypt to the house of Potipherah, where she was brought up and presently married to Joseph under the name of Asenath (Gen. xli. 50). "The whole world," says one Talmudical passage,[2] "is full of spirits and demons. When a man keeps one commandment, one good Angel comes to him; or when he keeps two commandments, two Angels; when he keeps all the commandments, many Angels. And who are these Angels? They are the Angels who will shield him from the evil spirits (מזיקין)." These guardian Angels present themselves to men in most varied forms: sometimes sitting, sometimes standing; sometimes as men, sometimes as women; sometimes as winds, sometimes as flames. They can be visible or invisible as circumstances require. The name they receive or assume expresses their ministerial act or message. Each Angel has a tablet on his heart in which the Name of God and his own are combined.

The Angels understand Hebrew only. "Do not pray in Aramaic," says a Rabbinic rule,[3] "but always in Hebrew. The Ministering Angel cannot bring before God the prayer of one who prays in Aramaic, for he does not understand it. Hebrew, the language of the Law, is the only holy language; it is the language spoken in heaven." Alas for the Gentiles! The ministry of Angels is not for them: it is limited to the people of Israel. Israel is the realm of Angels; in the world of nations stalk the demons!

[1] Cp. the seven from the Book of Enoch above, § 4. Brecher (pp. 21–32) gives the names as Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael, Metatron, Sandalphon,. and Sagsagel. The Roman Catholic Church, accepting only the names assigned to Angels in the (to it) canonical Books, has rejected by synodical decrees (Rome, A.D. 745; Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 789) all names except Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael (cp. Hefele, 'Concil. Geschichte,' iii. 539, 660). D. F. Strauss ('Dogmatik,' i. § 49) contemplated them as heads of three "Departments:"—"Kriegswesen — Gabriel; Medicinalwesen — Raphael; Cultus—Michael."

[2] Brecher, p. 13; Weber, p. 166.

[3] Brecher, p. 17.

II. Demonology.

The reserve of the Biblical writings on this subject is still more marked than in the case of Angelology, but the teaching is not less progressive. From the simplest form in which the Old Testament recognised evil as working, onward to its fullest development in Rabbinical literature, are many stages, but they can be traced fairly and broadly.

(1.) Around the throne of God are His ministering spirits, some to help and guide, some to punish and destroy (cp. 1 Sam. xvi. 14–23; Ps. lxxviii. 49; Isai. xix. 14); but all alike execute His will. From dependent to independent action, from conduct due to absolute obedience to God to conduct due to a hostile disposition to man and the covenant-people, is a development partly instinctive, partly due to external influences. The prologue to Job and Zechariah iii. present it in a form where Satan would work ill, yet can only do so by God's permission; the later writer of 1 Chron. xxiv. 1 represents the adversary as acting in a more independent fashion; yet is he very far from being the ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου of the New Testament.[1]

(2.) The views of Israel, affected after the conquest of Canaan by the neighbouring influences of Syrian and Phœnician idolatry, were gradually developed by contact with Babylonian and Persian conceptions. This is noticeable in the Apocryphal Book of Tobit. The "evil spirit" who "loves" Sarah, and "kills" the husbands who approach her (iii. 8, vi. 14), is specified by name—Asmodeus. He is the "king of the demons" (Heb. and Chald. שדים [Shedim]; cp. Deut. xxxii. 17), a "devil." He cannot be expelled by ordinary powers; special means—the heart and liver of a fish (vi. 7)—are to be used for exorcising him; and when he is expelled, an Angel binds him (viii. 3).

Even if the name of this evil spirit be Persian or Median (see iii. 7, note), the details above given are curiously in conformity with Assyrian rather than with Persian belief.[2] In the creed of the Babylonian it was recog-

[1] For the O. T. conceptions on this subject, consult Oehler, §§ 200, 201; Schultz, ch. xxxvii. 'Das Böse ausserhalb der Menschheit;' and the works mentioned in Part I. § 1, n. 2.

[2] Cp. for what follows, Halévy, pp. 55 &c., 83 &c.; Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 3 &c.; Jensen, "De incantamentorum sumerico-assyriorum serie," &c. in the 'Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung,' i. 279 &c.

nised that heavenly spirits could be called upon to relieve those vexed by demons. As has been stated (Part I. § 3), Istarit, the "queen of heaven," would in some cases come down and intervene in behalf of the sufferer. The power of the demons was confessedly great. As there were seven beneficent spirits, so were there seven malevolent demons. A celebrated tablet gives to these last the very name Shedim before us. In nature and office they are

> "Invincible, born in the firmament of heaven,
> Committing violence.
> The chief of these seven is (blank);
> The second is a lion who spares no one;
> The third is a tiger;
> The fourth is a serpent;
> The fifth is a viper;
> The sixth is a swift wind which obeys neither God nor man;
> The seventh is a whirlwind, an evil wind.
> All these seven are the agents of An, the king."

They attack kings and men, though they are defeated by the good deities.[1]

Another tablet speaks of *the* Shed as the demon who is distinguished from others by his colossal force.[2] A third recites what may almost be called a popular incantation against them:[3]

> "Seven are they, seven are they!
> In the channel of the deep seven are they!
> In the radiance of heaven seven are they!
> In the channel of the deep in a palace grew they up.
> Male they are not, female they are not.
> In the midst of the deep are their paths.
> Wife they have not, son they have not.
> Order and kindness know they not.
> Prayer and supplication hear they not.
> The *cavern* in the mountain they enter.
> Unto Hea are they hostile.
> The throne-bearers of the gods are they.
> Disturbing the *lily* in the torrents are they set.
> Baleful are they, baleful are they.
> Seven are they, seven are they, seven twice again are they.
> May the spirits of heaven remember, may the spirits of earth remember."

The indication here, frequently repeated,[4] that these evil spirits are debarred from the joys of family life, explains in part their hostility to those who seek them:

> "They take no wife, and beget not children.
> They know not tenderness."[5]

> "They snatch the wife from her husband's embrace;
> They drive the man from his nuptial chamber."[1]

> "They prevent the impregnation of the wife by her husband; or
> Subject her to their embraces by nocturnal pollution."[2]

Of the means employed to expel them, that of fire and of smoke caused by ingredients cast into a vessel containing fire is not uncommon. Jensen gives the following incantations:[3]—

> "Tollo vas angustum sacrum et incendo ignem,
> Foculum accendo, projicio panicum.
> * * * * *
> Sicut allium istud desquamatur et in ignem injicitur,
> Flamma comburens comburit (id), . . .
> Morbus qui in corpore meo, carne meo, musculis (?) meis est,
> Sicut allium istud utinam desquamatur, et
> Hoc tempore flamma comburens utinam comburet (eum).
> Incantatio, Utinam exeat et ego lucem utinam videam!
> * * * * *
> Sicut lana ovilla ista carpitur et in ignem injicitur,
> Flamma comburens comburit (eam), . . .
> Sicut lana caprina ista carpitur et in ignem injicitur,
> Flamma comburens comburit (eam) . . .
> Morbus, qui in corpore meo, carne mea, musculis (?) meis est
> . . . . . utinam interimatur et
> Hoc tempore flamma comburens comburit eum" &c., &c.

The remedy was at once propitiatory and purificatory.

There are numerous instances of the application of these or similar special remedies to special parts of the body.[4] Halévy's rendering of another incantation intimates that a wild herb was to be placed in a handkerchief and tightly wrapped round the head of the sufferer. Or the advice is given:

> "Take the pure wool of a young sheep:
> Bind it round the head of the sick man;
> Bind it round the neck of the sick man.
> The demon in the body of that man will go away immediately."[5]

As a substitute for lamb's wool, a kid's skin might be used.[6] Sometimes drinks were

[1] Halévy, p. 100 &c.
[2] Ibid. p. 37.
[3] See Sayce, 'Records of the Past,' ix. p. 146; cp. also ibid. iii. 143, xi. 135; Halévy, p. 47.
[4] Cp. Halévy, p. 43.
[5] Ibid. p. 42.

[1] Cp. Halévy, p. 2.
[2] Lenormant, 'La Magie,' pp. 28, 36.
[3] 'Zeitschr. f. K. F. S.' i. 286, 292 &c. Cp. Halévy, p. 135 &c.
[4] Cp. Halévy, pp. 4, 175; Lenormant, p. 38.
[5] Cp. Halévy, pp. 55, 56. For the use of herbs, cp. also 'Records of the Past,' iii. 146–7; Halévy, p. 139.
[6] Ibid. p. 102.

given, such as butter and milk furnished by cows sacred to the gods;[1] sometimes ointments made of butter or of the liver of a fish.[2] In an ancient Babylonian work on Medicine,[3] are given some most excessively unpalatable recipes composed of 5, 7, or 12 ingredients. There are mixtures of wood, snake, mead, and raw flesh; of tree-root and dog-tongue; of sheep's heart, skin, herbs, and reed; to be taken sometimes in water or wine, sometimes without, in comparison with which the nauseousness of the smell of the heart-and-liver smoke (Tob. viii. 2) can have been nothing. These remedies were, however, reckoned very efficacious in the expulsion of the demons of sickness of every kind.

It was believed that many of these demons came from the desert (cp. Isai. xxxiv. 13, 14), and it was one object of the incantations and exorcisms to drive them back to the place from which they came, and imprison them or bind them.[4] The desert was the "land not inhabited" (אֶרֶץ גְּזֵרָה), the place of Azazel (Lev. xvi. 22. See below, § 3). In the Book of Tobit Asmodeus flees to Egypt and is there bound by the Angel. The reason for the selection of that land in particular is not given, but it may have been due to the belief that the gods of Egypt had special power over demons.[5]

A rough kind of hierarchy is to be traced in Accadian and Assyrian demonology,[6] and classes rather than individuals are distinguished by special titles. The malevolent *Sed* and the malevolent *lamas*, counterparts of their benevolent namesakes,[7] appear to stand at the top of the ladder of tormentors. Under them is a tribe of inferior spirits—*labas*, *abar*, *al*, *alap*, *maskim*, *ekim*—sometimes working singly, sometimes agitating in groups of seven, and perhaps led by *Asak*, *Oudouk*, and *Namtar*.[8]

(3.) The main portion of the Book of Enoch opens with reflections upon the fall of the Angels:[1] "The sons of the heavens saw and lusted after the daughters of men. They said one to another, We will choose for ourselves wives from among the children of men, and will beget for ourselves children." Two hundred of them bound themselves by a curse to carry out this plan. Semjaza[2] was their leader, and the names of seventeen others are added.[3] They wrought their purpose, and taught their wives charms and conjurations, and made them acquainted with the cutting of roots[4] and of woods. Monstrous births—"giants whose stature was 3000 ells"—and still more monstrous deeds wrought by the giants followed upon the fall. It became the malignant work of the fallen angels to corrupt mankind. Prominent in deadly teaching was Azazel.[5] Michael, Gabriel, Surjan and Urjan cry "to their Lord, to their King. See how Azazel has taught all wickedness on earth, and has revealed the secrets of the world which were prepared in the heavens."[6] The statement is a distinct advance upon the Biblical record (Lev. xvi. 8 &c., Heb.) which indicates by the name Azazel a spiritual power opposed to the God of Israel without defining his work.[7] The execution of the judgment passed upon Azazel is entrusted to Rufael (Raphael): "Bind him hand and foot and put him in the darkness. Make an opening in the desert which is in Dudael,[8] and put him in it. Lay upon him rough and pointed rocks.

[1] Halévy, pp. 83, 84.
[2] Ibid. p. 16.
[3] Translated by Sayce in 'Z. f. K. F. S.' ii. pp. 1 &c., 205 &c. The Talmudical beverages are less nauseous. See some of them in Brecher, p. 204 &c.
[4] Lenormant, 'La Magie,' pp. 29, 42; 'La Divination,' pp. 6, 7, 29; 'Records of the Past,' iii. 152.
[5] Cp. the interesting history given in Lenormant, pp. 30–32. That a scribe misread the text of Tobit, and substituted מצרים instead of גזרה, is possible, but not probable.
[6] Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 23 *sq.*
[7] See above, Part I., § 3.
[8] Halévy, pp. 2–4, 17, 28, 32, 93, 102, 129. Lenormant gives different names to some of these. These names are not always explained or apparently explicable.

[1] Ch. vi. This interpretation of Gen. vi. 1 &c. is found in Philo, 'De Gig.' i. 2; Josephus, 'Antiqq.' i. 3. 1; Tertullian, 'De cultu Feminarum,' i. 2, ii. 10.
[2] שמיעזא or שמחזאי (see Buxtorf, 'Lex. Chald. et Talm.' *s. n.*), the Samgasai of the Targ. of Jonathan on Gen. vi. 4.
[3] The number in the Greek text of Enoch here is 20, which commends itself on the principle of a leader to every 20. In ch. lxix. (a Noachic fragment) the number is in all 21. The difference in the names—drawn from imagination—in these lists is very great. See Dillmann and Schodde, notes *in locis*.
[4] See the stories in Josephus, 'Bel. Jud.' vii. 6. 3; 'Antiqq.' viii. 2, 5. Cp. Edersheim, 'Life of Jesus the Messiah,' App. on Demonology, ii. 767.
[5] Cp. Part I. § 4, above.
[6] Ch. ix. In ch. viii. he is first or chief of seven; in the lists of chaps. vi. and lxix. he is tenth.
[7] Cp. Oehler, 'Theology of the O. T.' §§ 140, 201. Schultz,[3] pp. 437, 608. Grünbaum, 'Z. d. D. M. G.' xxxi. pp. 225–6, 235 &c. Hamberger, 'R. E. für Bibel u. Talmud,'[3] *s. n.* Asasel.
[8] Ch. x. Dudael = דּוּדָא אֵל, God's kettle. In ch. lx. 8 the monster Behemoth occupies a vast desert called Dendain, probably a name coined to express judgment (דִּין דַּיָּן). For the punishment of binding, cp. Jude 6; 2 Pet. ii. 4; Rev. xx. 2.

Cover him with darkness that he may remain there for ever. Cover his face that he may not see the light. And on the great day of judgment he will be cast into the great fire. Heal[1] the earth which the angels (fallen) have defiled, and proclaim thou the healing of the earth that I will heal it, and that not all the children of men shall perish through the mystery of that which the watchers have spoken and taught their sons.[2] The whole earth was corrupted through the teaching of the works of Azazel. To him ascribe all sins." The same punishment by the same hand is implied—if less detailed—in a later vision: "I saw one of those four who had come out before; and he took that star which had first fallen from heaven, and bound it hand and foot and put it in an abyss; and this abyss was narrow and deep and terrible and dark."[3]

A host of evil powers are the offspring of the union between the disobedient angels and women. The Lord bids Enoch say to "the watchers of heaven": "Ye were formerly spiritual, enjoying an eternal, immortal life. Therefore I made not wives for you, for spiritual beings have their dwelling in heaven (cp. St. Matt. xxii. 30). But now the giants (the sons born of the connexion blamed), begotten of body and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon earth, and their dwellings will be upon earth. Evil beings go forth from their bodies . . . . And the spirits of the giants, who hurl themselves against the clouds,[4] shall be repelled and cast down (from heaven) and do battle and cause destruction upon earth, and do evil. They will take no kind of food nor be thirsty, and they shall be invisible. Punishment will overtake them in their turn, first in the corruption to which their human flesh is heir, and finally destruction in the day of the great judgment."[5]

In the 'Parables' the presentment of demonology, if not dissimilar,[6] is less detailed, and the ample nomenclature of the rest of the book is absent. In his vision[1] Enoch sees Phanuel "keeping off the Satans," the accusers of those who dwell upon the earth. These Satans are "angels of punishment," spiritual powers of evil, under the leadership of one who is *the* Satan.[2] Enoch looking down upon the earth sees a deep valley with a burning fire. Into the valley are brought the kings and the powerful. In that valley also are being made iron chains of immense weight. Turning to "the Angel of Peace," Enoch asks, "For whom have these chains been prepared?" And the Angel answers, "These have been prepared for the hosts of Azazel to take them and lay them in the lowest hell. With rough stones shall their jaws be covered, as the Lord of the spirits has commanded. Michael and Gabriel, Rufael and Phanuel will lay hold of them on that great day, and will cast them on that day into the furnace of flaming fire. Therewith shall the Lord of the spirits take vengeance upon them for their unrighteousness, because they were subject to Satan, and have led astray those who dwelt upon earth."[3]

(4.) The Jews conceived themselves encompassed on all sides by evil, death, and the power of demons: "through fear of death (they) were all their lifetime subject to bondage" (Heb. ii. 15). Jewish theology massed together these "noxious" spirits under the name *Massikin*.[4] Their work was distinctly opposed to that of the "ministering spirits" of good, and man "fallen from his first estate" was the special object of their malignity. They are the spirits of night and darkness, of destruction and death. The chief of the *Massikin* is Satan. As the "spirit of delusion"[5] he first tempts man; next as "accuser"[6] he brings charges (often false) against him; and then, as the "angel of death,"[7] seeks to slay him. Not unfrequently he is identified with Sammael,[8] "the chief of all Satans," once an

[1] Raphael not only binds, but, in accordance with the usually accepted etymology of his name, *heals* also. The etymology which, connecting him with the Rephaim (cp. Isai. xiv. 9; Herzfeld, 'Gesch. d. Volkes Israel,'[2] ii. 279, note 2), invests him with greatness and power, finds illustration rather than proof in the strength and power to bind assigned to him here.

[2] Cp. ch. xvi.

[3] Ch. lxxxviii. Cp. ch. lxxxvi. Commentators are agreed that in these chapters the binder is Raphael and the bound is Azazel. Cp. ch. xiii.; and see Dillmann and Schodde *in locis*. For the "abyss," see chs. xviii., xix.

[4] Cp. the "war of the seven evil spirits against heaven," in 'Records of the Past,' v. p. 161 &c.; Halévy, p. 100 &c.

[5] The subject is very obscure. See ch. xvi. and the notes of Dillmann and Schodde.

[6] See Dillmann's note on xl. 6, 7.

[1] Ch. xl. See above, Part I. § 4.

[2] Ch. liii. 3.

[3] Ch. liv.

[4] מזיקין. Cp. Part I. § 5; Buxtorf's and Levy's Lexx. *s. n.* It is the word given in their quotations and renderings for "devils;" *e.g.* in Ps. cvi. 37. Cp. the *maskim* of Babylonian demonology, § 2, above. On the points discussed in this section consult Brecher, p. 40 &c.; Kohut, p. 50 &c.; Hamburger, 'R. E.' Abth. ii. *s. n.* "Geister"; Weber, 'System d. altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie,' p. 242 &c.; Edersheim, 'Life of Jesus,' ii., App. xiii. p. 752 &c.

[5] רוח השטות.

[6] מקטרג (*κατήγορος*).

[7] מלאך מותא. Cp. Kohut, pp. 68, 69. The Rabbinic history of Abraham and Satan illustrates the application of these three titles.

[8] See Brecher, p. 37; Levy, 'Chald. W. B.' *s. n.* Rabbinic tradition affirmed Sammael to

Archangel near the throne;[1] afterwards—in the form of the serpent—the deceiver of Eve, or the guide who would have led Abraham and Isaac astray when on their way to the sacrifice of the latter. The Rabbinic conception of Satan is often puerile and inadequate; hardly above the level of a Babylonian superstition, infinitely below the Biblical presentment of his nature and work.

Under the term *Massikin* is comprehended further a class of spirits inferior to those who were originally Angels of God. These are half-spiritual beings, demons, known as *Shedim*,[2] *Lilin*, and *Ruchin*; commonly attributed to the intercourse of Eve with male spirits, and of Adam with Lilith and female spirits during the 130 years of his ban (cp. Gen. v. 3). Their number is incalculable; their presence is everywhere.[3] They have the power of increasing their kind; they fly with wings, and pass freely from one end of the world to another. Their usual dwelling-places are the north, the desert, where their cries rend the air, and all unclean places; but they sometimes select cities like Tiberias, and trees like the caper-bush.[4] Ashmedai (Asmodeus) is the king of the (male) Shedim, Lilith the queen of the Lilin. The malignity of the former works harm by day and through evil dreams by night. The Rabbinic description of Ashmedai, if tinctured with Parsism even more than the Asmodeus of Tobit, differs as much from that of the Avesta in many important points as it does from that of the Apocrypha. Ashmedai is by Jewish theology identified with Satan-Sammael; and the attributes affirmed of the latter lend support to the assumption that Ashmedai as the "angel of death" represents Angro-mainyus, as the "old serpent" Aji-dahaka, and as evil concupiscence Akômanô.[1] Ashmedai is frequently cruel, passionate, and lustful; and in that he is like Ashma—the chief helper of Angro-mainyus, the bearer of the wounding spear, the foremost among those evil spirits who pollute the world—and the Asmodeus of Tobit. But the Ashmedai of Rabbinic theology is also represented in a character which, from its mixture of kindness and mischief, of good humour and cunning, is decidedly independent of other teaching with respect to either Ashma or Asmodeus. Ashmedai met a blind man and a drunken man: he put them both in the right way. Presently he met a bridal procession, in which all were rejoicing hilariously; and he began to weep. He heard a man give the order to his shoemaker, "Make me a pair of shoes which shall last me for seven years;" and he began to laugh. He laughed again when he saw a juggler engaged in his tricks. Ashmedai was asked to explain such difference of demeanour. "I put the blind man," he answered, "in the right way; because I heard it said of him in heaven that he was a good man, and that whosoever did him a good turn should attain to the life to come. I did the same with the drunkard, because I saw that he was a thorough villain. I wept at the bridal procession, because in thirty days the bridegroom will die, and his wife—in order that the Levirate rule may be fulfilled—will have to wait thirteen years. I laughed at the man who ordered the shoes, because he had only seven days to live, and at the juggler because he knew not, with all his craft, that a king's treasure lay hidden under his feet."[2] Such jocular absurdity as this is unknown in the delineation of Ashma or Asmodeus. Rather is it the character of the hobgoblin or elf of fairy tales. Rabbinic credulity has reached an altogether opposite pole of development concerning him when it affirms: "Ashmedai is indeed king of the demons, but he himself hurts no one."[3]

Ashmedai's contest with king Solomon is one of the oldest Jewish fables;[4] but the exaggerations and superstition which encumber it in its present form remove it from comparison with what is told of the Asmodeus of the Apocrypha. Solomon, so long as he wrought good works, had power over *Shedim*,

have been Esau's guardian-angel. Kohut derives the name from סם אל = the great poison.

[1] See above, Part I. § 5.

[2] Jewish theology affirms it a greater glory of God that there should exist harmless Shedim than that such a class should not exist at all. Cp. the story given in Kohut, p. 53, to prove the necessity for the existence of Satan as a condition for the stability of the world. The existence of the Shedim was asserted to be necessary as supplying the link between Angels and men. Brecher devotes many pages (45–59) to collecting all that fear and fancy have imagined concerning them.

[3] Sometimes they were arranged into four classes; morning-spirits, mid-day-spirits, evening-spirits, and night-spirits. A thousand at the right hand and ten thousand at the left, they crowd round the scholar and the bride. Lilith is attended by 180,000 spirits. They lurk in the crumbs on the floor, in the oil in the vessels, in the water for drinking, inside the room and outside it (Kohut, pp. 56, 61; Edersheim, ii. 757). Brecher (p. 52) gives the recipe for seeing them. See also Wünsche, 'Der Babylonische Talmud,' i. p. 12.

[4] Kohut, p. 57. The Shedim of the caper-bush had no eyes, and were easily avoided (Brecher, pp. 51, 57, 197).

[1] Kohut, p. 80.

[2] Cp. Kohut, p. 77.

[3] See Grünbaum in 'Z. f. K. F. S.' ii. 218.

[4] Cp. Kohut, p. 81 and reff.; Edersheim, ii. 758. Grünbaum ('Z. d. D. M. G.' xxxi. 204 &c.) has drawn out the development of the various elements of the legend from simpler to more complex forms, and the reproductions of it in other legendary cycles.

Ruchin, *Lilin*, and all evil spirits. He used to exhibit that power by making them dance before him. When he was engaged in building the Temple, he was anxious to carry out the principal rule which forbad the use of iron tools in the construction of the altar (Exod. xx. 25; Deut. xxvii. 5, 6; Josh. viii. 31; 1 Kings vi. 7). His wise men recommended his securing the *Shamir*,[1] which possessed the power of boring through the hardest stone. Whereupon Solomon conjured up *Shedim* to tell him where the *Shamir* was to be found. They told him that they knew not; but that Ashmedai the king of the *Shedim*, who dwelt in a hill they indicated, could tell him. It was the habit of Ashmedai to go daily to heaven and ascertain the decrees of the heavenly council (cp. Job i. 6; ii. 1): thence he returned to earth to carry out counter-schemes for the destruction of men. While he was absent from his hill Solomon sent Benaiah the son of Jehoiada with a chain and his signet-ring (which bore the Name of God) wherewith to seize and bind him. He was secured, after having been first made drunk. Standing before Solomon, Ashmedai enjoined the capture of the bird[2] in whose custody was the *Shamir*; and, this having been done, the Temple building was completed. Ashmedai stood once more before Solomon. The king asked him, "What superiority have you greater than what we have?" "Loose me," answered the fettered spirit-king. "Give me your signet-ring, and I will shew you." The king, stimulated by pride or curiosity, did as he was asked. Ashmedai, as soon as free, became a huge giant. He seized Solomon, flung him an immense distance, assumed his form, and reigned in his place. Ashmedai threw away the ring, which a fish swallowed. The fish was caught, and Solomon recovered his signet. His wise men recognised the signet, and Ashmedai fled away.[3]

The demons are not indeed the only spiritual beings employed by God to punish men. As there are Angels who execute His good pleasure, so there are Angels of His wrath and punishment. The Angels *Aph* and *Chuma*[4] met Moses in the inn, and sought to kill him for his neglect in circumcising his son (cp. Ex. iv. 24). Four others are called[5] *Kezeph*, *Mashchith*, *Meshabber*, *Mekalle*. Two others, perhaps the most terrible, *Abaddon* and *Maveth*,[1] bring death upon men. These Angels of destruction convey the godless to their place, just as the ministering spirits convey the godly to the places of the blessed. But these Angels of punishment are not actuated by blind persistent hatred of men. This is the fearful privilege of the *Shedim* and their kindred: and fully do they exercise it upon the sick[2] and sorrowful, the bride and bridegroom, the woman in child-birth, and the pupil of the wise. Their time of mischief and revel is from dark till cock-crow. Around a house they gather full of evil intent. Alas for the child which shall leave its protection! Under the form of serpents and animals, and in Egypt of flies with poisonous sting, they hunt for their prey. So terrible is this family of *Massikin* that God alone has power to quiet them. He extends His protection generally when His priest pronounces the Aaronic blessing (Num. vi. 24–6): and the individual is shielded when his guardian-Angel repeats his exorcisms, or he himself recites the *Shema* (Deut. vi. 4) and its accompanying prayers. The phylacteries were not without efficacy in popular belief. Numerous were the means employed to exorcise, dispossess, and frustrate the spirits of evil. The more religious employed texts of Scripture; the more superstitious magical[3] and unintelligible words written on paper or parchment. The traveller was enjoined to repel the angel of death who should meet him in his journey with the words of Zech. iii. 2; the sleeper was charged to repeat Psalm xci. ere he closed his eyes. That sleeper, when awaking, must beware of rubbing his eyes with unwashed hands. The "Bat-chorin" (a demon or a sickness) lurking in those hands would afflict him with blindness. Food touched by unwashed hands became the resting-place of the "Shibta."[4] The food of demons also consisted in certain particles which they found in water and fire. It was therefore dangerous to drink water at night, lest the *Shaberiri*,[5] the demon of blindness,

[1] *Shamir* is variously represented to have been a worm, a plant, and a mineral (Grünbaum, 'Z. d. D. M. G.' xxxi. p. 205 &c.).

[2] The moor-cock, or, according to others, the lapwing or the eagle (Grünbaum, 'Z. d. D. M. G.' xxxi. pp. 208–13).

[3] Solomon is said to have been ever afterwards afraid of demons (Grünbaum, 'Z. d. D. M. G.' xxxi. pp. 205, 215, 221).

[4] חמה and אף; Weber, p. 166.

[5] כוף, משחית, משבר, מקלה.

[1] אבדון and מות.

[2] Many sicknesses are identified with the *Shedim* who produce them: cp. Brecher, pp. 53, 177; Kohut, p. 59.

[3] Cp. the magical books of Ephesus (Acts xix. 19). There was a wonderful "Book of healing" which tradition attributed to Solomon, but Hezekiah felt constrained to put it away. Unfortunately its unholy teaching had already drifted into the minds of the enlightened (see Brecher, p. 194).

[4] Cp. Brecher, pp. 171, n. 89 (and Tobit ii. 10, note), 177; Grünbaum, 'Z. d. D. M. G.' xxxi. 254.

[5] שברירי. See Brecher, p. 203; Levy, 'Chald. W. B.' *s. n.* Some would limit the exercise of this power to the Wednesday and Saturday—

should smite the drinker. What then was a thirsty man to do? The formula ran: "N. son of N. thy mother hath warned thee and said, Take care of the Shaberiri, Beriri, Riri, Iri, Ri, who is there in the cup." Then might a man drink without fear; for when the demon heard his name pronounced and each time curtailed of a syllable,[1] he would be sensible of a corresponding curtailment of power, and would flee away! Necromancy, witchcraft, magical arts, especially Egyptian, amulets,[2] and charms — all had their advocates and alleged uses. Incantations recited while incense composed of certain ingredients was burning, the use of formulæ and even of nonsense-words,[3] potations,[4] unguents, were frequently employed.

Two remedies only—or rather tentative modes of cure—need be specially distinguished here. Both have a relation to the remedies specified in the Book of Tobit:—

(1) Expulsion by fumigation (cp. Tobit vi. 16; viii. 3, note). Rabbinowicz[5] gives an extract from Hippocrates which suggests a mode of testing the powers of fertility in a woman:—"Wrap her in a cloke, and smoke her under the clothes." If such and such results happen, then it may be assumed that she has the power of bearing children; if not, not. This or something similar may have been the origin of the curious Rabbinical remedy reported in the Talmud:[6] "If a serpent have crept into a woman's womb, place her with feet apart over two vessels. Take some fat meat and burn it upon coals. In a basket put herbs and sweet-smelling wine, and mix them well together. Give the woman a pair of tongs, that when the serpent attracted by the smell shall issue forth, she may seize it and cast it into the fire." It is curious to compare these specifications with the more restrictive pathological treatment recommended in the older and simpler Versions of the Tobit text.

(2) The second remedy is one based upon the imagined possibility of transferring disease or affliction from one person to another, or from human beings to animals. In the case of blindness produced by the *Shaberiri*, the incantation, after enjoining the performance of certain irrational acts, proceeded: "May the blindness of M. the son of N. leave M. the son of N. and pierce the eyeballs of the dog." It was not thus that a Raphael and a Tobias are recorded to have rewarded the faithful fourfooted companion of their journey.

In conclusion, the results which, I believe, may be fairly drawn from this comparative study are, as regards the Book of Tobit, two.

(*a*) The Angelology and demonology of this Book do not support the view of those who place its composition in Palestine in the 2nd century A.D. The Jewish teachers in Palestine of the first three Christian centuries were confronted by a Syrian and Hellenistic gnosis, Neoplatonism, and an ever-advancing Christendom. As a means towards confuting these opinions, or of annulling their power, the Rabbis strove to purify Judaism from all antagonistic belief, whether it had intruded itself from without or developed itself from within. Collision between the Greek spirit and Judaistic thought had already separated the Jewish people into two parties, the Hellenistic and the national. Of the former some did not believe in Angels (cp. Acts xxiii. 8), and to Philo they were but emanations from God (λόγοι θεοῦ), beings intermediate between God and the world. On the other hand, Angels were to the Gnostic independent creators, rulers of the world, and promulgators of laws. If the Jerusalem Talmud may be taken as the treasury of Palestinian opinion during the centuries preceding its actual writing (*c.* 4th century), then it is significant of the results of the struggle that its Angelological conceptions have nothing in common with the Æons of Gnosticism, the Logos of Philo, or the Amshashpands of Parseism. Its demonology is not less significantly free from Ashmedai legends. It was otherwise with the Jews resident in Babylonia. They were not exposed to the dangers imperilling the belief of their brethren in Palestine; and the spirit-legends which find their earliest expression in Apocryphal literature are reproduced and developed in the Babylonian Talmud. Rab (died 243 A.D.), the great teacher at Sura, and his contemporary Samuel (died 250 A.D.) at Nehardea, speak readily about Ashmedai and the Solomon-legends, but they are the first to do so. There were two periods in which activity and fertility in producing *Midrashim* (or explanations and amplifications of Biblical topics) were most marked; the first anterior to the times of the Maccabean struggle for freedom, the second the time of rest after the disastrous rebellion against Rome of Barcochba and Rabbi Akiba. This latter was a busy time for Halachist and Haggadist; dicta polemical and apologetic, disputations and controversies, mark the age when the Jewish Rabbi did not hesitate to measure his powers with the philosopher of Greece and Rome. But the methods, con-

—the *dies* (*et noctes*) *nefasti* of the week (see Kohut, pp. 52, 93); but this is hardly correct (see Brecher, p. 57; Grünbaum, 'Z. f. K. F. S.' ii. p. 219).

[1] Cp. the similar curtailment of the Abracadabra: Kohut, p. 89.

[2] Cp. Brecher, pp. 58, 195.

[3] Brecher, pp. 200 &c.; Kohut, p. 89.

[4] Brecher (p. 201) gives some recipes.

[5] 'Législation civile du Thalmud: Les Femmes &c.,' p. xlviii.

[6] Sabb. 110a; Brecher, p. 207.

ditions, and conduct of that controversial age were not those of the former period. The greater simplicity and refinement of the pre-Maccabean and post-Maccabean literature is strikingly emphasized by the evident effort of these later Rabbinic teachers to divest current conceptions of the garbage of paganism and present them afresh in the ancient monotheistic mould. Hence, for example, the dissemblance of the Ashmedai of the Talmud alike from the Ashmedai of the Avesta and the Asmodeus of the Apocrypha: but that dissemblance only magnifies the earlier, because less elaborated, conception of the Apocryphal ideal.

(*b*) This last feature is in fact an indication of date. An impartial consideration of the development angelological and demonological sketched in the previous paragraphs can, I respectfully submit, but prove how impossible it would have been for a writer of the last two centuries B.C. to have produced the Angels and demons of the Talmud. The latter portraits require that lapse of time, that use of accessories, that hardening of details and handling of materials which they everywhere present. But this would have been a token of spuriousness in anything earlier; as it is, it is a token of genuineness where it occurs. The Raphael and Asmodeus of Tobit could not have been depicted in Biblical times; and they would have been rejected as insufficient in Talmudical. They fall into their natural era when they are assigned to the 2nd or 1st century before Christ.

TOBIT.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Tobit his stock, and devotion in his youth.* 9 *His marriage,* 10 *and captivity.* 13 *His preferment,* 16 *alms, and charity in burying the dead;* 19 *for which he is accused, and fleeth,* 22 *and after returneth to Nineve.*

THE book of the [1]words of Tobit, son of Tobiel, the son of Ananiel, the son of Aduel, the son of Gabael, of the seed of Asael, of the tribe of Nephthali;

2 Who in the time of [1]Enemessar king of the Assyrians [a]was led captive out of Thisbe, which is at the right hand of that city, which is called [1]properly Nephthali in Galilee above Aser.

[1] Or, *acts.*

[1] Or, *Shalmaneser.*

[a] 2 Kings 17. 3, 23.

[1] Or, *Kedes of Nephthali in Galilee,* Josh. 20. 7. Judg. 4. 6.

CHAPTER I.

1. *The book of the words of Tobit*] A title more simply expressed in the Heb. Version, "This (is) the book of Tobi;" and in the Chaldee (Bodleian), "The history (or, act) of Tobiyah." "The words" (λόγοι) are rather "the acts" (as in marg.). Cp. the LXX. of 2 Chron. xii. 15, and the frequent phrase οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραὴλ (*e.g.* 2 Kings xiv. 28). The Hebrews (cp. Grotius, 'Critici Sacri,' *in loco*) preserved records of family events, and handed them down to their posterity. These records or συλλογαὶ are here called βίβλοι λόγων, "books of the acts" (cp. 1 Kings xi. 41).

The name Tobit (Τωβὶτ, var. Τωβεὶτ, Τωβεὶθ) is probably the Grecised form of the Hebrew Tobi (above), through the common process of adding a consonant when the Hebrew word ended in a vowel (cp. Havilah=Εὐϊλὰτ, Gen. ii. 11: Ναζαρέτ. See 'Crit. Sacri,' *in loco*). The name Tobi (lit. "my goodness") is probably an abbreviation of Tobiyah ("the goodness of Jehovah," Zech. vi. 10), after the analogy of such names as Melchi (Luke iii. 24) for Melchiah, Uzzi for Uzziah. The name Tobiah (of itself not uncommon: cp. Neh. ii. 10; 2 Macc. iii. 11. See Introduction, p. 160) is also the Heb. rendering for Tobias (*v.* 9). The Vulgate makes no distinction between the names of father and son (cp. Vulg. of *v.* 9, *nomen suum imponens ei*).

Tobiel . . . Ananiel . . . Aduel . . . Gabael . . . Asael.] The names all terminate in El (God), the essentially monotheistic name among the Semitic races. Tobiel is the same name as Tabeal ("God is good," Isa. vii. 6); Ananiel as Hananeel ("God hath graciously given," Neh. iii. 1); Aduel as Adiel ("ornament of God," 1 Chron. iv. 36. A variant reading here is "Ariel"); Gabael (perhaps) as Gabriel ("hero of God," Dan. viii. 16—the reading of the Syriac here); Asael as Jahzeel ("allotted of God," Gen. xlvi. 24), the eldest son of Naphtali. A few only of the links which connect Tobit with Naphtali are given, not all. Cp. Esther xi. 2; Matt. i. 1. The opinion that these names indicate (by their termination) a northern origin, cannot be positively maintained (see Nestle, 'Die Israelitischen Eigennamen,' p. 105 &c.).

2. *Enemessar*] Either Shalmaneser (see marg., the reading of the Heb., Chald., Syr., Itala, Vulg. &c.), or Sargon if *v.* 15 be taken literally: if the former, Enemessar may be a corruption of Shal-maneser by the omission of the first syllable (*shal*), and the inversion of the letters *m* and *n* in the second (cp. Bupalnasor, the rendering of Nabopolassar by Abydenus); if the latter, Enemessar (Anumasir, "the god Anu is gracious") may be the otherwise unrecorded private name for Sargon (Oppert and Bickell). See Additional Note.

Thisbe] See 1 Kings xvii. 1, note. Thisbe (or Tishbi) in Galilee is to be distinguished from Thisbe (or Tishbi) in Gilead, the city of the prophet Elijah. The Heb. text, by a different reading, obliterates the name: "he was *of the inhabitants* of a city of Naphtali."

that city which is called properly Nephthali] The Greek reads, ἤ ἐστιν ἐκ δεξιῶν κυδίως τῆς Νεφθαλί; and the Itala, *ex Bibel civitate quæ est in dextera parte Edisse civitatis Nepthalim.* Κυδίως represents in a corrupted form, or as a Galilean dialect-variation, the proper name Kadesh (see marg. and reff.); and the city Kadesh-Naphtali is meant. The rendering "properly" is due to a reading κυρίως; the name Edisse (or Cydissus) to a corruption of Κυδίως.

Aser] Or, Hazor, mentioned (Josh. xix. 36, 37; 2 Kings xv. 29) as near Kadesh. If the rendering of the Hebrew Version, "On the western boundary," indicates the position,

3 I Tobit have walked all the days of my life in the way of truth and justice, and I did many almsdeeds to my brethren, and my nation, who came with me to Nineve, into the land of the Assyrians.

4 And when I was in mine own country, in the land of Israel, being but young, [b]all the tribe of Nephthali my father fell from the house of Jerusalem, which was chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, that all the tribes should sacrifice *there*, where the temple of the habitation of the most High was consecrated and built for all ages.

[b] 1 Kings 12. 19, 20, 28.

Hazor may be identified with Jebel Hadireh ('Map of Western Palestine,' Pal. Explor. Fund). See, however, Josh. xi. 1, note. The words ὀπίσω δυσμῶν ἡλίου ἐξ ἀριστερῶν Φογὼρ, added by a Greek MS. after Ἀσσήρ, and the reading of the Itala, *in superioribus Galilææ contra* (Vulg., *supra*) *Naasson post viam quæ ducit in occidentem in sinistra parte Raphain*, or of the Vulgate, *in sinistro habens civitatem Sephet*, are closer identifications of the locality where Tobit lived. Sephet has been conjectured to be the same as Safed, so celebrated in the times of the Crusades.

The deportation alluded to in this verse is disputed. According to 2 Kings xv. 29, "the land of Naphtali" and the inhabitants of "Kedesh and Hazor" were taken captive to Assyria by Tiglath-Pileser (B.C. 745–727). Shalmaneser invaded Palestine twice (B.C. 725, 724; 2 Kings xvii. 3, 5, notes), but, so far as is known, made no deportation of captives. The final deportation of Israel was the work of Sargon (2 Kings xvii. 6, note) in B.C. 722 and later. The writer of this verse is therefore thought to have mixed up the statements of 2 Kings xv. 29 and of xvii. 6, though there is nothing impossible in the conjecture that Tobit was not carried away by Tiglath-Pileser, but by Sargon, whom the writer identifies with Enemessar. This would be the more likely if the lowlanders of the district were first deported, and afterwards the highlanders (*in superioribus Galileæ*, Vulg.), to whom Tobit belonged.

To the Venerable Bede, this captivity was a type of the captivity of the human race by Satan, king of all bad men; and the death of the king (*v.* 21) was the type of the victory over the devil, and of the restitution of prosperity to God's people.

3. *the way of truth &c.*] The picture of the *homo integer vitæ*. "Truth" (ἀλήθεια) is in the Heb. (and Chald.) text rendered by a word which implies perfection of every sort (cp. Pss. ci. 2, 6, cxix. 30); "truth," "truthfulness," "uprightness," "honesty," "sincerity," being elements of such integrity. "Almsdeeds," here the translation of a noun which both in the Heb. and LXX. expresses the benefits which flow from beneficence and mercy, was a special form of "goodness" for which Tobit was known (cp. *v.* 16, ii. 14, xii. 9, xiv. 2); but he confined his exercise of it to members of his own tribe and nation (cp. St. Augustine, 'De Doctrinâ Christianâ,' i. 28). Daniel, in his advice to Nebuchadnezzar, took a more liberal view of helpfulness to the distressed (see Dan. iv. 27, note; and cp. the Gk. rendering). Cp. the teaching of Christ (Matt. v. 44) and the practice of the Roman centurions (Luke vii. 5; Acts x. 2).

The term for nation (ἔθνος) fitly describes the foreign element which rendered the inhabitants of Galilee so mixed.

The Vulg. adds an interesting detail of character not recorded by the other Versions: *Cumque esset junior omnibus in tribu Nephtali, nihil tamen puerile gessit in opere.*

4. The rebellion of the tribe of Naphtali is included in that of "Israel" (marg. ref.). It is viewed first in its political significance; cp. the Heb. "all the tribe of N. rebelled against the house (Chald., kingdom) of David, and refused to go to Jerusalem;" and next as the religious apostasy consequent upon the national revolt (*v.* 5).

Jerusalem is described in the Heb. text as "the city which the Lord chose out of all the tribes of Israel, wherein was the altar of the Lord that was sanctified for all the tribes of Israel, and the Temple of the Lord was built in the midst thereof for offering up the burnt-offerings and the thank-offerings to the Lord three times a year" (cp. Exod. xxiii. 17).

The language of the E.V., supported by that of the other texts, seems to intimate that Tobit was alive at the time of Israel's original defection. As this took place in B.C. 931 (according to the revised chronology: the traditional date is B.C. 976), and Tobit was taken captive to Nineveh in B.C. 722 (*v.* 2, note), the above supposition would make him more than 200 years old at the latter date—an age contradicted by the number 158 specified as that of the years of his life (see xiv. 11). This is no difficulty if the narrative be mainly fictitious; but some prefer to understand this verse as descriptive of a state of national and religious apostasy in Naphtali, which dated indeed from the days of Jeroboam, but only reached that climax which was punished by captivity when Tobit was "young." Cp. the Vulg. of *vv.* 4–7.

the temple of the habitation &c.] Cp. for these words Wisd. ix. 8; 2 Macc. xiv. 28:

5 Now all the tribes which together revolted, and the house of my father Nephthali, sacrificed [1]unto the [c]heifer Baal.

6 But I alone went often to Jerusalem at the feasts, [d]as it was ordained unto all the people of Israel by an everlasting decree, [e]having the firstfruits and tenths of increase, with that which was first shorn; and them gave I at the altar to the priests the children of Aaron.

[1] Or, *to the power of Baal*, or, *the god Baal*.
[c] 1 Kings 12. 30.
[d] Deut. 16. 16.
[e] Exod. 22. 29. Deut. 12. 6.

7 The first tenth part of all increase I gave to the sons of [1]Aaron, who ministered at Jerusalem: [f]another tenth part I sold away, and went, and spent it every year at Jerusalem:

8 And the third I gave unto them to whom it was meet, as Debora my father's mother had commanded me, because I was left an orphan by my father.

9 Furthermore, when I was come

[1] Or, *Levi*. Numb. 18. 21.
[f] Deut. 14. 25, 26.

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and for the words "built for all ages," 1 Kings ix. 3; 2 Chron. vii. 16.

5. *the heifer Baal*] Specially that erected in Dan by king Jeroboam (Itala). The Heb., Chald., and Vulg. specify two calves; *i.e.*, that at Bethel as well as that at Dan. The marginal rendering is due to a variant reading, δύναμις (= El, God: cp. Matt. xxvi. 64) instead of δάμαλις. The representation of a male deity (Baal) by a female animal (heifer) is, in Old Test. symbolism, indicative of shame and contempt (Hos. ii. 8, LXX.; x. 5, note); ἡ Βάαλ being equivalent to ἡ αἰσχύνη (cp. Dillmann in 'Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie,' 1881). Baudissin (Herzog, 'R. E.'[2] *s. nn.* Astarte and Baal) finds in the feminine ἡ Βάαλ possible indications of an androgynous deity. See also Additional Note.

Grätz's and Neubauer's conjecture (p. xiv. n. 4) that τῇ Βάαλ is a corruption for Bethel is ingenious but quite unnecessary.

6. *I alone*] *i.e.* "alone" of his family. Others of his tribe sometimes went with him (v. 13). The Vulgate renders it, *Hic solus fugiebat consortia omnium; sed pergebat in Jerusalem* &c. For the precepts of *vv.* 6–8, consult marg. reff. The nature of the "increase" is specified in the Heb. and Itala to have been "corn and new wine and oil and figs and pomegranates and of every fruit of the land." The "first tenth" of this Tobit gave "to the sons of Levi" (not of Aaron: see marg. correction, Heb., and Itala).

that which was first shorn] Cp. Deut. xviii. 4, "the first of the fleece of thy sheep;" *i.e.* a fleece reserved for an offering.

at the altar] Rather "for"—for the use of the altar.

7. *another tenth &c.*] The second tithe (cp. Deut. xii. 17, xiv. 22–27) was set apart in the first, second, fourth, and fifth year of every seven years; but as a matter of fact a second tithe was also taken upon certain fruits in the third and sixth years (see Rosenthal, p. 118 n.). As permitted by the Law (Deut. xiv. 25), Tobit "sold" it (*commutans in pecunia sex annorum*, Itala) on account of the expense of transportation, and devoted the money to festival purposes at Jerusalem. The Greek word for "sold" (ἀπεπρατιζόμην) is an ἅπαξ λεγ., and probably of Alexandrian formation. There is no mention of the sale in the Hebrew and Chald. texts, but the result of it is implied in the words, "I went to Jerusalem every year with all these things" (Heb.), *i.e.* the first tithe, "the second tithe, and the third tithe for the stranger, the widow, and the orphan;" and in the pithy rendering of the Chaldee, "he ate (cp. Deut. xiv. 26, 27, 29) the second tithe and the poor tithe, and gave according as everything is written in the book of Moses."

8. *the third*] *i.e.* the third tithe, called by the Chald. text "the poor tithe" (πτωχοδεκάτη, so the Talmud and Jerome). On the nature of this tithe cp. Deut. xiv. 28, 29; xxvi. In the third and sixth of every seven years it took the place of the second tithe (cp. Deut. xxvi. 12, LXX.). The language of the Heb. text (see *v.* 7, note) intimates that Tobit paid this "third tithe" yearly; but this is not to be understood in the sense that the third tithe was collected yearly. The facts of the case are stated by the Greek text A (cp. E. V. of *v.* 7), and summarised in the Vulg.: *omnia primitiva sua et decimas suas fideliter offerens; ita ut in tertio anno proselytis et advenis ministraret omnem decimationem.* In the third year three-tenths were paid, though not collected, from all kinds of fruits (cp. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*; Josephus, 'Antiq. Jud.' iv. ch. viii. 22). On this somewhat complicated subject cp. Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' art. "Tithe;" Schürer, 'Gesch. d. Jüd. V.,'[2] p. 200, n. 4; and especially Herzog's 'R. E.'[1] art. "Zehnten bei den Hebräern."

because I was left an orphan] Tobit gives this as a special reason for his observance of the duty of the third tithe. His was the orphan's gift to the orphan. Of Deborah, the wife of Tobiel (*v.* 1), Tobit's grandmother, the Chald. says, "she brought him (Tobit) up, and led him in the true path."

to the age of a man, I married Anna of mine [g] own kindred, and of her I begat Tobias.

[g] Numb. 36. 7.

10 And when we were carried away captives to Nineve, all my brethren and those that were of my kindred did eat of the [h] bread of the Gentiles.

[h] Gen. 43. 32. Dan. 1. 8.

11 But I kept [1] myself from eating;

[1] Gr. *my soul.*

12 Because I remembered God with all my heart.

13 And the most High gave me grace and favour before Enemessar, so that I was his [1] purveyor.

[1] Gr. *buyer.*

14 And I went into Media, and left in trust with Gabael, the brother

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9. The practice, common still in the East, of marrying among one's own kindred, had for the Jews a religious significance (cp. Deut. vii. 3, 4; Ezra x. 2, &c.; Neh. xiii. 23, &c.), and was the means of preventing legal disabilities (marg. ref.). Of the son Tobias the Vulg. adds in language expressing the positive and negative duties of religion (Reusch), that Tobit *ab infantia timere Deum docuit, et abstinere ab omni peccato.*

10. *we were carried away captives*] "We," *i.e.* himself, his wife, and child. The Heb. and Itala have the reading "I was carried captive," found also in some Greek MSS., a reading which emphasises the distinction drawn by Tobit between himself and the rest of his fellow-captives in the next part of the verse (cp. also the Chald. and Vulg.). The distinction between "brethren" and "kindred" is not to be pressed too closely: "kindred" may be the more general and wider term, "brethren" the more special. The Greek equivalent of "kindred" (οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους μου) is in favour of a wide application, and is supported by the word (kinsmen) used here by the Chald. and Heb. texts (cp. also the Heb. of Ruth ii. 20; Neh. xiii. 4, "allied unto Tobiah;" Job xix. 14; Ps. xxxviii. 12). In *v.* 9, "kindred" (Gk. πατρία) is taken in the narrower sense of "tribe" by the Heb., and in the wider sense of "race" or "seed" by the Chaldee Version.

the bread of the Gentiles] Or "nations," *i.e.* heathen. To "eat unclean things in Assyria" (Hos. ix. 3, see note; cp. Ezek. iv. 13) had been one of the punishments denounced upon Israel. The Law forbad certain kinds of food (Lev. xx. 25; Deut. xiv. 3, 7) which the heathen did not forbid; therefore for a Jew to partake of such food was to break the Law. Hence the Chald. inserts after "kindred" the words "polluted themselves and" &c. Cp. the strong feeling expressed by St. Peter on this point (Acts x. 14. See also Add. to Esther xiv. 17; Judith xii. 2).

11. The Heb. text presents an interesting reading: "But I defiled not myself with their dainties, because I feared the Lord, and remembered the Lord with all my heart and with all my soul." The word "dainties" is *path-bag*, the word used in Daniel i. 5–8 (where see supplemental note), to which passage and act the conduct and language of Tobit bear strong resemblance.

13. *grace and favour*] As a reward for his "remembrance" ("fear and love," Chald.) of God (*v.* 12). The Greek text (χάριν καὶ μορφὴν) rather gives prominence to the physical beauty and comeliness which followed upon Tobit's abstinence, as in the case of Daniel and his companions (Dan. i. 15). The Heb. and Chald. support the E. V.

purveyor] The Greek ἀγοραστὴς is used by Xenophon ('Mem.' i. 5. 2) of the slave who bought provisions for the house (in later authors, ὀψωνάτωρ) and acted as purveyor; but the Heb. and Chald. texts employ words which give a truer sense of the nature of the office to which Tobit was raised: Chald., "He set him master" (cp. Dan. ii. 49) &c.; Heb., "He appointed me over all that he had (cp. the same word in the case of Joseph, Gen. xxxix. 5, and Gedaliah, Jer. xl. 11) unto the day of his death." The resemblance in these Versions to what is said of Daniel (*e.g.* ii. 48, vi. 3) is again to be noted. The Latin Versions further assist us in understanding Tobit's position; thus *Salmanasar dedit illi potestatem quocumque vellet ire, habens libertatem quæcumque facere voluisset* (Vulg.). According to the same Version, he used this "liberty" well: *pergebat ergo ad omnes qui erant in captivitate, et monita salutis dabat eis.*

Enemessar] See *v.* 2, note.

14. *I went*] On the king's business (Vulg.). This was Tobit's habit (ἐπορευόμην; cp. *v.* 15). On one of these occasions he deposited "on trust" (cp. the use of the Heb. and Gk. word) with one of his tribe, Gabael, the large sum of 4000*l.* (if the "silver talent" be taken as = 400*l.*), money *ex his quibus honoratus fuerat a rege* (Vulg.). According to the Vulg., this money was a loan when Gabael was in want, who gave to Tobit a note of acknowledgment (see v. 3, note).

Bede, commenting on the "trust," remarks, "So the people of God committed to the heathen by the LXX. that knowledge of the Divine Law contained in the Decalogue, which freed them from the poverty of unbelief" (see also his note on ix. 2).

"Rages" is the Raga of the Behistun inscription, and gave its name to a province. It

of Gabrias, [1]at Rages a city of Media ten talents of silver.

15 Now when Enemessar was dead, Sennacherib his son reigned in his stead; [1]whose estate was troubled, that I could not go into Media.

16 And in the time of Enemessar I gave many alms to my brethren, [i]and gave my bread to the hungry,

17 And my clothes to the naked: and if I saw any of my nation dead, or cast [1]about the walls of Nineve, [k]I buried him.

18 And if the king Sennacherib had slain any, when he was come, and [l]fled from Judea, I buried them privily; for in his wrath he killed many; but the bodies were not found, when they were sought for of the king.

[1] Or, *in the land*, or, *country of Media*.
[1] Gr. *the ways of whom were unsettled*.
[i] See Job 31. 17, 19, 20.
[1] Or, *behind the walls*.
[k] 2 Esd. 2. 23.
[l] 2 Kings 19. 35, 36. Isai. 37. 36, 37. Ecclus. 48. 18, 21. 1 Mac. 7. 41. 2 Mac. 8. 19.

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was the key to the pass called "the Caspian Gates," and as such bore an important part in the wars of Media. Its ruins (called Rhey) are about five miles from the Persian capital, Teheran. The marg. rendering of E. V. is that of an otherwise unsupported Greek reading, ἐν ἀγροῖς, instead of ἐν Ῥάγοις.

15. Sennacherib is here said to have been the "son" of Enemessar. This, if taken literally, would identify Enemessar with Sargon (see *v.* 2, note). Shalmaneser died B.C. 722, and was not succeeded by a son, but by the usurper Sargon (died B.C. 705).

whose estate was troubled] The word "estate" does not allude to the king's state of mind, but to that of his kingdom. The Greek αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ ἠκαταστάθησαν is supported by the Heb., "the highways of Media were closed because of the wars which were in the land, and I could not go to the land of Media to receive my money." "The tribute became great," explains the Chaldee; "the travellers ceased by reason of the trouble" (cp. Judg. v. 6, 7). Assyrian history fully bears out the disturbed state of Elam, Media &c., in Sennacherib's reign, both before and after his invasion of Judæa (2 K. xviii. 13 &c.). See Lenormant, 'Ancient History of the East,' i. 398; G. Smith, 'History of Assyria' (from the monuments), p. 110 &c. Duncker ('Gesch. d. Alterthums,' i. 275 &c., 455 &c.) dates the independence of Media (B.C. 714) from after Sennacherib's unfortunate expedition to Syria.

16. *in the time of Enemessar*] So Itala; the Heb., Chald., and Vulg. place this in the time of Sennacherib, "to whom the children of Israel were very hateful" (Vulg.).

brethren] Specially "orphans and widows" (Heb.). In the conduct ascribed to him in this verse Tobit was obedient to the injunctions of the Law and the Prophets (Deut. vi. 11, 12; Isa. lviii. 7; Ezek. xviii. 5–9). "Prope accedebat ad Evangelicam perfectionem" (Grotius). Cp. Matt. xxv. 35, 36.

17. *cast about the walls of Nineve*] See marg. rend. (so the Gk.); Heb. "outside." The Chald. has the variation "cast out in the street of the Jews," as if Nineveh had its Ghetto. To the cruelty of slaughter was added the ignominy of no-burial, the τάφος ἄταφος. It would seem (cp. *vv.* 16, 18) that previous to Sennacherib's defeat Tobit was allowed to bury the dead undisturbed and openly; but that after that event he had to bury them "privily." Cp. the Heb. "I many times stole their corpses and buried them." That a dead body should remain unburied was considered by the Hebrews a great disgrace (cp. 1 Kings xiii. 28, 29, xxi. 24; 2 Kings ix. 35, 36; Ps. lxxix. 3; Ecclus. xxxviii. 16). Burial-places were with the heathen, as with the Jews, outside the walls; contact with graves, as with dead bodies, constituting ceremonial defilement.

The example of Tobit, blessed by the presence of God's Angel (xii. 12), has been commemorated by the Roman Catholic Church as one of the "Corporal acts of Charity." "Nihil hoc officio præstantius, ei conferre qui jam tibi non potest reddere; vindicare a volatilibus, vindicare à bestiis consortem naturæ" (Ambrose *in loco*; cp. Lactantius, 'Inst.' vi. § 30). Though the burial of the body brings with it no special good, and non-burial no special evil (cp. Augustine, 'De Civ. Dei,' i. 12, "Si aliquid prodest impio sepultura pretiosa, oberit pio vilis aut nulla"); yet Christianity, which looks upon the body as "a member of the Body of Christ," Himself so reverently received from the Cross and laid in the tomb, and also "the temple of the Holy Ghost," must of necessity take reverent care of the bodies of the dead, whether by burial or otherwise. See some interesting passages from Minucius Felix (xi.), Lactantius (vi.), and Origen ('c. Cels.' viii. 30), quoted by Reusch here.

18. For the defeat alluded to, cp. marg. reff. No record of it is found in the Assyrian inscriptions, it not being the custom in these ancient nations to chronicle their repulses (see Dan. iv. 31, note *c*). The Chald. text is, "When Sennacherib returned from Judah with confusion of face ('because that the Lord God of Israel had smitten him in the land of Judah for the reproach wherewith he reproached and blasphemed the God of Israel,' Heb.; cp. the Vulg. and Itala), he

19 And when one of the Ninevites went and complained of me to the king, that I buried them, and hid myself; understanding that I was sought for to be put to death, I withdrew myself for fear.

20 Then all my goods were forcibly taken away, neither was there any thing left me, beside my wife Anna and my son Tobias.

21 And there passed not five and fifty days, before two of his sons

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went to Nineveh in fierce wrath against the ten tribes which were in the land of Assyria, and killed many of them. And their corpses were cast out in the street, and none buried them." The Heb. text notes that Tobit recognized in this calamity upon "all the congregations of Israel throughout his (Sennacherib's) kingdom" a judgment upon them for "not laying to heart the destruction of their brethren . . . Instead of mourning and afflicting themselves before the Lord concerning the persecution of their brethren, and because that He was wroth with them, they were eating and drinking and making merry, delighting themselves with instruments of song and harps and psalteries, and were not grieved for the destruction of Judah for our wickednesses and the wickednesses of our fathers" (cp. Amos vi. 5, 6).

As Tobit buried the bodies he prayed this prayer, "O Lord God of Israel, Thou art righteous in all that hath come upon us, for Thou hast dealt truly, and we have done wickedly" (Heb.). This is a truer reflexion of the language likely to be used by a devout Jew than a direct prayer for the dead, such as the R. C. commentators (*e.g.* Reusch) suppose Tobit to have used. On this subject see Bp. Harold Browne's and Bp. Forbes' works on the Thirty-nine Articles, under Article xxii.

19. *complained*] The Heb. text gives the complaint, "Thy servant Tobi, whom thou hast appointed over all that thou hast, sendeth his men over all the streets of Nineveh to seek the slain of his nation, and he burieth them privily, and feareth thee not." Cp. the similar language in Dan. vi. 14.

20. The king's command was to seize Tobit, his wife and son, and slay Tobit (Heb.). Tobit "flying with them" (Vulg.) escaped, but they were taken. Tobit's hiding-place remained undiscovered, *quia multi diligebant eum* (Vulg.), and his deliverance was due to the "cry for him of the widows and orphans in Israel" (Heb.). The *nudus latuit* of the Vulg. is best taken in the sense of E. V.: "neither was there anything left me." Wife and son were restored to him on his return to Nineveh (ii. 1).

21. *five and fifty days*] Chald., Itala, and Vulg., 45; *al.* 40; the Heb. has no number. The figure, if genuine, must be taken with the R. C. commentators as indicating, not the space of time which elapsed after Sennacherib's return from Judæa, but the period after the confiscation of Tobit's goods. According to the Chald. and Itala, Sennacherib's death took place while Tobit was hiding, and after the forty-five days; according to the Inscriptions, Sennacherib did not die till B.C. 681, twenty years after his expedition against Judah (B.C. 701). See 2 Kings xix. 36, 37, notes.

two of his sons] Adrammelech and Sharezer. "His judgment," says the Heb. text, "reached unto heaven, and was lifted up even to the skies, and the God of Israel delivered him into the hand of his two sons:" to which the same text adds the following curious statement as a reason for the patricide (cp. also Kimchi's note on 2 Kings xix. 36 in Buxtorf's 'Biblia Rabbinica'):—"He (Sennacherib) asked his counsellors and his elders why the Holy One (blessed is He!) had been jealous for Israel and Jerusalem . . . And his wise men and his counsellors said to him, Abraham, the father of Israel, led forth his son to slay him, that peradventure he might thereby obtain the favour of the Lord his God; therefore hath He been jealous for His children, and hath executed vengeance upon thy servants. Then said the king, I will slay my two sons for the Lord's sake: peradventure I shall obtain by them (the Lord's) favour and He will help me. And the saying came to Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons, and they laid in wait for him and killed him with the sword at the hour when he went in to pray before his idol, Dagon."

This reading of Dagon (the Dakan of Assyrian and Dagan of Babylonian inscriptions; cp. also the Assyrian and Babylonian fish-god, Oannes) instead of Nisroch (2 Kings xix. 37) tends to confirm the view that Nisroch was also the name of a god (query, the eagle-god) rather than that of a temple (see note *in loco*), even if the identification of Nisroch be uncertain. The name is now taken to be a corruption of, or another form for, Asur (Νασαρὰχ, Ἀσαρὰχ, LXX. of Isa. xxxvii. 38: cp. Baudissin, *s. n.* in Herzog, 'R. E.'[2]), or a corruption of Nusku, a synonym of Nebo (cp. Sayce, 'Theol. Review,' p. 27, 1873; and Halévy, 'Rev. des Études Juives,' Oct.–Dec. 1881).

Rashi (in Buxtorf, 'Bibl. Rabb.' *l. c.*; see also Munster's note here in 'Crit. Sacri') accounts for Sennacherib's death as follows. His princes, furious at the death of their sons and friends before Jerusalem, conspired

[m] killed him, and they fled into the mountains of Ararath; and [l] Sarchedonus his son reigned in his stead; who appointed over his father's accounts, and over all his affairs, Achiacharus my brother Anael's son.

22 And Achiacharus intreating for me, I returned to Nineve. Now Achiacharus was cupbearer, and keeper of the signet, and steward, and overseer of the accounts: and [l] Sarchedonus appointed him next unto him: and he was my brother's son.

[m] 2 Kings 19. 37. 2 Chron. 32. 21.
[l] Or, *Esarhaddon.*
[l] Or, *Esarhaddon.*

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against the king. When he heard it, he entered the temple and vowed to offer his sons in honour of the god, should he escape the peril. They took his life to save their own.

the mountains of Ararath] Gk. text, "coasts (ὄρη) of A." What is meant is the mountain-girt country of the central portion of the Araxes between the modern Erivan and Nachshivan in the N.E. of Armenia, a country at that time hostile to Assyria. The Chald. reads "the land of Kardu;" a reminiscence of the Syrian tradition which identified Mount Ararat not with the modern Agri-dagh near the Araxes, but with the range of the Dschebel Dschudi S.W. of Lake Van.

From the inscriptions it would seem that Adrammelech and Sharezer did not flee into Armenia in consequence of the murder of their father, but in consequence of their defeat by Esarhaddon. Esarhaddon was absent from Nineveh at the time of Sennacherib's death, but he—though a younger son—at once contested the succession. The result was determined in his favour by a battle in the land of Hani-rabbat, near the Upper Euphrates (Smith, 'Hist. of Assyria,' p. 127).

Sarchedonus] Esar-haddon (marg.), the Asshur-akh-iddin of the Inscriptions: he reigned from B.C. 681 to B.C. 668. In his time Assyria reached a greatness never previously attained.

over his father's accounts] The Itala, Chald., and Heb. support the Gk. rendering, "over all the accounts of his (own) kingdom," &c. The "affairs" (διοίκησιν) were more especially financial. The position occupied by Achiacharus (or, Akikar: see Additional Note) was that of "Rab over all that was (the king's) and Shalit over all the land of Assyria" (Chald.; cp. the original of Dan. ii. 48). The Cod. Sinaiticus adds the unsupported statement that Achiacharus had held the position assigned to him in *v.* 22, in the reign of Sennacherib. Instances of similar promotion of a foreigner are however familiar through the precedents of Joseph in Egypt, Daniel in Babylonia, Nehemiah and Mordecai in Persia.

22. *next unto him*] Gk. ἐκ δευτέρας, *i.e.* "second in rank." This was the position occupied at the Persian court by the "keeper of the signet" (Esth. iii. 10; viii. 2, 8; Addit. to Esther xvi. 11). The Heb., Chald., and Itala condense into a single sentence, "he ruled over all the land of Assyria," the accumulation of offices heaped upon Achiacharus by the Gk. text and E. V. As "steward" (διοικητής) he was controller of finance generally; as "overseer of the accounts" (ἐκλογιστής) he exercised special supervision over tribute and tax flowing in from Babylonia and Asia Minor, Judæa and Phœnicia, Egypt and Ethiopia.

he was my brother's son] The son of Anael (*v.* 21; or Ananiel, *v.* 1). To this one Version adds, "my kinsman and of the kindred of the king," the latter words being evidently intended to add illustriousness to the family. It is defended by Gutberlet upon the conjectural ground that a beautiful Jewess, a kinswoman of Achiacharus, may, like another Esther, have been admitted into the harem of the Assyrian king.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO VERSES 2, 5, 13, 15, 16, AND 21.

2, 13, 15, 16. *Enemessar*] Bickell ('Zeitsch. f. Kath. Theol.' 1878, p. 220 n.) finds in the name a corrupt reproduction of Sarru-Kinu (Sargon) reversed; gon = kinu = Ginum = ענם = Enem. To Grätz ('Monatschrift,' 1879, p. 398) the name is simply a great blunder on the part of the three Greek texts.

The well-known Jewish habit of discovering in foreign names an etymology indicative of character has here found full play. Rosenthal (p. 142) does not therefore accept here any corruption of Shalmaneser or textual variation; but—arguing from the etymological facility which finds in the last syllable ריב of the name סנחריב (Sennacherib) the "contention" or "strife" characteristic of that king, and in the שלמן of שלמנאסר (Shalmaneser) "the rewards" (in a bad sense) or "bribes" supposed to be indicative of Shalmaneser's nature—discovers also in the first syllable of Enemessar, חנם אסר, the causelessness, the want of purpose which the writer of the Book of Tobit may have had in his

mind, and which he sought to express by the fabrication of a name.

5. *the heifer Baal*] Grätz (p. 434) objects that the cultus of Baal and of the calves was not identical. Possibly not; but though it cannot be asserted as a certainty that Baal was represented under the form of a calf, there is much probability in its favour. In Palmyrene inscriptions occurs the name Aglibal (עגל בול). De Vogüé's conjecture that עגל = a young calf has much to commend it. See also Baudissin in Herzog, 'R. E.'[2] *s. n.* Baal; Hamburger, 'R. E.'[2] *ibid.*

21. *Achiacharus*] The fanciful reproduction of this as אחי אהרון ("brother of Aaron") by a Heb. (Fag.) text is, if etymologically worthless, of value as shewing that a Hebrew name was thought more consistent with the circumstances of the history than a Greek or Persian name. In pursuance of this thought Rosenthal (p. 143) suggests that the latter part of the name has been corrupted, and somewhat positively declares the name in the original text to have been אחיה (Achjah) or אחיהו. It is true that, as he points out, the names borne by the other members of Tobit's circle end in either *el* or *jah*, e.g. Gabrijah, Ananel, Tobiah, Gabael, Reuel, Asarjah; but that fact does not advance his argument. For no explanation is given, why this name alone has been altered. Further, his transformation of אחיהו into אחיחר would be more possible were the letters of this name in the best Heb. and Chaldee texts the same as those he gives for the name Achichar: but it is not easy to see how or why the scribe altered אחיהו into אקיקר.

CHAPTER II.

1 *Tobit leaveth his meat to bury the dead,* 10 *and becometh blind.* 11 *His wife taketh in work to get her living.* 14 *Her husband and she fall out about a kid.*

NOW when I was come home again, and my wife Anna was restored unto me, with my son Tobias, in the feast of Pentecost, which is [a]the holy feast of the seven weeks, there was a good dinner prepared me, in the which I sat down to eat.

[a] Exod. 34. 22. Deut. 16. 10, 11.

2 And when I saw abundance of meat, I said to my son, Go and bring what poor man soever thou shalt find out of our brethren, who is mindful of the Lord; and, lo, I tarry for thee.

3 But he came again, and said, Father, one of our nation is strangled, and is cast out in the marketplace.

4 Then before I had tasted of any meat, I started up, and took him up into a room until the going down of the sun.

CHAPTER II.

1. *the feast of Pentecost*] See marg. reff. The rites were restricted, according to the Law, to a single day; a period which the Jews, since the Captivity, have extended to two days in order to avoid the possibility of an error in calculating the true day. Its festive character was to be marked by free and hospitable liberality: "the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow that is among you" were especially to be remembered. Hence Tobit's remark (*v.* 2): "I and all who sit with me will not eat" (Heb.); he would "tarry" till such guests (plural: see the Chald. and Vulg.; the other Versions limit the invitation to "one poor man") as were prescribed by the Law were with him and his family.

I sat down] The Itala *discubui* and the Gk. ἀνέπεσα (altered by one Cod. to ἀναπαυσάμην), a late word, indicate that a reclining rather than a sitting posture was adopted. Cp. St. Luke xiv. 8; St. John xiii. 12, xxi. 20.

2. *poor man . . . of our brethren*] The Itala adds, "who are captives in Nineveh." This limitation, and that which follows, "who is mindful of the Lord" (cp. the stronger phrases of the Chald., "such as fear God," and of the Itala, *Deum habet in mente in toto corde suo;* cp. Ecclesiasticus xii. 1–7), is defended by the words above, "among you" (*v.* 1, note), and by the self-evident certainty that only such persons would be legally "clean" and fitted to partake of the Feast.

3. *strangled*] Vulg. *jugulatum;* Itala, *occisus laqueo circumdato.* The Chald. and Heb. texts simply state that he was "slain." The "market-place" is rather the broad, open space (Vulg. *platea;* Heb. and Chald. "the street") near one of the gates.

4. *into a room*] Chald. "into a house;" Gk. εἴς τι οἴκημα; Itala, *in domum apud me;* Heb. "in my keeping:" all of which express what is likely to have been the case. The house would not have been that which Tobit occupied, since it would have become un-

5 Then I returned, and washed myself, and ate my meat in heaviness,

6 Remembering that prophecy of [b]Amos, as he said, [c]Your feasts shall be turned into mourning, and all your mirth into lamentation.

[b] Amos 8. 8, 10.
[c] 1 Mac. 1. 39.

7 Therefore I wept: and after the going down of the sun I went and made a grave, and buried him.

8 But my neighbours mocked me, and said, This man is not yet afraid to be put to death for this matter: [d]who fled away; and yet, lo, he burieth the dead again.

[d] ch. 1. 19.

9 The same night also I returned from the burial, and slept by the wall of my courtyard, [e]being polluted, and my face was uncovered:

[e] Numb. 19. 11.

10 And I knew not that there were [1]sparrows in the wall, and mine eyes being open, the sparrows muted warm dung into mine eyes, and [2]a whiteness came in mine eyes; and

[1] Or, *swallows*.
[2] Or, *white films*.

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clean by the introduction of the dead body (Num. xix. 14, 16); but it would probably be "his own house" (Vulg.). Tobit kept the body there till the "going down of the sun," partly because the feast-day would then be over, and partly, *ut caute sepeliret eum* (Vulg.).

5. *washed*] The law of purification was very strict. The unclean person was to purify himself with the water of separation made from the ashes of an heifer, and his uncleanness lasted seven days (Num. xix. 2 &c., 11 &c.). Evidently the literal observance of this law was impossible in Assyria. It may therefore be simply concluded that Tobit did what was accepted as possible under the circumstances (see *v.* 9, note).

that prophecy of Amos] See marg. reff. The appropriateness of the reference is singularly touching if it be read in connexion with Amos viii. 3 (see note *in loco*): "Many the corpses! In every place they are flung! Hush!" Tobit in his "heaviness" and "weeping" (*v.* 7) applied to himself the Divine judgment upon Israel as a nation. The Heb. and Sinait. texts add that the prophecy was spoken "in Bethel," the Itala "in Bethlehem;" an instance of the wish to assign to a godly man a (comparatively) more sacred place of residence or sphere of work.

8. *my neighbours mocked me*] Cp. the thought of Pss. xxxi. 11, xxxviii. 11. These were not his "heathen" neighbours, but, as the Heb. and Chald. are careful to report, his "kinsmen" (the Heb. adds "and my family"), to whom Tobit's readiness to risk his life was first unintelligible, and then ridiculed. Cp. St. Paul's different, because Christian, estimate of such an act (Rom. v. 7, 8). Tobit was "not afraid," explains the Vulg., "because he feared God more than the king."

9. The Heb. reads, "And on that night, after I had buried him who was dead, I washed, but was not able to purify myself in an unclean land as would have been meet in the land of Israel." The law "in the land of Israel" is given in marg. ref. Tobit, conscious of pollution, would not enter his own house; and further, remained in the open air, that others might not incur pollution through contact with him. The Itala adds that Tobit left his face uncovered "on account of the heat."

10. *sparrows*] So the Itala. The Heb. and Chald. have "birds" simply; the Vulg. "swallows" (see end of next note); and Bede accepts swallows as typifying, by their light swift flight, levity and pride of heart, the "uncleanness" of which blinds those whom it dominates.

mine eyes being open] Pliny's statement (quoted in Gutberlet, p. 94), "patentibus oculis dormiunt lepores, multique hominum; quod κορυβαντιᾶν (see Lidd. and Scott, Lex., *s. v.*) Græci dicunt," is inaccurate as regards the hares, and, if not equally so as regards men (see an instance in Gutberlet), is so exceptional as to make very questionable such an interpretation of the text. The words are absent from the Heb., Chald., Vulg., and Itala; but the Vulg. helps to a natural explanation, *et ex nido hirundinum dormienti illi callida stercora inciderent super oculos ejus* &c. The dung fell upon his eyes, slightly penetrated them at the time, and when he opened them penetrated them still more.

whiteness] Gk. λευκώματα, a word used by Aristotle for a white spot in the eye caused by the thickening of the cornea; "a cataract." The Heb. and Chald. texts use words, also employed in the Heb. and Targum of Lev. xxi. 20 (A. V., "a blemish"), which rather indicate suppuration or dropping. These texts seem to indicate the immediate consequence of the dung muting into the eye, as well as (Chald.) a continuous symptom of the malady. Fritzsche ('Comm.,' p. 34) identifies the disease with the *albugo* (Itala), or a non-transparent spot of a bluish colour, which was cured by the use of the gall of sheep, cattle, and barb (fish). The Chald. adds, "Every morning he went to the

I went to the physicians, but they helped me not: moreover Achiacharus did nourish me, until I went into Elymais.

11 And my wife Anna [1]did take women's works to do.

12 And when she had sent [2]them home to the owners, they paid her wages, and gave her also besides a kid.

13 And when it was in my house, and began to cry, I said unto her, From whence is this kid? is it not stolen? render it to the owners; [f]for it is not lawful to eat any thing that is stolen.

14 But she replied upon me, It was given for a gift more than the wages. Howbeit I did not believe her, but bade her render it to the owners: and I was abashed at her.

[1] Or, *was hired to spin in the women's rooms.*

[2] Or, *her work.*

[f] Deut. 22. 1.

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physicians to cure his eyes; and he was not cured, but the whiteness increased in his eyes until he became blind. And he was blind four years" (so, as regards time, Heb. and Itala).

Blindness was superstitiously considered a punishment for sin (cp. St. John ix. 2); and as a "blemish" it was sufficient to debar a member of the house of Aaron from approaching to offer "the bread of his God" (Lev. xxi. 18, 20, 21). The blinded Tobit is to Bede an illustration of the Apostle's saying, "Blindness in part hath happened unto Israel" (Rom. xii. 25, Vulg. Consult Rev. Vers.). If Tobit had not become wearied, he would never have become blind! "Qui infatigabilis in bonis operibus persistit, nunquam fidei luce privatur. Jacet spiritualiter et dormiet fatigatus, qui vigilare et stare in fide, viriliter agere, confortari negligit."

The Vulg. adds here a singularly beautiful expansion: *Hanc tentationem permisit Dominus evenire illi, ut posteris daretur exemplum patientiæ ejus, sicut et sancti Job. Nam cum ab infantia sua semper Deum timuerit, et mandata ejus custodierit, non est contristatus contra Deum quod plaga cæcitatis evenuerit ei. Sed immobilis in Dei timore permansit, agens gratias Deo omnibus diebus vitæ suæ. Nam sicut beato Job insultabant reges, ita isti parentes et cognati ejus irridebant vitam ejus, dicentes: Ubi est spes tua, pro qua eleemosynas et sepulturas faciebas? Tobias vero increpabat eos, dicens: Nolite ita loqui. Quoniam filii sanctorum sumus, et vitam illam exspectamus quam Deus daturus est his qui fidem suam nunquam mutant ab eo.* This last sentence, reputed an anachronism by Fritzsche, certainly reflects the belief of such passages as Isa. xxv. 8 and xxvi.

until I went into Elymais] The clause does not appear at all in the Heb., Chald., or Vulg., and in the Itala is applied to a different person, *priusquam iret (Achicarus) in Limaidam*. This reading ἐπορεύθη instead of ἐπορεύθην is undoubtedly correct. Tobit does not appear to have left Nineveh (see chs. xi., xiii.). Achiacharus, on the contrary, after supporting Tobit for two years (Itala), was compelled to leave it, probably through some court intrigue (xiv. 10, note), and his return is recorded in xi. 18.

Elymais, called a city in the country of Persia in 1 Macc. vi. 1, was rather a province on the Persian Gulf, perhaps Elam, to the south of Media. One Hebrew text (Fagius) reads ("gravi errore," Grotius) Alemania instead of Elymais. Alemannia was the name for Germany among the Spaniards and Franks; hence that Hebrew paraphrase has been thought to have been the work of a Jew resident in Moorish Spain during the Middle Ages.

11. *women's works*] So Heb., Chald., Sinait. text, Itala, and Vulg.; the nature of the work being spinning and weaving (*opus textrinum*, Vulg.). This appears to have been a *spécialité* with the women of Judæa; the women of Galilee worked at linen (Schürer,[2] p. 37, n. 174). Others take the Greek ἠριθεύετο ἐν τοῖς γυναικείοις in the sense "wove wool in the women's *rooms*" (see E. V. marg.): ἐριθεύομαι is primarily to work as a day-labourer or hired servant of any sort (ἔριθος); but the later meaning of ἔριθοι, "spinsters" and "weavers," "workers in wool," is taken to have passed here into the verb. The use of γυναικεῖον in the attached sense of "rooms" is confined to this passage, the fem. adj. (sub. αὐλή) being more usual. The rendering of the E. V. is preferable. Achiacharus having left Nineveh, the support of the blind Tobit for the four years (*v.* 10, note) fell entirely upon his wife Anna. See Vulg.: *de labore manuum suarum victum, quem consequi poterat, deferebat* (sc. *domi*).

12. The Itala and Sinait. texts add that this took place on the seventh day of the month Dystros, an interesting addition to the otherwise infrequent use of the names of the Macedonian calendar in the Apocrypha (see Additions to Esther xiii. 6, note; 2 Macc. xi. 30). Dystros is usually taken to correspond with March. If this date can be trusted, the event connected with the text occurred in that month of the fourth year of blindness; and between this and the previous verse this space of time must be understood to have elapsed.

14. *I was abashed*] Lit. "I became red," "I blushed:" the Heb. (cp. Chald.) reads, "We quarrelled together concerning the

[g Job 2. 9.] [1 Or, lo, all things are known to thee.]

g But she replied upon me, Where are thine alms and thy righteous deeds? 1behold, thou and all thy works are known.

CHAPTER III.

1 *Tobit, grieved with his wife's taunts, prayeth.* 11 *Sara, reproached by her father's maids, prayeth also.* 17 *An angel is sent to help them both.*

THEN I being grieved did weep, and in my sorrow prayed, saying,

2 O Lord, thou art just, and all thy works and all thy ways are mercy and truth, and thou judgest truly and justly for ever.

3 Remember me, and look on me, punish me not for my sins and ignorances, and *the sins of* my fathers, who have sinned before thee:

4 For they obeyed not thy commandments: wherefore thou hast delivered us a for a spoil, and unto captivity, and unto death, and for a

[a Deut. 28. 15, 37.]

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matter of the kid;" and the Itala adds, "and she was angry because I believed her not."

Where are &c.] Cp. i. 3. The Heb. supplies the meaning of her questions: "Where are thy kindnesses and thine alms which profit thee not in the day of thy trouble?" No good had resulted from them, therefore she concluded that they had not been wrought in a right spirit. "Thy reproach (cp. ii. 6) is known to all the world;" she considered that the blindness and poverty were sent as a punishment for his hypocrisy.

Tobit's unjust refusal to believe his wife's protestation of innocence is naturally explained as due to a nature embittered by four years' blindness and poverty; evidently, however, their married life was not at this time happy (cp. x. 6, 7).

CHAPTER III.

1. According to the Itala, this prayer was spoken in the court of Tobit's house (cp. *v.* 17). Under the open canopy of heaven, and apart from the sounds of altercation, he, "grieved, fainting and sick with his affliction" (Heb.), poured out his soul before God. The prayer is marked by faith and trust (*v.* 2); by humiliation, personal and national; and by the recognition of the justice of God's punishment upon himself and his forefathers, though deprecating its execution (*vv.* 3–5). It is framed upon Scriptural models (cp. Ezra ix. 6–15; Neh. i. 5–11, ix. 6–38; Dan. ix. 4–19; Baruch i. 15 &c.), and clothed in Scriptural language (see especially *v.* 4, note); but it cannot be said (with some commentators) to have reached the spirit of a Christian prayer. The submissiveness apparent in one thought is qualified by the somewhat dictatorial character of that which follows it (*v.* 6); and there are evidences of querulousness and of irritation with those who have cast upon him "false reproaches" (*v.* 6) which are far removed from the teaching of Christ (St. Matt. v. 23, 24; vi. 12, 14) or of His Apostle (1 Pet. ii. 19 &c.).

Questions of some importance and difficulty are raised by the eschatology of the Received Text of *v.* 6 (see note).

2. *all thy works and all thy ways are mercy and truth*] Cp. Ps. xxv. 10; Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7, a passage held by the Jews to enumerate thirteen attributes of God. The Heb. and Chald. read, "all Thy works are might (Itala, *magna*), and all Thy ways are goodness (Itala, *misericordia*) and truth." The Gk. texts render "mercy" or "goodness" by ἐλεημοσύναι, a use of the word in the LXX. not infrequent in the singular, but rare in the plural (cp. Prov. iii. 3. See Cremer, 'Biblisch-theolog. Wörterbuch,'[4] *s. n.*).

3. *look on me*] With favour and kindness. Cp. *v.* 15; Luke i. 48.

ignorances] Gk. ἀγνοήματα; Itala, *negligentia*. The word is absent from the Heb. and Chald.; it is evidently used here and elsewhere (1 Macc. xiii. 39) as synonymous with that form of error or transgression from which the original element of want of thought or knowledge has passed beyond the stage of defence or excuse (Lev. iv. 2, note), and reached that in which weakness is deliberate, and therefore sinful (cp. Judith v. 20, where ἀγνόημα passes into σκάνδαλον and ἀνομία). Cp. the language of St. Paul, who, speaking as a Jew, reproved that "ignorance" which "alienated (men) from the life of God" (Eph. iv. 18; cp. Acts xvii. 30), and ranked it, in his own case, as parallel with "unbelief" (1 Tim. i. 13). For such "ignorances" ("errors of the people," Heb. ix. 7) the High Priest once a year on the great Day of Atonement made sacrifice "not without blood;" and again for such, Christ, "an High Priest of good things to come, . . . by his own blood entered in once into the Holy Place, having obtained eternal redemption for us" (Heb. ix. 11, 12). The turn given to the words by the Vulg., *Ne vindictam sumas de peccatis meis, neque reminiscaris delicta mea vel parentum meorum*, is reflected in the language of the Litany, "Remember not,

proverb of reproach to all the nations among whom we are dispersed.

5 And now thy judgments are many and true: deal with me according to my sins and my fathers': because we have not kept thy commandments, neither have walked in truth before thee.

6 Now therefore deal with me as seemeth best unto thee, and command my spirit to be taken from me, that I may be [1]dissolved, and become earth: [b]for it is profitable for me to die rather than to live, because I have heard false reproaches, and have much sorrow: command therefore that I may now be delivered out of this distress, and go into the everlasting place: turn not thy face away from me.

7 It came to pass the same day, that in Ecbatane a city of Media Sara

[1] Or, *dismissed*, or, *delivered*.

[b] Jonah 4. 3.

Lord, our offences nor the offences of our forefathers; neither take Thou vengeance of our sins." See Reusch *in loco*.

who have sinned] Gk. ἃ ἥμαρτον; but the Heb., Chald., Itala, and other codices support the E. V.

4. *a proverb of reproach*] Cp. Wisdom v. 3. The Heb., Chald., and Itala separate the words, *e.g.* "a proverb, a reproach" (Itala and Vulg., *improperium;* in Jer. xlii. 18, *opprobrium*), and are nearer to the original text of Deut. xxviii. 37. The Heb. text adds the words of Isa. i. 9.

5. *deal with me*] Or, accepting ποιῆσαι instead of ποίησον, "in that Thou dealest with me." According to the English Version, the language is that of humble submission to a punishment acknowledged to be just. Cp. the paraphrase of the Itala, *multa sunt judicia tua et vera quæ de me exigas et de peccatis meis et parentum meorum.* The Heb. and Chald. have, however, inserted a negative, "reward me not after my wickedness and the wickedness of my fathers" &c., which brings this verse into accordance with *v.* 3.

6. *and command &c.*] The usual Gk. text omits the "and," thereby making the sentence more incisive and abrupt.

be dissolved and become earth] "Sancti habent corpus pro carcere et pro vinculis" (Theophylact), by which the soul is imprisoned, and from which it is "dissolved" by death. For the phrase "become earth" cp. Gen. iii. 19, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." The desire for death—defended by St. Augustine ('c. Gaud.' i. 31), in the often-quoted sentence, "Non est injustum homini justo optare mortem quando amarissima est vita"—has its Scriptural parallel in the language of Job (vii. 15), and especially of Elijah (1 Kings xix. 4) and of Jonah (marg. ref.), though the frame of mind of Tobit was not that of Jonah. Cp. also 2 Cor. i. 8; Phil. i. 21–24. For the "false reproaches and much sorrow" to which Tobit alludes, see ii. 14, note.

The conception of Tobit of things after death is not that of the New Test., but of the Old. His words—"Command my spirit to be taken (lit., "taken up," ἀναλαβεῖν) from me (omitted in Gk. text), that I may be dissolved (see marg., *i.e.* "die:" cp. *v.* 13; 2 Macc. vii. 9; Luke ii. 29), and become earth .... and go into the everlasting place" (cp. Job xxi. 26, xxxiv. 15; Ps. civ. 29; Eccles. iii. 20)—recall one passage especially, "Man goeth to his long home. . . . Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God Who gave it" (Eccles. xii. 5, 7; cp. Baruch ii. 17). This book elsewhere expresses a knowledge of and belief in Hades (iii. 10, xiii. 2); and such passages as Dan. xii. 1 &c. (cp. 2 Macc. xii. 42 &c.) would be familiar to any writer living two centuries before Christ. To consider, however, "the everlasting place" an expression as definite and realistic as the "everlasting habitations" of Luke xvi. 9, is—on the above supposition as to date—to introduce an anachronism. It was not till Christ had overcome the sharpness of death, that the kingdom of heaven was opened to all believers (cp. John xiv. 1–3). To understand, also, the words "Command my spirit to be taken from me," as a recognition of the ministration of Angels, like to that in Luke xvi. 22 ("the beggar was carried by the Angels into Abraham's bosom"), is also to introduce a sense not, perhaps, entirely anachronistic, but certainly not warranted by the language of the other texts. The Heb. "take (not 'take up') my soul from me," and Chald. "take my soul out of mine hands," express the more correct, because less definite, belief of Tobit's time on this latter point; and in these texts it is noteworthy that allusion to "the everlasting place" is entirely absent.

The Itala renders the opening part of the verse, *præcipe recipi* (Vulg. adds *in pace*) *spiritum meum ut jam dimittar desuper terram.* The addition of the Vulgate is interesting from the well-known use of the formula on Christian tombs.

7. Ecbatane, the Achmetha of Ezra vi. 2

the daughter of Raguel was also reproached by her father's maids;

8 Because that she had been married to seven husbands, whom Asmodeus the evil spirit had killed, before they had lain with her. Dost thou not know, said they, that thou hast strangled thine husbands? thou hast had already seven husbands, neither wast thou named after any of them.

9 Wherefore dost thou beat us for them? if they be dead, go thy ways after them, let us never see of thee either son or daughter.

(cp. Judith i. 1) and the modern Hamadan, was founded B.C. 700 by the first Median king, Deioces (Herod. i. 98). It was situated in the northern part of Media Magna, and was the summer residence of the Persian and Parthian kings. It was a city of less importance than Rages (i. 14, note), a reading adopted here by the Vulg. only, and more probably due to a scribe's confusion with the name Raguel following than to identification with an otherwise not mentioned Rages in the neighbourhood of Ecbatana (Fritzsche and Reusch).

Raguel, or Reuel (Chald. and Heb.), "the friend of God," a not uncommon name among the Hebrews and Edomites (see Exod. ii. 18, note), has here a special interest in connexion with what follows. In the Book of Enoch it is the name of that guardian Angel of the universe who executed God's judgment upon the world and the stars. See Excursus II. on Angelology, I. § 4. Raguel was cousin to Tobit and Tobias (vi. 10, vii. 2).

reproached] The Heb. text reads, "Her father's maid-servants ('one of the maids,' Chald., Itala, and Vulg.) were reproaching her and mocking her, saying to her, It is not meet to call thee Sarah, but Zarah," *i.e.* not "princess" but "adversary" (cp. 1 Sam. i. 6).

8. *seven husbands*] Cp. Matt. xxii. 25. The number is, in both cases, literally possible; but it was also that usually employed among the Assyrians and Hebrews to denote completeness metaphorically.

Asmodeus] "King of the demons" (Chald. and Heb.), *dæmonium nequissimum* (Itala). The name is usually considered to have been borrowed from the Parseism which so largely influenced later Jewish Angelology and demonology. In the Avesta, Ashma is next to Angro-mainyus (Ahriman), the chief of evil spirits: he is "wicked Ashma," the adversary of Sraosha and Mithra; his name means "anger," and he carries a terrible weapon: he is the antagonist of souls, and he has all knowledge except that of healing (Spiegel, 'Avesta,' iii. p. xlviii.). Benfey and Stern, Windischmann and Kohut, give to the name the signification of "covetous," "lustful;" and the terminal syllable (*deus*, δαῖος) is probably derived from *daeva* (*div*), or "demon" (Baudissin; Herzog, 'R. E.'² *s. n.*). These characteristics of the Persian "Aeshma-daeva"—partly repeated in the Asmodeus of the book Tobit, who is both murderous and lustful (v. 14); and bears the title "king of the demons (*shedim*)," with which word the Talmud and Midrash translate *daeva*—are still more developed in the Talmudical legends, which connect together King Solomon and Asmodeus (see Excursus II. ii. § 4). The Semitic etymology of the name "Asmodeus" ("the destroyer," from *shamad*, "to destroy") found in the Talmud, and still preferred by some, is not so probable as the Persian.

Critics, in search of parallels, find in the "love" of Asmodeus for Sarah a reference to the love of "the sons of God" for "the daughters of men" (Gen. vi. 2), and in the death of her husbands a resemblance to the end of Er and Onan (1 Chron. ii. 3).

Dost thou not know] Gk. *οὐ συνιεῖς*. The emendation *οὐ σὺ εἶς* is indirectly supported by the Chald., Heb., and Itala, the first and the last of which do not, however, put the matter interrogatively but positively: *e.g.* "It is thou who hast killed" &c. (Chald.). *Tu es quæ suffocas* (Itala). If the reading *συνιεῖς* be preferred, the sense will rather be, "Thou art not wise (*i.e.* thou art foolish; cp. 2 Cor. x. 12) to strangle thy husbands" &c.

These "seven husbands" are, according to Bede, a figure of the crowd of heathen nations, whose teachers know only the life of this world ("quod septem diebus volvitur"), but nothing of eternal life. Therefore were they destroyed by the Devil till the true Bridegroom came, even the Lord Jesus Christ.

neither wast thou named after any of them] *i.e.* Sara had not attained the dignity and name of wife (cp. Isa. iv. 1). For "named" (*ὠνομάσθης*) some texts have "profited by" (*ὠνάσθης*), which probably gave rise to the *nullo eorum fruita es* of the Itala: *ὠνάσθης* may, however, well be an abbreviation or corruption of *ὠνομάσθης*.

9. Either then or previously Sara shewed her anger for some fault of her maids by blaming (Vulg.) and even beating them. They continue their "reproach" (*v.* 7):—"If they be dead" &c., *i.e.* "If thy husbands have died a natural death, and if thou hast not murdered them, yet go thy ways; go after them" &c.; "die as they have died" (Chald.)—childless. The Heb. text puts it, "It would be good for thy parents that thou shouldest die for them,

10 When she heard these things, she was very sorrowful, so that she thought to have strangled herself; and she said, I am the only daughter of my father, and if I do this, it shall be a reproach unto him, and I shall bring his old age with sorrow unto the grave.

11 Then she prayed toward the window, and said, Blessed art thou, O Lord my God, and thine holy and glorious name is blessed and honourable for ever: let all thy works praise thee for ever.

12 And now, O Lord, I set mine eyes and my face toward thee,

13 And say, Take me out of the earth, that I may hear no more the reproach.

14 Thou knowest, Lord, that I am pure from all sin with man,

15 And that I never polluted my name, nor the name of my father, in the land of my captivity: I am the only daughter of my father, neither hath he any child to be his heir, neither any near [1]kinsman, nor any son of his alive, to whom I may keep myself for a wife: my seven husbands are already dead; and why should I live? but if it please not thee that I should die, command some regard to be had of me, and pity taken of me, that I hear no more reproach.

16 So the prayers of them both were heard before the majesty of the great God.

[1] Or, *brother.*

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and that they see not of thee either son or daughter" &c. The maid (or maids) knew nothing of Asmodeus. To them Sara was the *interfectrix virorum* (Vulg.).

10. According to the Versions, Sara went up to the upper chamber of her father's house. She purposed strangling herself, but the thought of the sorrow and reproach to her aged father restrained her. The Chald. and Itala add: "It is not good for me to hang myself. It is better for me to pray to God that I may die, and I shall hear no more reproach, neither I nor my father." The Heb. text gives the prayer (corresponding to *vv.* 11–13) as follows: "O Lord God, Thou hast given me to my parents, who are old and well stricken in age, and Thou hast sent against my husbands who married me the king of the demons, for Thou art the God of all the spirits and of all the demons, and the Maker of all creatures, and in Thy hand are all the kinds of evil spirits which are in the world. Now, therefore, O Lord, is it good in Thine eyes that I should bring down the old age of my father and my mother in sorrow to the grave (cp. Gen. xlii. 38)? For if the sentence of judgment hath gone forth from before Thee against me in this matter, destroy me utterly, I pray, and let me see no longer my exceeding trouble and my great reproach."

11. *she prayed toward the window*] *i.e.* looking towards Jerusalem. Cp. Dan. vi. 10, note. The opening the prayer with blessing God finds its parallel in the Song (prayer) of the Three Children. In the depths of woe and in the furnace of adversity, ascription of praise to Him Who permits the trial is recognized as a solace and strength.

13. *And say, Take &c.*] It is better with many Versions to put a full stop at "Thee" (*v.* 12), omit "and," and begin this verse, "Speak (Thou)! Take me" &c.; *i.e.* Issue against me the sentence of death (see Heb. text of *v.* 10, note). The Vulg. puts the prayer in the form of an alternative, *Peto, Domine, ut de vinculo improperii hujus absolvas me, aut certe desuper terram eripias me.*

15. *and pity . . . no more reproach*] The usual Greek text, by placing the words "no more" before "pity," has exactly inverted the evident meaning. The Chald., Heb., and Itala support the English text.

According to the Vulgate, this prayer (*v.* 11 *seq.*) was spoken at the end of a fast of three days and three nights. In this same Version the prayer is expanded at some length and with much beauty. Sara dwells upon the purity and innocence of her life; the fear of God was in her heart when she accepted a husband from her parents, and not lust or levity. She continues: *Aut ego indigna fui illis, aut illi forsitan me non fuerunt digni, quia forsitan viro alii conservasti me. Non est enim in hominis potestate consilium tuum* (cp. Wisd. ix. 13). *Hoc autem pro certo habet omnis qui te colit, quod vita ejus, si in probatione fuerit, coronabitur* (cp. Jas. i. 12); *si autem in tribulatione fuerit, liberabitur; etsi in correptione fuerit, ad misericordiam tuam venire licebit. Non enim delectaris in perditionibus nostris; quia post tempestatem, tranquillum facis; et post lacrymationem et fletum, exsultationem infundis. Sit nomen tuum, Deus Israel, benedictum in sæcula.*

16. For "majesty" the Chald. and Heb. texts have "throne of glory," a later Jewish mode of expressing not only the seat of the

17 And Raphael was sent to heal them both, that is, to scale away the whiteness of Tobit's eyes, and to give Sara the daughter of Raguel for a wife to Tobias the son of Tobit; and to bind Asmodeus the evil spirit; [c] because she belonged to Tobias by right of inheritance. The selfsame time came Tobit home, and entered into his house, and Sara the daughter of Raguel came down from her upper chamber.

[c] ch. 6. 11.

CHAPTER IV.

3 *Tobit giveth instructions to his son Tobias,* 20 *and telleth him of money left with Gabael in Media.*

IN that day Tobit remembered [a] the money which he had committed to Gabael in Rages of Media,

2 And said with himself, I have wished for death; wherefore do I not call for my son Tobias, that I may signify to him *of the money* before I die?

3 And when he had called him, he said, My son, when I am dead, bury me; and [b] despise not thy mother, [c] but honour her all the days of thy life, and do that which shall please her, and grieve her not.

4 Remember, my son, that she

[a] ch. 1. 14. [b] Prov. 23. 22. [c] Exod. 20. 12. Ecclus. 7. 27

Shechinah "that dwelleth between the Cherubims," but the Glory Himself (cp. Weber, 'Altsynagog. Paläst. Theologie,' p. 160). Cp. Ecclus. xlix. 8; 2 Macc. ii. 8. The Itala, *ab ipsa claritate* (*in conspectu gloriæ*, Vulg.) *Summi Dei*, presents the same thought in another form.

17. *Raphael was sent to heal them*] In the Heb. text Raphael is described, in accordance with the etymology of his name, as "the prince who is appointed over healing." The name, like Michael (Dan. x. 13) and Gabriel (Luke i. 26), terminates in the name of God (EL), Whose "ministering spirit" he was (Heb. i. 14). He was "one of the Seven holy Angels which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One" (xii. 15), and Rabbinic affection selected him as the third of the three messengers to Abraham (Gen. xviii. 2), Michael and Gabriel being the others (Weber, 164). See Excursus II. on Angelology, § 1.

He who presented "the prayer of Tobit on account of his blindness, and the prayer of Sara on account of the humiliation of her parents" (Heb.), was now sent forth to heal the physical woe of the one, and the mental distress of the other. So also, says Bede, our Lord "was sent to heal;" as He said of Himself, "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick" (Matt. ix. 12). He came to heal the Jews of the darkness of perfidy, and the Gentiles from the bondage of idolatry. Of Him said the prophet, "Vocabitur nomen ejus magni consilii angelus" (cp. the Vulg. of Isa. ix. 6).

to bind Asmodeus] Heb. and Chald. less definitely, "to take away." To "bind" the demons was to restrain them from exercising their evil power (Rev. xx. 2); to "loose" them (cp. Rev. ix. 14, 18) was to restore them to power and opportunities. The Jews claimed this power (cp. Matt. xii. 27; Josephus, 'Antiq.' viii. 2, 5; 'Bell. Jud.' vii. 6. 3) as late as the time of Justin Martyr (' Dial. c. Tryph.' ch. lxxxv.).

she belonged to Tobias by right of inheritance] Cp. Num. xxxvi. 6–9. She could only marry into the family of the tribe of her fathers, and she thought (*v.* 14) that no marriageable husband existed for her.

CHAPTER IV.

1. For the money to which allusion is made, see marg. ref.

The first verse of the Vulgate here is, "Now, because Tobit thought that his prayer was heard (see iii. 6) that he should die, he called his son Tobias to him" &c.: leaving all mention of the money and Gabael to the end of his advice.

Tobit's words are presented as the words of a dying man, and their seriousness would be proportionately increased: *Ea in corde tuo quasi fundamentum construe* (Vulg.). The advice contained in them deals with the duties of Tobias as a son (*vv.* 3, 4), and as an Israelite worthy of the name in respect to his duty towards God (*vv.* 5, 6, 19), towards his nation, specially with reference to marriage (*vv.* 12, 13), and towards men generally (*vv.* 7–11, 14–18).

3. *bury me*] The Hebrew adds, "with honour" here and after "bury her" in *v.* 4; partly as a protest against the dishonour from which Tobit had himself rescued the bodies of those of his own nation (i. 17, ii. 3, 7), but chiefly as a devout act conformable to the practice of his people. The duty of giving to the body of the dead honourable burial would fall to Tobias as nearest of kin, while the sacred precedents of the burial of Sarah

saw many dangers for thee, *when thou wast* in her womb; and when she is dead, bury her by me in one grave.

5 My son, be mindful of the Lord our God all thy days, and let not thy will be set to sin, or to transgress his commandments: do uprightly all thy life long, and follow not the ways of unrighteousness.

6 For if thou deal truly, thy doings shall prosperously succeed to thee, and to all them that live justly.

7 [d] Give alms of thy substance; and when thou givest alms, let not thine eye be envious, neither turn thy face from any poor, and the face of God shall not be turned away from thee.

8 If thou hast abundance, [e] give

[d] Deut. 15. 7, 8. Prov. 3. 9. Ecclus. 4. 1, 4, 5. & 14. 13. ver. 16. Luke 11. 41. & 14. 13.

[e] Ecclus 35. 10.

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with Abraham, of Rebekah with Isaac, of Leah with Jacob (Gen. xlix. 31), would commend to him his father's wish that Anna (i. 9) and he should be buried "in one grave." "Quos conjunxit unum conjugium, conjungat et unum sepulcrum, quia una caro sunt, et quos Deus conjunxit homo non separet" ('Corpus jur. canon.' quoted in Reusch).

The Vulg. reads the opening words of this verse, *Cum acceperit Deus animam meam, corpus meum sepeli* (cp. Eccl. xii. 7; 2 Macc. vii. 29), words full of belief in a life beyond the grave.

despise not thy mother &c.) Whatever differences may have existed between Tobit and Anna (see iii. 14, note), all was forgiven and forgotten in the thought of death. The duties here enjoined on Tobias are those founded on a true understanding of the Fifth Commandment of the Decalogue. See also marg. ref. The wording of the injunction is slightly varied in the Hebrew and Chaldee texts: "Honour thy mother and forsake her not all the days of her life (and do for her all that is right in her eyes, Chald.), and oppose not her desire (the word of her mouth, Chald.). And make not her life bitter (cp. Ruth i. 20; and see the Itala here); for remember" &c.

4. *she saw many dangers*] *i.e.* "saw" in the sense of "experienced" (Vulg. *passa sit*). The dangers (κίνδυνοι) specified by the Gk. text were not only the pains of travail (ὠδῖνες; cp. Vulg. *quae et quanta pericula passa sit propter te in utero suo*), but also those due to the time and condition of affairs immediately before Tobias was born (i. 9, 10, note).

5. Cp. Tobit's own rule of life (i. 3, 12; ii. 14); what had been his own habit, he enjoins upon his son. The Hebrew text opens with the words of Eccles. xii. 1: "Remember thy Creator" &c.

let not thy will be set to sin] A striking phrase, also preserved in the Chald. Tobias is warned against sin deliberately and of set purpose willed (θέλειν, cp. 1 Tim. v. 11; Vulg. *consentias* here), not against a mere willingness (βούλεσθαι) or inclination to sin. Resistance to the former, the ability to stop the sinful thought from passing into sinful act, is always in man's power (James i. 13–15); resistance to the latter can only be acquired as St. Paul acquired strength in his weakness (2 Cor. xii. 7–10).

A full stop should be placed after "commandments." "Doing," or the kind of actions founded upon the principle inculcated in the previous words, is described to the end of *v.* 11.; "do righteousness . . . do truth . . . do alms."

the ways of unrighteousness] The Heb. and Chald. prefer the sense "unrighteous men."

6. *if thou deal truly*] Lit. "If thou practise the truth (*ex veritate*, Itala; cp. i. 3, note), prosperous journeys (see 1 Esdr. viii. 6, 50; *i.e.* prosperous courses) shall there be to thee and to all them that practise righteousness." The Chald. reads, "If thou deal truly, it will be well with thee in all that thou possessest; and all who do uprightly, happy are they."

7. *Give alms of thy substance*] Cp. marg. reff. and Ecclus. xxxiv. 12. The "substance" is defined by the Heb. text to be "all which the Lord giveth thee," in true recognition of the profound truth endorsed by St. Paul (1 Cor. iv. 7).

The verse-division adopted by some which connects these words with those of the previous verse, *e.g.* "And to all them that live justly give alms of thy substance," is entirely unsupported and unnecessary. The restriction sought to be enforced is sufficiently emphasized in *v.* 17.

let not thine eye be envious] The grudging, "evil" eye is meant (cp. Matt. xx. 15; Ecclus. xiv. 9, 10). The man who gives grudgingly is no true follower of Him Who gives ungrudgingly. This maxim, repeated in *v.* 16, is absent in some Versions both here and there, but Fritzsche argues rightly that the sentence is required in both places by the parallelism.

neither turn thy face from any poor] The Heb. "Hide not thine eyes from the poor of Israel," advances a restriction not supported

alms accordingly: if thou have but a little, be not afraid to give according to that little:

[f] 1 Tim. 6. 19.

9 For thou [f] layest up a good treasure for thyself against the day of necessity.

[g] Ecclus. 29. 12, 13.

10 [g] Because that alms do deliver from death, and suffereth not to come into darkness.

11 For alms is a good gift unto all that give it in the sight of the most High.

[h] 1 Thes. 4. 3.

12 Beware of all [h] whoredom, my son, and chiefly take a wife of the

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by any other Version (cp. i. 3, note); but the words which follow, "So shall the Lord not hide His eyes from thee in the time of thy trouble," absolve the sentiment from any *odium humani generis*, and suggest a reference to poverty or want of burial coming upon Tobias as they had come upon others of their own nation (i. 16, 17). Cp. Ps. xxxvii. 25, 26. The Chald. text escapes by paraphrase the anthropomorphism of the expression "God's face," and renders the last sentence of the verse, "God will not hide His majesty (cp. iii. 16) from thee."

8 &c. The Heb. and Chald. texts are sufficiently characteristic as well as independent of the Gk. text to bear separate reproduction. Heb.: "And if thou art not able to make riches, cease not to give alms of that which is found in thine hand, so shalt thou acquire for thyself riches and treasures of silver and gold by almsgiving, for the treasures of the wicked shall not profit, and alms doth deliver from death; and every one who occupieth himself in alms shall behold the face of God, as it is written, 'I will behold Thy face by almsgiving' (Ps. xvii. 15: an interpretation of the word in the original—lit. 'righteousness'—which, like a similar interpretation of δικαιοσύνη, marks a late date), and in heaven they pay special regard to him." Chald.: "My son, as far as it is in the power of thine hand to give alms, give, even if riches are far from thee. Give alms, and thou shalt acquire a good treasure for the day of wrath, for it doth deliver from death, and suffereth not him that giveth it to descend into darkness. [Almsgiving] is good, and whoso exerciseth it shall subsist by it. Is it not that our fathers were praised only for almsgiving? Of Abraham our father Scripture declares, 'For I know him that he will command his children . . . to do justice (or, to give alms) and judgment' (Gen. xviii. 19); of Isaac it is written, 'Then Isaac sowed in that land' (Gen. xxvi. 12); of Jacob it is written, 'And of all that Thou shalt give me I will surely give the tenth unto Thee'" (Gen. xxviii. 22).

Some punctuate and give the sense as follows: *Quomodo potueris, ita esto misericors* (Vulg.); or *Quomodo habueris, sic fac eleemosynam* (Itala). "If thou hast much . . . if thou hast little" &c. The rendering in the Offertory sentences of the Communion Service is nearer to the Vulg. than to the E. V. (and Itala) here. The teaching, however, remains the same. The spirit which prompts any and every offering or almsgiving gives them value or makes them worthless (cp. Luke xxi. 3, 4; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; 2 Cor. viii. 12).

9. *treasure*] Θέμα, not a mere *præmium* (Vulg., Itala) or reward, but (see the Heb. and Chald., which uses a corrupt form of ὑποθήκη) a savings, a deposit. "Beneficia in pauperes collata quasi apud Deum deponuntur."

day of necessity] Not only such as may come upon men in this life (Zeph. i. 15), but also that day when account must be rendered of "stewardship" here (Luke xvi. 1). Cp. marg. ref., and the language of *v.* 10.

10. The "death" is, as in xii. 9 (note), that from which his kindness in almsgiving &c. had been the means of delivering him (i. 20, note) and others like him.

The "darkness" is the darkness not of nature but of death, when "the treasures of the wicked shall not profit" (Heb.). The Vulg. is stronger than the Greek: *Quoniam eleemosyna ab omni peccato et a morte liberat, et non patietur* (*patitur*, Itala) *animam ire in tenebras*. Almsgiving, being a feature of righteousness, is acceptable to Him Who, seeing what is done in secret, will reward openly (Matt. vi. 4). As Christ taught (Matt. xxv. 46) that the neglect of this and other works of mercy was to be punished with "eternal punishment," so also He taught that the fulfilment of them would bring to men "eternal life." See xii. 9, note.

11. *gift*] Gk. δῶρον; "corban" (Matt. xv. 5), the sacredness of an offering to God being attached to it; yet to be offered not as in the sight of men, but "in the sight of the Most High" (Matt. vi. 1–4). The Vulg. *Fiducia magna erit coram summo Deo eleemosyna, omnibus facientibus eam*, loses sight of this necessity; its word *fiducia* is probably to be taken in the juridical sense of "deposit," "security" (see Dutripon, Concordance, *s. v.*).

12. God's people were a people "holy unto the Lord." Therefore not only was illicit connexion forbidden as "whoredom"

seed of thy fathers, and take not a strange woman to wife, which is not of thy father's tribe: for we are the children of the prophets, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: remember, my son, that our fathers from the beginning, even that they all married wives of their own kindred, and were blessed in their children, and their seed shall inherit the land.

13 Now therefore, my son, love thy brethren, and despise not in thy heart thy brethren, the sons and daughters of thy people, in *not* taking a wife of them: for in pride is destruction and much trouble, and in lewdness is decay and great want: for lewdness is the mother of famine.

14 Let not the [i] wages of any man, which hath wrought for thee, tarry

[i] Lev. 19. 13. Deut. 24. 14, 15.

(cp. Num. xxv. 1–8; the term soon became equivalent to spiritual unfaithfulness to God), but matrimonial alliance with any "not of the father's tribe" became the rule (cp. Tobit's own practice, i. 9). The "strange woman" is here a woman "from the children of the Gentiles" (Chald.), "not of the seed of thy fathers" (Heb.) (cp. Ezra x. 2; Neh. xiii. 27): in the Book of Proverbs (especially) the expression is applied to one who is immoral and leads others to immorality (*e.g.* Prov. v. 20; vi. 24). The Vulg. paraphrase of this verse is: *Attende tibi . . . ab omni fornicatione; et, præter uxorem tuam, nunquam patiaris crimen scire* (cp. 1 Thess. iv. 6); *i.e.* "ab omni Venere extra conjugem abstine" (Grotius).

for we are the children of the prophets] This—the imitation of the examples of the patriarchs — is put forward as a special reason for uncontaminated marriage. Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are called "prophets," not in the narrower and later sense of the word, but in the broadest sense of men inspired by God, in communion with God, "friends of God," instruments in presenting the prayers of men to God, and preachers of righteousness (cp. Gen. xx. 7; 2 Pet. ii. 5). They are called "our fathers from the beginning" (ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος; Itala, *a printipio sæculi*); for they were they by whose mouth God had spoken "since the world began" (Acts ii. 21). Cp. Acts iii. 25, note and reff.

they all married wives of their own kindred] As regards Noah this verse preserves the current tradition, no record of relationship previous to marriage being noted in Scripture. Sarah was Abraham's half-sister (Gen. xx. 12); Rebekah was grandchild to Nahor, Abraham's brother (Gen. xxii. 20; xxv. 20); Leah and Rachel, Jacob's wives, were the daughters of Laban, Rebekah's brother.

shall inherit the land] A beautiful expression of the hope and confident belief fixed in the minds of the exiles. See Gen. xiii. 15, xvii. 8; and cp. Rom. iv. 13, Gal. iii. 16, and especially Matt. v. 5.

13. Connect this with the previous verse. Marriage with the "stranger" would engender "despising" and "pride" (in the Gk. text the same word) towards "the sons and daughters" of God's people. The past had proved the truth of this: cp. 1 Kings xi. 1 &c., xvi. 31. *Superbiam nunquam in tuo sensu, aut in tuo verbo, dominari permittas* (is the paraphrase of the Vulgate); *in ipsa enim initium sumpsit omnis perditio*, referring not only to the fall of Eve (Gen. iii. 5), but according to the Roman Catholic interpreters, to the fall of the Angels (Gutberlet). Cp. Ecclus. x. 12, 13. "Pride" not only "removeth from God" (Chald.), but contains in itself as a root that which brings forth fruit in "destruction and much trouble." "Trouble" (ἀκαταστασία, *inconstantia*, Itala) is rather the "confusion" (Jas. iii. 16; 1 Cor. xiv. 33; marg. rend. in both places *tumult* or *unquietness*) or "tumult" (2 Cor. vi. 5; xii. 20) which is subversive of all peace and stability (study especially the reff. in 2 Cor.).

lewdness] Gk. ἀχρειότης (cp. Luke xvii. 10); not "lasciviousness" or "licentiousness," but the uselessness, unprofitableness (cp. the variant reading ἀχρηστότης, a more common word) which is here portrayed as born of pride, and in its turn giving birth to "famine" (cp. Prov. xiii. 4). This sense leads on to the thought in *v.* 14. The usual sense of lewdness, viz. "dissoluteness" (adopted by Bissell here), "immorality," leads not less truly to the same result (cp. Prov. ii. 18; vii. 27); and if the sister-vice of drunkenness be implied, this sense connects the word with the warning in the latter part of *v.* 15. The Itala renders the word *luxuria*, and introduces a new and profound truth: *Luxuria, diminutio et impietas magna est.*

14, 15. The Heb. and Chald. texts both begin this clause as follows: "My son, give thine heart to all thy work, and what is hateful to thee do not thou to others. Let not the wages" &c. On the injunction in *v.* 14 see marg. reff.; wrong-doing to others is thus connected with a breach of the negative form of the positive commandment,

with thee, but give him it out of hand: for if thou serve God, he will also repay thee: [k] be circumspect, my son, in all things thou doest, and be wise in all thy conversation.

[k] Exod. 23. 13. Eph. 5. 15.

15 [l] Do that to no man which thou hatest: drink not wine to make thee drunken: neither let drunkenness go with thee in thy journey.

[l] Matt. 7. 12. Luke 6. 31.

16 [m] Give of thy bread to the hungry, and of thy garments to them that are naked; and according to thine abundance [n] give alms; and [o] let not thine eye be envious, when thou givest alms.

[m] ch. 1. 16, 17. Luke 14. 13. [n] ver. 8. Matt. 6. 1. [o] ver. 7.

17 Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just, but give nothing to the wicked.

"Love thy neighbour as thyself" (Matt. vii. 12). This negative form is characteristic of Jewish teaching, and is much older than the positive. It is recorded in the Babylonian Talmud (Sabb. 30 *b*) that a heathen desired Shammai to teach him the whole Law while he stood on one foot. Being repulsed, he went to Hillel. Putting the same question to him, he received this answer: "What to thyself is hateful, to thy neighbour thou shalt not do. This is the whole Law, and the rest is commentary." Assuming that the Book of Tobit is older than Hillel, is Tobit's form of this saying older than Hillel's? Yes, if the shorter form be older than the longer; no, if it be an abbreviation. It is easy to see how both forms sprang out of the teaching of the Decalogue; and Dr. Taylor has ingeniously indicated ('The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,' p. 10) that the answer to the question "What are the things not to be done to one's neighbour?" is to be found in two (Rabbinic?) words, "what-to-thyself is-hateful." His own opinion is that the form of Hillel's saying is older than Tobit's.

This negative form survived long after the positive was known and circulated. It occurs in the interesting work, 'The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' (pub. 1883), in the following terms: "And all things whatsoever thou wouldest should not happen to thee, neither do thou to another;" and is rightly referred to as evidence of the antiquity of that document, of its independence in its original form of the written Gospels, and of its Jewish character (Taylor, p. 11). The sentence will be found recurring in Christian times in the Clementine Homilies, in the Apostolical Constitutions and Ecclesiastical Canons (see Harnack, 'Lehre der Zwölf Apostel,' vol. ii. Hft. 1, pp. 3, 4 of the 'Texte u. Untersuchungen z. Geschichte d. Altchristlichen Literatur'); and in a remoter antiquity in the teaching of the 'Confucian Dialects' (c. B.C. 400. See Taylor, p. 10, note), in Philo, and in Isocrates (Hilgenfeld, 'Zeitschr. f. w. Th., 1886, p. 150).

14. *tarry with thee*] The Chald. and Heb. "abide with thee all night" are nearer to the original precept (marg. reff.); and "out of hand" is explained by the Itala *eadem die*. The principle asserted is: Let those who are masters remember that they are servants to *the* Master, God: therefore must they deal with their servants as they would be dealt with by God (cp. Eph. vi. 9).

be circumspect] More lit. *adtende tibi* (Itala), "take heed to thyself" (Deut. xii. 13). Ἴσθι πεπαιδευμένος is something more than "be wise;" it refers to that experience which is a training and education and begets wisdom: it is serviceable to a man in all his "conversation" (ἀναστροφή) or mode of behaviour in life (Gal. i. 13): πεπαιδευμένος occurs frequently in Ecclesiasticus (see Trommius, Lex. *s. n.*), and is there rendered by the E. V. "a nurtured man," "a travelled man."

15. *drink not &c.*] Cp. Ecclus. xxxi. 27: "Wine is as good as life to a man if it be drunk moderately" &c. It is against excess that the warning is directed (cp. Ezek. xxxix. 19; Joel i. 5; Hagg. i. 6).

neither let drunkenness go with thee in thy journey] A direction applicable in the first instance to the special journey Tobit had in view for his son (*v.* 20, v. 2), but having also a much wider sense if the journey be extended (Fritzsche; see Itala, below) to the journey or "way" of life. The repetition of a clause warning against drunkenness is avoided by the Heb. and Itala, which read, instead of these words, "and there shall no evil happen unto thee;" *et non comitetur tecum ulla nequitia in omni vita tua.*

16. The Vulg. brings out here beautifully the spirit of true fellowship with the deserving poor: *Panem tuam cum esurientibus comede* &c. The Gk. πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν περισσεύσῃ σοι, ποίει ἐλεημοσύνην is better rendered by the Ita.a, *Ex omnibus quæcunque tibi abundaverint, fac eleemosynam*, than in E. V.

The words following, "let not thine eye be envious" (see *v.* 7), are in the same Version, *non videat oculus tuus;* a rendering which may bear the same meaning (cp. "let it not be hard in thine eyes," Heb. and Chald.), but which may also be interpreted in the spirit of St. Matt. vi. 3, 4.

17. *Pour out . . . the burial of the just*] The explanation of the Gk. ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν δικαίων

18 Ask counsel of all that are wise, and despise not any counsel that is profitable.

19 Bless the Lord thy God alway, and desire of him that thy ways may be directed, and that all thy paths and counsels may prosper: for every nation hath not counsel; [f] but the Lord himself giveth all good things, and he humbleth whom he will, as he will; now therefore, my son, remember my commandments,

[f] James 1. 17.

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depends upon the reading adopted. Accepting literally the E. V. "pour out," allusion is thought to be intended to one of two practices. It was a custom among some nations to carry food to the tombs as libations (χοαὶ) to the dead, and possibly the custom existed in Babylonia. This custom is thought to have been in some degree adopted by the Jews; and support for this view is found in the language of the Itala, "*Funde* vinum tuum et panem tuum super sepulcra justorum" (cp. the corresponding verb in the Heb. and Chald. texts). It seems, however, very questionable if such a practice prevailed at all among the Jews (see Grotius *in loco*); or, if at all, in the manner here specified (see Grätz, 'Monatschrift u.s.w.' p. 163, n. 1). It is very improbable that the religious-minded Tobit would have advised his son to follow a heathen practice. Other critics, therefore, give to the word "pour out" (ἔκχεον) the sense of "give freely" (Neubauer renders the Heb. and Chald. word "spend freely"), and find in the passage an allusion to the pious custom of carrying food, either (*a*) to the house of mourners —such a house being considered defiled by the presence of a corpse, and its inmates for a while deprived of their usual means for obtaining food—or (*b*) to the tomb itself (cp. the Vulg., *super sepulturam justi constitue;* and Ecclus. xxx. 18), where it was distributed among the poor. "Solebant (?) olim epulas sepulchris imponere, ut pauperes et mendici illa erogatione sustentarentur et ad preces pro mortuis fundendas moverentur." (Menochius in Reusch; so Calmet.) The latter practice (*b*) does not appear to be so certain as the former (*a*), which survives among modern Jews in "the meal of the mourners" after burial. The point of Tobit's advice would then be: When a just person dies, give bountifully to the survivors and comfort them (cp. Jer. xvi. 7). Another reading has, however, been adopted and defended by Grätz ('Gesch. der Juden,' iv. p. 466; 'Monatschrift,' p. 161) and Ginsburg (Kitto's 'Encyclop.' *s. n.* TOBIT), by which the original words would have been, "Send forth thy bread *amongst* the just" (cp. Itala *b*, *distribue cum justis*). This reading certainly avoids the difficulties connected with the usually accepted text (see Additional Note). The advice remains practically the same. The language of the Sibyl (Bk. viii.) is quoted (in 'Critici Sacri') as expressing the same counsel:—

"Effigies mea Homo est, rectæ rationis alumna.
Huic tu pone volens puram sine sanguine mensam,
Repletamque bonis panem potumque famenti,
Et sitienti da: nudum tege corpus amictu:
De proprio castis manibus largire labore:
Oppressum recrea: fessi solare labores.
Hæc à te detur viventi victima vivens.
Sparge piè semen, Dominus tibi donet ut ista."

give nothing to the wicked] This is usually taken to mean: "Give nothing at the burial of the wicked"—let the godless and their descendants remain uncared-for (the Heb. and Chald. texts omit the words); but this interpretation is harsh and unnecessary. The sentence is simply antithetical: "It is better to feast with the righteous dead than with the living wicked." *Noli ex eo manducare et bibere cum peccatoribus* (Vulg.). The true meaning is expressed by Gregory the Great ('Regulæ Pastoralis,' iii. 20, p. 252, ed. Bramley): "Panem suum et vinum peccatoribus præbet, qui iniquis subsidia pro eo quod iniqui sunt impendit. Qui vero indigenti etiam peccatori panem suum, non quia peccator sed quia homo est, tribuit; nimirum non peccatorem sed justum pauperem nutrit; quia in illo non culpam sed naturam diligit."

18. *counsel . . . wise*] To ask counsel is not of itself sufficient; it must be sought (Vulg., *perquire*) of the "wise." All such counsel is "good counsel" (Heb. and Chald.) and "profitable."

19. Man's wisdom is fallible (Wisd. ix. 6), and "every nation hath not counsel;" hence the appeal in this verse to the wisdom and counsel which is from above. Thus the Heb. paraphrases, "At all times ask of the Lord, and He shall direct (lit. 'make straight' or 'upright': cp. the Gk. here, ὅπως αἱ ὁδοί σου εὐθεῖαι γένωνται) thy paths and thy counsel, for there is no counsel in the power of man, but in the hands of the Holy One (blessed is He!) alone (cp. Chald., 'for there is no good counsellor to man but God;' cp. St. Matt. xix. 17); for He doeth whatsoever pleaseth Him: one He bringeth low and another He lifteth up" (cp. 1 Sam. ii. 7; Ps. lxxv. 8; Dan. v. 19; Wisd. vii. 11). This is higher teaching than that of Isocrates, ἡ μὲν εὐβουλία παρ' ἀνθρώ-

neither let them be put out of thy mind.

20 And now I signify this to thee, that I committed ten talents to Gabael [q] the *son* of Gabrias at Rages in Media.

[q] ch. 1. 14. *the brother.*

21 And fear not, my son, that we are made poor: [r] for thou hast much wealth, if thou fear God, and depart from all sin, and do that which is pleasing in his sight.

[r] 1 Tim. 6. 6.

πων, ἡ δὲ εὐτυχία παρὰ τῶν θεῶν (quoted in 'Crit. Sacr.' *in loco*).

neither let them be put out] Gk. *μὴ ἐξαλειφθήτωσαν ἐκ τῆς καρδίας σου*: lit. "blotted out" as out of a book (Exod. xxxii. 32, 33; Ps. lxix. 28; Rev. iii. 5). The idea of writing upon the heart as upon a tablet is thoroughly Scriptural (Prov. iii. 3; Jer. xvii. 1, xxxi. 33); but the Heb. and Chald. "let them (the commandments) not depart from thine eyes" (cp. Prov. iii. 21) introduce the thought that Tobit's commandments should be to his son as something so dear and desirable as to be ever before him; or, like the frontlet of their race, "a memorial between the eyes, that the Lord's Law may be in thy mouth" (Exod. xiii. 9 and marg. reff.). The Heb. text adds to this verse: "Be strong and of good courage, for the Lord will be with thee a help and a profit, if thou seek Him with all thy heart and all thy soul:" a cento of such texts as Josh. i. 9; Deut. iv. 29.

20. *Gabael the son of Gabrias*] See marg. The Itala agrees with the E.V. here: the Vulg. and Chald. leave the relationship undefined; the Heb. is, "Gabael, my brother and kinsman." The Heb. and Chald. both repeat here (cp. *v.* 1) the reason for Tobit's speaking now: "for I know not the day of my death."

21. *fear not &c.*] More literally: "fear not . . . that we have become impoverished (Bissell; Gk. *ἐπτωχήσαμεν*); thou hast much wealth" &c. The Itala looks to the past, *quia pauperem vitam gessimus*; the Vulg. to the future, *pauperem quidem vitam gerimus*. In the past, present, and future poverty has not only no bitterness, but it is "much wealth" where there is the triple union with God described in this verse. For the precept, cp. the marg. ref. and 1 Tim. iv. 8; Eccles. xii. 13, 14. "Much wealth" is also the promise of the Saviour (Matt. v. 3, 5).

do that which is pleasing in his sight] This is, in the paraphrase of the Chald., "to walk with Him in humbleness."

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO VERSE 17.

17. *Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just*] Gk. *ἔκχεον τοὺς ἄρτους σου ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν δικαίων*. The Heb. text (in Neubauer, p. 24, l. 9) is לחמיך ויינך שפוך על קברי צדיקים, and the Chaldee (Ibid. p. 8, l. 10), לחמך וחמרך אשוד על קברי זכאין. To produce the alteration named in the note to *v.* 17, the Hebrew is read: שלח לי בקרב הצדיקים. The great merit of this alteration is that it clears up an otherwise obscure sentence; the great difficulty connected with it is that it is too drastic. It explains the difficulty by explaining it away. It is difficult to suppose that שפוך became שלח, and still more that על קברי became בקבר, without leaving positive traces upon any of the other Versions.

Another alteration of a much simpler character has been adopted by Hitzig, Hilgenfeld ('Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theologie,' 1860, p. 251; 1862, p. 189), Grimm (ibid., 1881, p. 49), and Rosenthal (p. 145); viz. to read רחמיך (thy mercies) instead of לחמיך: and a parallel thought has been found in Ecclus. xviii. 11, (God) "poureth forth His mercy upon them." But here, again, no support for such a reading is found in any other text; and the real difficulty of the verse does not consist in לחמיך, but in על קברי צדיקים. It is no solution of this difficulty to read "Pour out thy mercies on the burial of the just" instead of "pour out thy bread" &c., when the meaning of the act itself remains unexplained. The "bread" may be but one form of the "mercy." Consequently Hilgenfeld makes a still bolder alteration in the Heb. of these latter words, and reads לבר הצדיקים, *i.e.* "for the son of the just," comparing "the children of the just" in xiii. 13. But he is not satisfied with his own conjecture (see further suggestions in his note 3 to p. 189 *op. cit.*), and no one has repeated it (see against it, Grimm, p. 49, n. 27). Cp. Introduction, p. 161.

CHAPTER V.

4 *Young Tobias seeketh a guide into Media.* 6 *The angel will go with him,* 12 *and saith he is his kinsman.* 16 *Tobias and the angel depart together.* 17 *But his mother is grieved for her son's departing.*

TOBIAS then answered and said, Father, I will do all things which thou hast commanded me:

2 But how can I receive the money, seeing I know him not?

3 Then he gave him the handwriting, and said unto him, Seek thee a man which may go with thee, whiles I yet live, and I will give him wages: and go and receive the money.

4 Therefore when he went to seek a man, he found Raphael that was an angel.

5 But he knew not; and he said unto him, Canst thou go with me

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CHAPTER V.

2. The Versions expand the greater abruptness of the Greek text. Thus the Hebrew: "My father, give me counsel. How can I receive the money from the hand of Gabael, for he will not know me, and I shall not know him? And what sign shall I give him so that he may give me the money? and, moreover, I know not the ways by which men go to Media." Cp. also the Chald. and Vulgate; the Itala agrees mostly with the Hebrew.

3. *the handwriting*] Gk. τὸ χειρόγραφον, the bond by which Gabael acknowledged himself to be in possession of Tobit's money. Among the documents called the Egibi tablets, found at Borsippa (the site of the Birs Nimroud), are many agreements with reference to money-lending. It was evidently considered both usual and imperative to have a duplicate or "copy" of any contract (cp. 'Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology,' viii. pt. 2, p. 271 &c.).

The existence of this bond is accounted for by the Itala thus: *Chirographum suum dedit mihi, et meum similiter accepit, et divisit in duas partes: unum accepi ego, et alium posui cum ipsa pecunia.* The Vulgate, which mentions the bond in i. 17 (see i. 14, note), and also in iv. 21 (E. V. iv. 20), here explains the use of it: *Chirographum quidem illius penes me habeo; quod dum illi ostenderis, statim restituet.* The Chald. and Heb. have a different reading: "This is the sign that thou shalt give him. He gave me his bag and took from my hand mine, when I put the money in his hand this day twenty years ago" (Heb. The Itala has also the date: *jam anni sunt viginti, ex quo penes illum deposui hanc pecuniam*). It happened, says the Vulg. (of iv. 21), when Tobias was yet *infantulus.*

The word rendered "bag" is, in the Heb. text, the same as the word "sack," in the mouth of which the brothers of Joseph found their money restored (Gen. xlii. 27). It is apparently impossible to recover the word in the original text which supplied to the Semitic texts "bag," and to the Gk. text and its dependencies "bond" (see p. 170, and cp. some conjectures in Neubauer, p. xiv. note 4).

whiles I yet live, and I will give him wages &c.] The punctuation of the Latin, Heb., and Chald. Versions seems preferable: *e.g.* Chald., "I will give him his wages. And go, my son, while I yet live, and receive the money." The Heb. adds, "and may the Lord God of Israel keep thee in all thy journey and grant thee favour, kindness, and mercy in the man's eyes and in the eyes of all that see thee, and may He send thee away in honour and peace, and bring thee back to us in peace before I die." Cp. here the language and thoughts of Jacob when sending Benjamin to (the unknown) Joseph (Gen. xliii. 13, 14).

4. *Raphael*] Cp. iii. 16, note; on his other name, Azarias, see *v.* 12, note; and on the mission of this healer-helper, cp. vi. 7, 8. Tobias "knew not that Raphael was an angel of the Lord of Hosts" (Heb.): he saw before him simply *juvenem splendidum, stantem precinctum, et quasi paratum ad ambulandum* (Vulg.). The conversation which followed began, according to the Chald., Vulg., and Itala, thus: "He (Tobias) asked him (the Angel), From whence art thou? He (the Angel) answered him (Tobias), From the children of Israel, one of thy brethren." (Chald. Cp. the Itala, *ex filiis Israel fratrum tuorum veni huc, ut operer*). The Heb. is apparently alone in making the Angel first address Tobias: "Then the Angel said to Tobias, From whence art thou, young man? And Tobias answered, I am of the children of Israel. Then Tobias said, My lord, knowest thou how to go with me to Media?" &c. Devout men have seen in this meeting an illustration of the guiding hand of Providence. No sooner had Tobias gone out on his difficult search, than he met one who combined in himself the necessary qualifications of trustworthiness, familiarity with the road to be travelled, and "brotherly" affinity.

The application of the words "(I am) one of thy brethren" (*e.g.* by Chald., above) to an Angel (applied by the Greek text, E. V., &c.,

to Rages? and knowest thou those places well?

6 To whom the angel said, I will go with thee, and I know the way well: for I have lodged with our brother Gabael.

7 Then Tobias said unto him, Tarry for me, till I tell my father.

8 Then he said unto him, Go, and tarry not. So he went in and said to his father, Behold, I have found one which will go with me. Then he said, Call him unto me, that I may know of what tribe he is, and whether he be a trusty man to go with thee.

9 So he called him, and he came in, and they saluted one another.

10 Then Tobit said unto him,

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to Azarias in *v.* 12) has been treasured as conveying the beautiful belief that the Angels, as "sons of God," are the brethren of men, and "of the sons of Israel." The description of Raphael in the Vulg. as *juvenis splendidus* (cp. the *splendor* noticed in Judith x. 4) is further taken as an allusion to that something more than mere human beauty which irradiates the countenance of those in close communion with the Most Holy (cp. Acts vi. 15). The feeling of Tobit on hearing of the success of Tobias, *super quæ admiratus pater* (Vulg., *v.* 10), expresses not only "wonder," but that holy awe which bows the heart in worship.

6. This is much expanded in some of the Versions; *e.g.* cp. the Heb., "And the Angel said, Yea, I know all the ways, and in Media I have been a guest in the house of our brother Gabael, who dwelleth at Rages, a city of Media, and it is a two days' journey from Agbatanis (Ecbatane, cp. ii. 7) to Rages, and Rages is built on a mountain, but Agbatanis is built on the plain." The army of Alexander the Great took ten days to compass the distance here named as a two days' journey (Arrian, iii. 20); and the difference is scarcely explained when the movements of unimpeded travellers are contrasted with those of an enormous and fully equipped army (see ix. 1, note).

The statement, "I have lodged with Gabael" (cp. i. 14), has been treated as containing a truth which Heb. xiii. 2 emphasizes: "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers: for thereby some have entertained Angels unawares." Cp. Gen. xix. 2.

7, 8. Cp. the Heb. (with which the Chald. and Itala agree): "Then Tobias said to him, Stay of thy kindness a moment, and I will go and declare the matter to my father, for I desire greatly that thou shouldest go with me, and I will give thee the wages of the journey. And he said to him, Go in haste, for behold I wait until thou comest back to me, and tarry not. Then Tobias came and told his father, saying, I have found a good man of our brethren (cp. *v.* 4) to go with me. And Tobi said, Call him to me, that I may know of what place (Chald. and Itala, 'tribe') he is, and whether he be trusty (Gk. πιστός; Itala, *fidelis*) to go with thee."

9. *they saluted one another*] The terms of the "salutation," absent from the Gk. and E. V., may be supplied from the Heb. and Chald., with which the Vulg. and Itala substantially agree, if differing in individual expressions: "And Raphael went to Tobi and said to him, Peace (*gaudium*, Vulg. and Itala) be to thee (cp. Gen. xliii. 23; Judg. vi. 23), thou man of God. But Tobi said, If it is peace with me, why then hath all this befallen me? for I see not the light of heaven. The sound of words I hear, but the man I see not; I sit blind in darkness (*sicut mortuus inter vivos*, Itala). Then the Angel said, He Who hath deprived thee of light, the same shall heal thee (Chald., 'God is able to heal thine eyes'), for thou art a righteous man. And Tobi answered and said, Let the Lord say so. (The Vulg. and Itala give the Angel's answer thus: *Forti animo esto; in proximo est ut a Deo cureris.*) Then Tobi said to him, My brother; my son Tobias seeketh to go to Media. Canst thou go to Media (the Vulg. specifies, 'to Gabael at Rages')? Canst thou go with him? and I will give (thee) thy wages (or, according to the Itala, with greater worldly wisdom on Tobit's part [cp. E. V. *v.* 14], *Si poteris ire cum illo et deducere illum, dabi tibi mercedem tuam.* Cp. the Vulg.). And the Angel said, Yea, I can; for I know all the ways, and have traversed all the boundaries, and know the mountains."

The Venerable Bede, commenting upon the contrast between the "peace" of the angelic salutation and the "darkness" of Tobit's actual life, finds here a type of Christ's work: "Our Lord by the miracles which He wrought in the flesh shewed to the Jews, from whom He was descended according to the flesh, how He Himself is the Son of God and the Angel (the Messenger) of the will of His Father. To one He proclaimed the joy (*gaudium*, cp. the Vulg.) of everlasting salvation, saying, 'Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand;' and to those who despaired of obtaining heavenly light He said, 'I am the Light

Brother, shew me of what tribe and family thou art.

11 To whom he said, Dost thou seek for a tribe or family, or an hired man to go with thy son? Then Tobit said unto him, I would know, brother, thy kindred and name.

12 Then he said, I am Azarias, the son of Ananias the great, and of thy brethren.

13 Then Tobit said, Thou art welcome, brother; be not now angry with me, because I have enquired to know thy tribe and thy family; for thou art my brother, of an honest and good stock: for I know Ananias and

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of the world. He who followeth Me walketh not in darkness, but shall have the light of life.'"

11. *Dost thou seek &c.*] The meaning is: "Is it a question of tribe or family? Is it not rather a question of finding some hired person to go with thy son?" Thus, *Quid necesse est te scire genus meum, vel tribam meam? Mercenarium desideras; genus et tribam meam cur quæris?* (Itala;) or, more tersely, *Genus quæris mercenarii, an ipsum mercenarium?* (Vulg.) The Heb. rendering is, "Dost thou still enquire, when thou hast a hired man to go with thy son according to thy wish?" These Versions, together with the Chald., "Raphael said to him, If I am not right in thine eyes, go and seek another man who may go with thy son," sufficiently explain the sense of the Greek text. The petulance attributed to Raphael in the Chald. is sought to be mollified by Tobit, who says to him, "My brother, be not provoked with me that I wish to know of a certainty thy name," &c. (see also E. V., *v.* 13). The conversation recalls, and is perhaps suggested by such passages as Gen. xxxii. 29; Judg. xiii. 18. Later on the Angel discovers himself (xii. 15).

Some commentators inveigh against the fraud and falsehood which they discover in this section. A truer explanation of its peculiarities is that which notes how "the concealment of a name is one of the features of the writings called Apocrypha. In this kind of literature, not only did the authors assume feigned names, but fanciful names and circumstances were introduced into the narratives, strict accuracy being accounted immaterial, so long as the abstract principles inculcated were true. Thus the Angel may be supposed to express the views of the author of the Book of Tobit, 'Do not enquire closely into my name, or the strict truth of the details of my story. Let it be enough that my purpose is your moral and spiritual edification, and that I am sent to do you good.'" (Churton.) St. Augustine has the following comment ('Serm. de Tobia'): "Azarias sum inquit (Angelus, see *v.* 12) . . ., non dixit, Ego sum Raphael Angelus. Celavit in primo nomine dignitatem, ne faceret locatori terrorem . . . Servata est nominis dignitas, ut postremò magnitudo claresceret dignitatis."

12. The name Azarias means "the help of the Lord," and Ananias "the grace of the Lord;" and these names symbolize the purpose of the Angel's mission. Bede characteristically sees combined in the Lord Jesus the attributes of these names. He quotes the Psalmist, "Thou art my helper and liberator, Make no long tarrying" (Ps. xl. 17), and the Evangelist, "We beheld His glory . . . full of grace and truth" (St. John i. 14), in illustration of his position.

The Angel, in the likeness of a man named Azarias, accompanied Tobias (Athanasius). In the assignment to him of the name and character of the son of one known to and esteemed by Tobit (*v.* 13), there has been thought to be a recognition on the part of the author of the dignity and holiness possible to the human race. Thus Bede sees in the Angel the representation of the Divinity of our Saviour, and in Tobias, His humanity; just as in the history of the sacrifice of Isaac, patristic exposition discerned in the ram the humanity of Christ, and in Isaac himself the Deity of Christ. The Angelological teaching of the passage is, however, a development upon that of the canonical Books which narrates the appearance of name-bearing Angels to men, but does not assign to angelic beings the names or persons of men.

The Heb. here, and in *v.* 13, adds after Ananias (whom it calls Hananel), "of the family of the great Shelomith" (Chald., Salmiyah), a name to be connected with the Salmon, or Salma, the descendant of Judah (Ruth iv. 20; 2 Chron. ii. 11). Instead of "Shelomith" the Gk. has (*v.* 13) Σεμεΐ, E. V. and Itala "Samaias" (no such name is given in the Vulgate), a name common among the Priests and Levites (*e.g.* 1 Chron. xv. 8, 11; Ezra x. 21, 31; Nehem. x. 8, xi. 15). In either case "Shelomith" or "Samaias" would connect Azarias with a recognized family and tribe; a no small matter when so many family or tribal registers had been lost in exile (cp. Ezra ii. 62). Tobit's mind was satisfied: "Thou art of a good and honourable family" (Heb.).

13. *as we went together*] Cp. marg. ref. note. The "error of our brethren" is ex-

Jonathas, sons of that great Samaias, [a]as we went together to Jerusalem to worship, and offered the firstborn, and the tenths of the fruits; and they were not seduced with [b]the error of our brethren: my brother, thou art of a good stock.

[a] ch. i. 6, 7.
[b] ch. i. 4, 5.

14 But tell me, what wages shall I give thee? *wilt thou* a drachm a day, and things necessary, as to mine own son?

15 Yea, moreover, if ye return safe, I will add something to thy wages.

16 So they were well pleased. Then said he to Tobias, Prepare thyself for the journey, and God send you a good journey. And when his son had prepared all things for the journey, his father said, Go thou with this man, and God, which dwelleth in heaven, prosper your journey, and the angel of God keep you company. So they went forth both, and the young man's dog with them.

17 But Anna his mother wept, and said to Tobit, Why hast thou

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plained by the Heb.: "These did not stray after the strange gods of the land (Babylon) like our brethren."

14. The "drachm" mentioned in the Apocrypha (cp. also 2 Macc. iv. 19; x. 20; xii. 43) was that of the Attic talent which came into almost universal use in the time of Alexander (B.C. 338), and weighed about 67·2 grains; its value was a fraction more than 9¾*d*. The later Attic drachm (B.C. 27) weighed less, and its value was about 8*d*. The Heb. text uses a word which expresses the fourth part of the sacred shekel (silver), and in money value equal to the later Attic drachm: the Chald. word is one found in the Talmud, and equivalent to half the Heb. coin (see Buxtorf's Lex. *s. v.*; Schürer,[2] pp. 34, 35). Tobit's proposal may be taken, like that of the master in the parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matt. xx. 2, 13), to be an offer of a fair day's wages for a fair day's work.

and things necessary, as to mine own son] Cp. Chald. "and thy food the same as for my son."

15. *if ye return safe*] The Gk. ὑγιαίνοντες implies "health" as well as mere safety. The Heb. and Chald. have a phrase more Scriptural and Oriental: *e.g.* (Heb.) "if the Holy One (blessed is He!) bring you back in peace." This thought, as well as language, is taken up by the Angel, who replies [acc. to these texts, the Vulg., and Itala (with minor differences)]: "Fear not, for I will go with thy son, and we shall go in peace, and we shall return in peace;" to which the Itala adds, *quoniam via tuta est. Et Thobis dixit, Bene iter age, frater, et contingat tibi.* The Gk. and E.V. are alone in their reading (*v.* 16), "So they were well pleased," *i.e.* with their mutual agreement as well as with each other.

16. *God send you a good journey*] Gk. εὐοδωθείητε; lit. "May you have a good journey." The E.V. piously introduces the name of God from the next sentence.

The prayer of Tobit is thus given by the Chald. (cp. Itala): "My son, prepare thyself, and go on the journey with thy brother; may the God of heaven lead you there in peace, and send His Angel (cf. Gen. xxiv. 7), and prosper your journey, and bring you back in peace." This Version and the Heb. lay stress on the belief in guardian Angels (cp. Ps. xci. 11).

So they went &c.] The other Versions (Heb., Chald., Itala; cp. Vulg.) preface the departure with such words as—"And Tobias kissed his father and his mother; and they said to him, Go in peace. And they set out to go." In these Versions there is no mention here of the dog (see xi. 4, note); it may have been inserted by an editor who, finding in his text that the dog was with them at the return, wished to account for his existence. The Vulg. of vi. 1 reads *canis secutus est eum* (*i.e.* Tobit), words absent from the other texts, yet upon which Bede founds a characteristic comment. After our Lord had come to save men, holy preachers followed His steps in pursuance of His injunction, "Go ye, teach all nations." *Canes vocant doctores*, he remarks, because they defend the home, substance, and spiritual work of their Founder from the thieves and the wild beasts, *i.e.* from unclean spirits and heretical men. Mediæval ages saw this purpose supplied in the foundation and aims of the Dominican (*Domini canes*) order.

This history furnishes one of the few instances in which to the dog is assigned among Easterns that position of fidelity and companionship so readily accorded to the animal by Westerns. In Scripture the dog is usually despised: he is unclean and a mere scavenger (cp. 1 Kings xiv. 11, xxi. 24; 2 Kings ix. 36; Ps. lix. 6, 14; Isa. lxvi. 3; Jer. xv. 3); he is the type of an enemy or of abject humility (Ps. xxii. 16, 20; 2 Sam. ix. 8; 2 Kings viii. 13). Yet are there good qualities attributed to him, as guardian of flocks (Job xxx. 1), and as the watcher over homes (Isa.

sent away our son? is he not the staff of our hand, in going in and out before us?

18 [1]Be not greedy to add money to money: but let it be as refuse in respect of our child.

19 [1]For that which the Lord hath given us to live with doth suffice us.

20 Then said Tobit to her, Take no care, my sister; he shall return in safety, and thine eyes shall see him.

[1] *Let not money be added, but be the offscouring of our son.*

[1] Or, *So long as God hath granted us to live, this is sufficient.*

21 For the good angel will keep him company, and his journey shall be prosperous, and he shall return safe.

22 Then she made an end of weeping.

CHAPTER VI.

4 *The angel biddeth Tobias to take the liver, heart, and gall out of a fish,* 10 *and to marry Sara the daughter of Raguel:* 16 *and teacheth how to drive the wicked spirit away.*

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lvi. 10); and this watchful instinct is not out of place here, where the history places the commencement of a perilous journey.

17. *is he not the staff?*] *i.e.* our support (2 Kings xviii. 21; Isa. xxxvi. 6; Heb. xi. 21); "in going in and out before us," *i.e.* in living with us and in attending to our affairs (cp. 1 Sam. xxix. 6; Acts i. 21, ix. 28). The Vulg. stands alone in its rendering of these last words: *Baculum senectutis nostræ tulisti et transmisisti a nobis.* The Itala agrees with the Gk. and E. V. The Heb. ("How didst thou not fear to send away the young man, for he is the son of our old age," &c.; cp. the Chald., "for he is our only son") paraphrases the thought that the staff for the aged parents was that son who would be to them what a Joseph and a Benjamin had been to Jacob (Gen. xxxvii. 3; xliv. 20).

18. *Be not greedy &c.*] The meaning of the E. V. is, "What is your gold with Gabael (iv. 20) in comparison with our son? Suppose that you get the money, will that compensate for the loss of the staff of our hand?" Cp. the vigorous paraphrase of the Vulgate: *Nunquam fuisset ista pecunia, pro qua misisti eum! Sufficiebat enim nobis paupertas nostra, ut divitias computaremus hoc quod videbamus filium nostrum.* Commentators are, however, disagreed as to the text and the interpretation of individual expressions. The teaching of *vv.* 18 and 19 is condensed by the Chald. and Heb. texts into a few words, "God hath kept us without the money," "without that money our God will keep us alive." But there is no ground for disputing the integrity of the Gk. text.

The expression "let it be as refuse" (περίψημα) is of some difficulty. The same word is rendered "offscouring" in 1 Cor. iv. 13, where the Vulg. has the same word *purgamenta* as is used by the Itala here (*Nunquam esset pecunia illa, sed purgamento sit*). The phrase, taken in this sense, would mean, "Count money as refuse—as something utterly to be rejected—in comparison with your son's life." Other critics give to περίψημα a sense equivalent to περικάθαρμα, a word used by the LXX. in Prov. xxi. 18 as a translation for "ransom;" and render the phrase, "Add not money to money; but let it be a ransom for our child," *i.e.* Consider the money lent to Gabael to be gold you will not reclaim. Count it like a ransom paid for the preservation of the life of the lad. The sense of "ransom" is thought to be supported by the following practice. It was the custom at Athens to reserve certain worthless persons; and, in case of plague, famine, or other visitation from heaven, cast them into the sea, in the belief that the sacrifice would cleanse away or wipe off the guilt of the nation. The act was accompanied by the invocation, περίψημα ἡμῶν γενοῦ. These persons were called καθάρματα, περικαθάρματα, περιψήματα, κ.τ.λ. (See Lidd. and Scott, Lex. *s. v.* κάθαρμα.) This sense is not, however, supported by any Versions (cp. Itala and Syriac), and would seem unnecessary when the usual sense "refuse" gives an intelligible meaning to the passage.

20. Tobit and Raguel call their wives Anna and Edna (cp. vii. 16) "sisters," in accordance with the Hebrew mode of speech which used such terms as "brother," "sister" for all close relationships; because all, being "children of Abraham," were brothers and sisters in that family of which he was the founder and head. It will be remembered that "sister" was the title given by Abraham to Sarah (Gen. xx. 2, 12; cp. Additions to Esther xv. 9). Grotius adds, "Sic Christiani (vocant conjuges suas) quod eodem lavacro regenitæ sunt (1 Cor. ix. 5)."

The other Versions read "he will go in peace" (*salvus*, Vulg. and Itala) as well as "he will return in safety" (or "peace:" *salvus*).

21. *the good angel*] Not simply "the good messenger," but the angelic being whom yet "he knew not" (to be an Angel, *v.* 5). Cp. the Heb. "The Lord our God will send His Angel with him," &c., and the beautiful words of the Vulgate: *Credo enim quod Angelus Dei bonus comitetur ei, et bene disponet omnia quæ circum eum geruntur, ita ut cum gaudio* (*sanus*, Itala) *revertatur ad nos.*

AND as they went on their journey, they came in the evening to the river Tigris, and they lodged there.

2 And when the young man went down to wash himself, a fish leaped out of the river, and would have devoured him.

3 Then the angel said unto him, Take the fish. And the young man laid hold of the fish, and [1]drew it to land.

[1] *Or, cast it upon the land.*

4 To whom the angel said, Open the fish, and take the heart and the liver and the gall, and put them up safely.

5 So the young man did as the angel commanded him; and when they had roasted the fish, they did eat it: then they both went on their way, till they drew near to Ecbatane.

6 Then the young man said to the angel, Brother Azarias, to what use is the heart and the liver and the gall of the fish?

7 And he said unto him, Touching the heart and the liver, if a devil or an evil spirit trouble any, we must make a smoke thereof before the man or the woman, and the party shall be no more vexed.

8 As for the gall, *it is good* to

CHAPTER VI.

1. *they came . . . to the river Tigris*] *i.e.* not to the Tigris proper, but to one of its branches. Tobit lived at Nineveh (i. 22), which was situate on the east bank of the Tigris. The road to Ecbatana (Hamadan) ran eastwards across the upper Zab (*Zab Ala*) and the lower Zab (*Zab Asfal*), both of which tributaries bore also the name of the Tigris (cp. Herod. v. 52). The name "Nineveh" may be taken in this Book to include not only what is now known as Kouyunjik, but also Nimrud (Calah, Gen. x. 11) and Sargon's (i. 15, note) great city Dur-Sarrukin (completed B.C. 706; mod. Khorsabad). As described in the Book of Jonah (iii. 3), "Nineveh was an exceeding great city of three days' journey" (*i.e.* in a circuit of 90 miles, according to some, see Schrader, 'Die Keilinschriften u. das A.T.'[2] pp. 96, 448; according to others, from end to end). The distance traversed by Tobias and the Angel before they reached the Zab may thus well have been a Jew's day's journey of twenty miles.

2. Various conjectures have been put forward with reference to the species of the fish. With some it was a sea-fish of the shark tribe; with others, a fresh-water fish, such as the pike or shad (see Fritzsche). Grotius conjectured the hippopotamus, Nöldeke the crocodile. Critics have further chosen a large fish (Vulg. *piscis immanis*) or a small one according as they have followed the E. V., Gk., Vulg. and Itala, or the very different reading of the newly-discovered Chaldee and some Heb. texts. According to the E. V. &c., the fish attacked Tobias; the mode of attack being described by the Itala, *circumplexus est pedes ejus; pene puerum devoraverat:* but according to the Chaldee a very different thing happened: "Tobiyyah (Tobias) ran to the river to wash his feet, and a fish came suddenly out of the river and devoured the young man's bread." A Hebrew text known to Bochart ('Hierozoicon.' iii. ch. xiv.) and that adopted by Neubauer agree with this reading. It has certainly the merit of explaining naturally an otherwise difficult passage, though Bochart cites passages which assign to the *silurus* sufficient boldness to attack animals and men.

The Chald., Heb., Vulg., and Itala add that "the young man cried out:" *expavescens, clamavit voce magna, dicens: Domine, invadit me* (Vulg.).

4. *the heart and the liver and the gall*] The Heb. and Chald. mention the heart and the gall only. The object of the advice "put them up safely"—explained more fully in *vv.* 7, 8 (the substance of which is given here by the Chaldee)—may be given in the words of the Itala, *sunt enim necessaria hæc ad medicamenta utilia* (cp. the Vulg. and Heb.).

5. *they did eat it*] The Chald. adds, "he left the remainder on the road" (cp. the Heb.). This presents one rendering of an original text which the Vulg. and Itala understood differently. These texts make no mention of the meal, but state that after roasting part of the fish, *secum tulerunt in via.* The Vulg. continues, *Cætera salierunt, quæ sufficerent eis quousque pervenirent in Rages.*

6. *to what use*] Cp. the Heb. "what healing wilt thou perform?" and Itala, *quod remedium est.*

7. *trouble . . . vexed*] In the Gk. the same word, ὀχλῇ . . . ὀχληθῇ. The E. V. and Gk. are alone in referring the last words of this verse to "the party vexed." The other Versions apply them to the evil spirits: *e.g.* Chald. "they will flee from him;" Vulg. *ultra non accedat ad eos.* The Heb. and Chald. omit all mention of the woman.

anoint a man that hath whiteness in his eyes, and he shall be healed.

9 And when they were come near to Rages,

10 The angel said to the young man, Brother, to day we shall lodge with Raguel, who is thy cousin; he also hath one only daughter, named Sara; I will speak for her, that she may be given thee for a wife.

11 For to thee doth the [1a]right of her appertain, seeing thou only art of her kindred.

12 And the maid is fair and wise: now therefore hear me, and I will speak to her father; and when we return from Rages we will celebrate the marriage: for I know that Raguel cannot marry her to another according to the law of Moses, but he shall be guilty of death, because the right of inheritance doth rather appertain to thee than to any other.

13 Then the young man answered the angel, I have heard, brother

[1] Or, *inheritance.*

[a] Numb. 27. 8. & 36. 8.

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8. *whiteness*] See ii. 10, note. The Itala explains the use of the gall, *ad flandum in ipsis oculorum maculis.* The effect of the gall upon the eye would be that of a stimulant. Until recent times in Persia one cure for blindness caused by inflammation of the eyes was found in the use of this means (see Bissell's note *in loco*). No such application would, however, be used now by the skilled European physician in the case of Europeans, and leucoma of several years' standing is said to be incurable by any known remedy (cp. Gutberlet, p. 197). The healing of Tobit after eight years' blindness (xiv. 2) is viewed as a miracle, towards which God was pleased to bless the fish's gall as a means (see xi. 12, note): and as a miracle it will compare with the use of moistened clay in another case of blindness (John ix. 6).

In moralizing the story, commentators have seen a truth implied in the use of the bitter but stimulating and curative properties of the gall, which may be stated in the words of Estius, "Corporalis afflictio et correptio divina, quamvis amara sint homini carnali, tamen aperiunt oculos mentis." Similarly the smoke from the entrails of the fish (*v.* 7) has been taken to be typical of the incense of prayer which, when Tobias prayed, drove away the "vexing" evil spirit; or symbolical of that death unto lustful desire in the case of Tobias, which, present in the hearts of Sara's former husbands, had given Asmodeus power over them. Lastly, the fish, by whose death Tobit and Sara were delivered from their several ills, has been presented as mystically foreshadowing the Christ Who "through his death on the cross hath destroyed him that had the power of death, even the devil, and hath delivered them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage" (cp. Heb. ii. 14, 15). Bede (see 'Dict. of Christ. Antiq.,' *s. v.* FISH) expressed this mystery in the rhyme:

"Piscis assus
Christus est passus."

9. *to Rages*] Rather, Ecbatane (cp. *vv.* 5, 12); so the Gk. B, Heb., Chald., and Itala. Ecbatane was the city in which Raguel lived (*v.* 10; iii. 7).

Raguel, says Bede, stands for the Gentiles whom the Lord visited by His preachers. From his race He would take His spouse, the Church of the Gentiles. The name of Sarah is fitting for His Church; for was not Sarah the wife of the patriarch Abraham, and bore him the son of promise, *i.e.* the free people of the Church?

10. *thy cousin*] Gk. συγγενής σου; better, "thy kinsman:" cp. the Vulg. and Itala, *vir propinquus.* The Heb. and Chald. read, instead of relationship, "for he is an old man."

one only daughter] Cp. Vulg. and Itala, *neque masculum neque feminam ullam habet aliam præter eam.* The Versions lay stress upon Sara's beauty, both of body and of character. She is *filia speciosa* (Itala); "fair of form" (Heb.). "Her father loveth her much" (Chald.); *et quæcunque possedit illi tradet* (Itala). "She is a good woman and feareth Heaven" (Chald.); *fortis et bona valde et constabilita* (Itala): cp. *v.* 12.

11. *the right*] Cp. the Vulg. *tibi debetur omnis substantia ejus, et opportet eam te accipere conjugem.*

12. *guilty of death*] The law of Num. xxxvi. 6, &c., prescribed that Sara should be married to one of her kindred, but it says nothing of the punishment of death falling upon a father or guardian in case of disobedience to the Law. The words "guilty of death" are absent from the Heb., Chald., and Vulg. They are considered by some an interpolation; by others, an illustration of the rigorism of later Judaism; and by others, as the legal punishment for "presumptuous disobedience" to the Law laid down by priest or judge (Deut. xvii. 12). The limitation as regards "matters of controversy," imposed in

Azarias, that this maid hath been given to seven men, who all died in the marriage chamber.

14 And now I am the only son of my father, and I am afraid, lest, if I go in unto her, I die, as the other before: for a wicked spirit loveth her, which hurteth no body, but those which come unto her: wherefore I also fear lest I die, and bring my father's and my mother's life because of me to the grave with sorrow: for they have no other son to bury them.

15 Then the angel said unto him, Dost thou not remember the precepts which thy father gave thee, that thou shouldest marry a wife of thine own kindred? wherefore hear me, O my brother; for she shall be given thee to wife; and make thou no reckoning of the evil spirit; for this same night shall she be given thee in marriage.

16 And when thou shalt come into the marriage chamber, thou shalt take the [1]ashes of perfume, and shalt lay upon them some of the heart and liver of the fish, and shalt make a smoke with it:

[1] Or, *embers*.

17 And the devil shall smell it, and flee away, and never come again any more: but when thou shalt come to her, rise up both of you, and pray to God which is merciful, who will have pity on you, and save you: fear not, for she is appointed unto thee from the beginning; and thou shalt preserve her, and she shall go with thee. Moreover I suppose

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Deut. xvii. 8, seems fatal to this last interpretation. Num. xv. 30, 31, is more to the point.

13. *died*] *Quia dæmonium occidit illos* (Vulg.).

14. *a wicked spirit*] Heb. and Chald. more definitely, "Asmodeus, the king of the demons." Commentators quote the following passage from St. Augustine ('De civitate Dei,' xv. 23) in illustration of this belief: "Creberrima fama est . . . Silvanos et Panes . . . improbos sæpe exstitisse mulieribus, et earum appetisse ac peregisse concubitum; et quosdam dæmones . . . assidue hanc immunditiam et tentare et efficere, plures talesque asseverant, ut hoc negare impudentiæ videatur."

to bury them] Cp. iv. 3, 4. Itala adds, *et possideat hæreditatem illorum.*

15. *remember the precepts &c.*] Cp. iv. 12, 13. The objection, "how the Angel, who was not present at the time these words were spoken, came to the knowledge of them," is rather too prosaic. Apart from any supposition that supernatural knowledge was granted to God's Angel, the matter may well have been discussed between Raphael and Tobias "as they went on their journey" (*v.* 1). It was Tobit's wish that his only son should marry, beget sons (see Heb. text below), and perpetuate their family; he imposed upon him one restriction only (iv. 13). Tobias must have felt that no impediment to carry out his father's wish existed in the case of Sara (*v.* 11); and therefore it was the Angel's object to remove what impediment did exist (*v.* 14). He began (according to the Hebrew) by urging him to do his duty to God and man: "Fear the Lord, and remember Him (cp. Vulg., in Additional Note): and remember the commandments of thy father" &c.; and then described the means to be employed for exorcising the evil spirit (*v.* 17. See note at the end of the chapter).

17. *pray &c.*] The language and order of the Greek is slightly different; *βοήσατε πρὸς τὸν ἐλεήμονα Θεὸν, καὶ σώσει ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐλεήσει.* The Itala, Heb., and Chald. agree with the E. V.: thus, "pray and ask for mercy from God, Who hath commanded upon you His kindness and Who will give you healing" (Chald.); "pray and supplicate the Lord that He would command His kindness and healing upon you (both), and heal her" (Hebrew).

appointed unto thee] Gk. *ἡτοιμασμένη*; rather "prepared" (cp. Matt. xxv. 34); Itala, *destinata*. The Heb. "meet for thee" is a word used in Esther ii. 9, for the "looked out," selected maidens of the future queen.

thou shalt preserve (*σώσεις*) *her*] This (cp. the Vulg. *tu illam sanabis*) is explained by the Chald. "thou shalt deliver her from the demon;" and still further modified by the Heb., "by thine hand the Lord shall save her from the hand of the demon."

children] Heb. "sons:" so Itala, which adds, *et erant tibi sicut fratres*, an addition expressive (after the Hebrew manner) of the closest kinship, or perhaps depicting the

that she shall bear thee children. Now when Tobias had heard these things, he loved her, and his heart was [1]effectually joined to her.

[1] Or. *vehemently*.

happy brotherly life which should be the blessing of the boys.

heard these things] The Itala reads, *Et cum audisset Thobias sermones Raphahel angeli, quoniam soror est illius et de domo seminis patris illius, hæsit cordi ejus*, where *soror* is again a term of the closest relationship (cp. Gen. xx. 5, 12).

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO VERSES 12, 15, AND 16.

12. Rosenthal (p. 116, n. 2) refers to the Talmudical Baba Bathra (pp. 120ᵃ, 121ᵃ) as testifying that in later times the law of Num. xxxvi. 8 was not considered obligatory. If so, the words "guilty of death" are in strong contradiction to such later opinion; and he finds the origin of the sterner code in the efforts made by Herod to bring about greater strictness of family life. The Amoreans, on the other hand, appealed to two accepted decisions, (*a*) that the injunction of Moses to the daughters of Zelophehad was never, not even at the time, considered as law, but only as good advice; and (*b*) that that injunction applied to the tribes during the Wanderings only, and not to later times. Nevertheless the Mosaic rule was by many families strictly observed, and more especially—as was to be expected—in Palestine.

15. The Vulgate presents an entirely different report of the Angel's conversation with Tobias (*v.* 15, &c.); a report sufficiently interesting to bear quotation and separate comment:—16. *Tunc angelus Raphael dixit ei: Audi me, et ostendam tibi qui sunt quibus prævalere potest dæmonium.* 17. *Hi namque qui conjugium ita suscipiunt, ut Deum a se et a sua mente excludant et suæ libidini ita vacent, sicut equus et mulus quibus non est intellectus* (cp. Ps. xxxii. 9), *habet potestatem dæmonium super eos.* 18. *Tu autem, cum acceperis eam, ingressus cubiculum, per tres dies continens esto ab ea, et nihil aliud nisi in orationibus vacabis cum ea.* 19. *Ipsa autem nocte, incenso jecore piscis, fugabitur dæmonium.* 20. *Secunda vero nocte, in copulatione sanctorum patriarcharum admitteris.* 21. *Tertia autem nocte, benedictionem consequeris, ut filii ex vobis procreentur incolumes.* 22. *Transacta autem tertia nocte, accipies virginem cum timore Domini, amore filiorum magis quam libidine ductus, ut in semine Abrahæ benedictionem in filiis consequaris.*

This gloss illustrates forcibly a characteristic of the Vulgate in dwelling more than the other Versions upon the religious rather than the physical elements of the deliverance foreshadowed. Emphasis is laid upon the right intention with which marriage should be undertaken, and three nights' continence is enjoined, accompanied by prayer. With some the passage is an echo of the saying of Christ: "This kind (*i.e.* of demoniacal possession) can come forth by nothing but by prayer and fasting" (Mark ix. 29). The false estimate of marriage (*v.* 17) entertained by those "who live without God in the world," and "whose God is their belly," is rebuked in language which will recall that of the Marriage Service in the Book of Common Prayer: "Matrimony . . . an holy estate . . . is not by any to be enterprised nor taken in hand unadvisedly, lightly, or wantonly, to satisfy men's carnal lusts and appetites like brute beasts that have no understanding." Provincial and Diocesan edicts have endeavoured, but naturally in vain, to make binding the three days' continence of which this passage set the example (*v.* 18). Men found it easier to appreciate the lifelong abstinence of Alexius or that of the saintly Kunigunde and her husband (see Gutberlet, p. 211).

More practical was the advice of a canon of the third Council of Carthage: "Cum acceperint benedictionem, eadem nocte pro reverentia ipsius benedictionis in virginitate permaneant" (cp. Reusch *i. l.*); but this restraint, founded on respect for the Sacrament, may be said to have been withdrawn by the Council of Trent in favour of another rule, which suggested confession and reception before and not after marriage: "Sancta Synodus conjuges hortatur, ut antequam contrahant vel saltem *triduo* ante matrimonii consummationem sua peccata diligenter confiteantur et ad SS. Eucharistiæ sacramentum pie accedant." The number *triduo* may well have been suggested by the number named by the Angel here. The Book of Common Prayer (1549–1604) indirectly supported a similar view of receiving before marriage: "The new-married persons (the same day of their marriage) must receive the Holy Communion." The Edition of 1662 both removed the compulsoriness and modified the time of reception: "It is convenient that the new-married persons should receive the Holy Communion at the time of their marriage, or at the first opportunity after their marriage."

Much difference of opinion exists as to what is meant by the "copulatio sanctorum

patriarcharum" (*v.* 20). From the context, continence of special kind is thought to be meant, and some have found this in the waiting of Jacob for Rachel (Gen. xxix. 20). Others consider the language to be merely a mode of expressing the parallel between the communication to Tobit by an Angel of happy married life and the communications by Angels to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob of fruitfulness in their wedded life (cp. *v.* 22 and Gen. xxii. 17, 18 &c.). His marriage, like theirs, would be pleasing to God, and blessed by Him (Reusch). Cp. 1 Pet. iii. 5, 7.

16. After the words, "when thou shalt come into the marriage chamber" (with her), the Chaldee adds סיב ליבא דנונא ואקטר מינה תחות לבושה, the last two words of which some (cp. Kaulen, 'Einleitung,' u. s. w., p. 215) would alter into תחת לבונה, "instead of incense." The alteration is practically disbarred by the Hebrew תחת בגדיה here (cp. viii. 2, Heb.) and the Chaldee of viii. 2, תחת גלימת. These sufficiently attest the correctness of the reading. Cp. p. 182; Nöldeke, 'Monatsbericht,' u. s. w., p. 50, n.

CHAPTER VII.

11 *Raguel telleth Tobias what had happened to his daughter:* 12 *and giveth her in marriage unto him.* 17 *She is conveyed to her chamber, and weepeth.* 18 *Her mother comforteth her.*

AND when they were come to Ecbatane, they came to the house of Raguel, and Sara met them: and after they had saluted one another, she brought them into the house.

2 Then said Raguel to Edna his wife, How like is this young man to Tobit my cousin!

3 And Raguel asked them, From whence are ye, brethren? To whom they said, We are of the sons of Nephthalim, which are captives in Nineve.

4 Then he said to them, Do ye know Tobit our kinsman? And they said, We know him. Then said he, Is he in good health?

5 And they said, He is both alive, and in good health: and Tobias said, He is my father.

6 Then Raguel leaped up, and kissed him, and wept,

CHAPTER VII.

1. The Itala expands the first sentence: *Et cum venissent in civitatem Ecbatanan, dicit Thobias angelo: Azarias frater, duc me viam rectam ad Ragubaelem.*

Sara met them] A meeting like to that recorded of Eliezer and Rebekah (Gen. xxiv. 15 *sq.*), or of Jacob and Rachel (Gen. xxix. 9). The Gk. text and E. V. are alone in this definite mention of Sara. The other versions mention only the meeting with Raguel. Thus the Chald. (cp. the Heb.): "And they came to the house of Reuel at Agbatanis, and they found him by the door of his house (*sedentem in atrio, circa ostium domus suæ*, Itala), and they saluted him (lit. 'asked after his peace or welfare')." The plural, "he (*i.e.* Tobias) saluted *them*," in the E. V. and Gk. texts, implies, however, the presence of others besides Sara, viz. Raguel and Edna. The Heb. continues, "And he (Reuel) saluted them again. And he said to them, Go into the house in peace. And they went into the house;" the courtesy accompanying the last-named act being specially noted by the Itala, *Et dixit Ragubel: Bene valeatis, frates, intrate salvi et sani; et induxit illos in domum suam.* The Vulg. here is at once briefer, and in the second clause supplementary to the other texts: *Ingressi sunt autem ad Raguelem, et suscepit eos Raguel cum gaudio.*

2. *Edna*] The name signifies "Delight." For this less familiar name the Vulg. and Itala have "Anna;" possibly from a misreading of a variant text, Adnah.

my cousin] Gk. τῷ ἀνεψιῷ μου. Itala and Vulg. *consobrinus;* defined more generally by the Chald. and Heb. as "my brother." In *v.* 4 the E. V. "kinsman" represents the "brother" of the other Versions.

3, 4. According to the Chald., Heb., and Itala, it is Edna who asks these questions, not Raguel. The difference is no difficulty. The answer in *v.* 3, "*We* are" &c., has been variously understood as regards the Angel: according to some, he was not included, and the plural was merely a figure of speech; according to others, the language of v. 12 permits one described as "of thy brethren," *i.e.* of the children of Israel, to be here described as "of the sons of Nephthalim."

5. Cp. the Itala, *Et illa dixit, Fortis est? Et illi dixerunt: Fortis est et vivit. Tunc Thobias dixit: Pater meus est de quo quæris.* The Vulg. reads: *Cumque multa bona loqueretur de eo, dixit angelus ad Raguelem: Tobias de quo interrogas, pater istius est.*

7 And blessed him, and said unto him, Thou art the son of an honest and good man. But when he had heard that Tobit was blind, he was sorrowful, and wept.

8 And likewise Edna his wife and Sara his daughter wept. Moreover they entertained them cheerfully; and after that they had killed [1]a ram of the flock, they set store of meat on the table. Then said Tobias to Raphael, Brother Azarias, speak of those things of which thou didst talk in the way, and let this business be dispatched.

[1] *a sucking ram*, or, *lamb*, Junius.

9 So he communicated the matter with Raguel: and Raguel said to Tobias, Eat and drink, and make merry:

10 For it is meet that thou shouldest marry my daughter: nevertheless I will declare unto thee the truth.

11 I have given my daughter in marriage to seven men, who died that night they came in unto her: nevertheless for the present be merry. But Tobias said, I will eat nothing here, till we agree and swear one to another.

12 Raguel said, Then take her

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6. *leaped up*] Cp. the Itala of *v.* 1, note. The Chald. adds, "Reuel ran towards him" (see the Heb.).

7. *the son of an honest and good man*] Gk. ὁ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἀνθρώπου υἱός—the character of the perfect man. The Heb., Vulg., and Itala vary slightly the opening words of this verse: *e.g.* Itala, *et dixit: Benedictio tibi sit, fili, quoniam boni et optimi viri filius es tu;* while the Chald. applies the blessing to the father, "Blessed be Tobi, thou art the son of a righteous and honest man."

The Chaldee and Itala have an interesting addition to the last words of this verse: "The hands of pious men are weakened when a righteous man who hath done almsdeeds and many commandments is stricken blind" (Chald.): *O infelicitas malorum, quia excæcatus est vir justus et faciens eleemosynas* (Itala).

8. The hospitality described is patriarchal in character (cp. Gen. xviii. 1–8), and such as is still practised among the Bedouins. It was preceded, according to the Itala, by the usual ablutions (cp. Mark vii. 2–5; John xiii. 10), *et postquam laverunt* (var. *loti sunt*), *discubuerunt ad cœnandum*, the variant rendering of which, *loti*, is supposed by Gutberlet to have been taken by the Vulgate as an abbreviation for *locuti*, the rendering of that Version being *postquam autem locuti sunt*.

Then said Tobias to Raphael] The Vulgate omits this preliminary conversation (to *v.* 11 *a*), and goes straight to the point (*v.* 11 *b*): *Cumque hortaretur (Raguel) eos discumbere ad prandium, Tobias dixit: Hic ego hodie non manducabo neque bibam, nisi prius petitionem meam confirmes, et promittas mihi dare Saram, filiam tuam;* but it is unsupported, and the mediation of Raphael is, in such matters, according to precedent (cp. Gen. xxi. 21, xxiv.; 1 Kings ii. 17).

those things of which thou didst talk] *i.e.* "concerning the matter of Sarah his (Raguel's) daughter, that he give her to me to wife" (Heb., so Chald.).

10. *it is meet*] Or "It is better that I give her to thee than that I give her to another husband" (Heb.).

I will declare . . . the truth] The comment of St. Ambrose (see Reusch *i. l.*) is to the point: "Raguel præcipue formam honestatis expressit, qui contemplatione honestatis, cun rogaretur, ut filiam suam in conjugium daret, vitia quoque filiæ non tacebat, ne circumvenire petitorem tacendo videretur. . . . . Justus vir plus alienis timebat, et malebat sibi innuptam manere filiam, quam propter nuptias ejus extraneos periclitari."

11. *that night*] As the time when it was believed that demons attacked bride and bridegroom (see p. 181; Weber, p. 246).

for the present be merry] Cp. Itala of *v.* 9, *suaviter tibi sit hac nocte.* The Heb. reads here: "eat and drink, and leave the matter alone;" *i.e.* let the matter rest, lay aside anxiety.

But Tobias said &c.] After this, the Vulg. (see on *v.* 8) introduces a conversation between Raguel and Raphael: *Quo audito verbo, Raguel expavit, sciens quid evenerit illis septem viris qui ingressi sunt ad eam; et timere cœpit ne forte et huic similiter contingeret. Et cum nutaret, et non daret petenti ullum responsum, dixit ei angelus: Noli timere dare eam isti, quoniam huic timenti Deum debetur conjux filia tua; propterea alius non potuit habere illam. Tunc dixit Raguel: Non dubito quod Deus preces et lacrymas meas in conspectu suo admiserit. Et credo quoniam ideo fecit vos venire ad me, ut ista conjungeretur cognationi suæ secundum legem Moysi; et nunc noli dubium gerere quod tibi eam tradam. Et apprehendens dexteram filiæ suæ* &c. (as in E.V., *v.* 13).

till we agree and swear one to another] Cp. the conduct of Eliezer (Gen. xxiv. 33, 49,

from henceforth according to the [1]manner, for thou art her cousin, and she is thine, and the merciful God give you good success in all things.

[1] Or, *law*.

13 Then he called his daughter Sara, and she came to her father, and he took her by the hand, and gave her to be wife to Tobias, saying, Behold, take her after [a]the law of Moses, and lead her away to thy father. And he blessed them;

[a] Numb. 36. 6.

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54). The E. V. gives the sense rather than a translation of the Gk. ἕως ἂν στήσητε καὶ σταθῆτε πρός με; for the corresponding rendering in the Vulgate, see under *v.* 8. For the former sense of ἵστημι, reference is usually made to 1 Macc. xiii. 38; Ecclus. xliv. 21.

12. The Itala gives Raguel's answer thus: *Ne dubites, fili, facio quod vis. Et his dictis adjecit, dicens; Tibi Sarra destinata est secundum judicium libri Moysi, et de cælo judicatum est tibi illam dari. Accipe sororem tuam, a modo tu illius frater es, et hæc tua soror est: datur tibi ex hodierno et in æternum. Et Dominus cæli bene disponat vobis hanc noctem, et faciat vobis misericordiam et pacem* &c. (as in E. V. *v.* 13). The Heb. and Chald. correspond with the Itala in the terms of this blessing, as also in the application to Tobias and Sarah of the words "brother" (LXX. ἀδελφὸς), "sister," as designations of the near relationship more accurately defined as "cousin" by E. V.

give you good success in all things] The Gk. εὐοδώσει ὑμῖν τὰ κάλλιστα is more positive, "shall (lead and) give you" &c.; but the precative form of the E. V. is supported by the other Versions—Itala (see above), Chald., and Heb.: τὰ κάλλιστα aptly represents the highest good or prosperity.

13–15. The details of the marriage-contract are interesting, this being the oldest recorded instance among the Jews of a written "instrument of covenants." Previous to the Babylonian period the espousal was simply confirmed by oaths, and accompanied with presents to the bride (Gen. xxiv. 22, 53; xxxiv. 12). The instrument of covenants (v. 14) or "deed of marriage" (Chald., Heb.) here mentioned (συγγραφή) has in the Chald. and Heb. Versions the name *Ketubah* (lit. "a writing"). This term, rightly defined by Gk. B βιβλίον συνοικήσεως and by the Itala and Vulg. *conscriptio conjugii*, is used by the Talmudists for the "settlement" which secures property to the wife (see Levy, 'Chaldäisches Wörterbuch,' *s. v.*). This more business-like transaction may have been a lesson learned from the Babylonians during the exile. In a tablet, dated the ninth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon (B.C. 555–38), allusion is made by a wife to her dowry in the following terms: "My dowry was with Bin-addu-natan, my husband. I asked for it, and he, in the kindness of his heart, sealed and entrusted it to me for future days." Presently a daughter is married: "I and my husband took Bin-addu-amara to sonship, and wrote a tablet of his sonship, and made known that the dowry of my daughter was 2 mana 10 shekels of silver and the furniture of a house" ('Transactions of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' viii. pt. 275). The amount of the settlement is not given in Tobit's case (cp. Ex. xxii. 17 with Deut. xxii. 29), but the importance attached to the question in later times is evidenced by the minute directions laid down in a treatise of the Mishnah specially devoted to the subject. It will be sufficient here to note that it was a definite sum, varying not according to the circumstances of the parties, but according to the state of the bride, whether she were a spinster, a widow, or a divorced woman (see article "Marriage" in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible'). In modern times this settlement is accompanied by a "deed of penalty," in which a certain sum is named as forfeited to the other should either fail to perform the agreement. The *Ketubah* is still written in Chaldee, and is, as a rule, unintelligible to both parties (see Mills, 'The British Jews,' pp. 25–28).

13. *he took her by the hand*] Vulg. *apprehendens dexteram filiæ suæ, dextræ Tobiæ tradidit.*

take her after the law of Moses] See marg. ref. The use of the word κομίζου for "take" (here and in *v.* 12) is opposed to the view sometimes entertained that the removal was literally or figuratively effected with a show of violence.

lead her away to thy father] Words absent from the Heb. and Vulg. Versions, but found in the Chald. and Itala. The essence of the marriage ceremony consisted in the removal of the bride from her father's house to that of the bridegroom (cp. Matt. xxv. 10) or of his father.

he blessed them] The benediction was given among the Jews, not necessarily by the priest, but, as here, by the eldest relative present. The Vulg. gives the words of blessing: *Deus Abraham, et Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob vobiscum sit, et ipse conjungat vos, impleatque benedictionem suam in vobis.* The blessing now given by the Chazan, or minister of the synagogue (see Mills *l. c.*, or under article "Marriage" in Smith's 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities'), is a thanksgiving

14 And called Edna his wife, and took paper, and did write an instrument *of covenants*, and sealed it.

15 Then they began to eat.

16 After Raguel called his wife Edna, and said unto her, Sister, prepare another chamber, and bring her in thither.

17 Which when she had done as he had bidden her, she brought her thither: and she wept, and she [1]received the tears of her daughter, and said unto her,

[1] Or, *licked*.

18 Be of good comfort, my daughter; the Lord of heaven and earth give thee joy for this thy sorrow; be of good comfort, my daughter.

CHAPTER VIII.

3 *Tobias driveth the wicked spirit away, as he was taught.* 4 *He and his wife rise up to pray.* 10 *Raguel thought he was dead:* 15 *but finding him alive, praiseth God,* 19 *and maketh a wedding feast.*

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to God rather than a blessing on the newly-married pair. In the solemnization of marriage in the Church of England, the benediction—framed upon an old model (see 'Dict. of Christian Antiquities,' *l. c.*)—reverts to the type here specified. One of the collects used opens with the same words: "O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, bless these Thy servants" &c.; while the blessing which follows is christianized by the invocation of the Trinity: "God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, bless, preserve, and keep you" &c.

14. *(be) sealed it*] So Itala. The Heb. adds, "before witnesses." Witnesses would certainly be present; hence the Chald. (cp. the Vulg.), "and witnesses signed it," is literally correct. The deed of marriage was read and handed over in their presence. The number was in old times (Ruth iv. 2), in the time of St. Ambrose ('De lapsu Virginis,' v.), and in modern days (Mills, p. 26), ten. Between the betrothal and the actual marriage a period of time was usually allowed to lapse. In the patriarchal age this was a few days (Gen. xxiv. 55); in later times a full year for virgins and a month for widows; in modern times, six or twelve months. With the early Christians the period might be any between the next forty days, or at furthest two succeeding years.

15. *Then they began to eat*] The feast was regarded as so essential a part of the marriage ceremony, that ποιεῖν γάμον acquired the specific meaning "to celebrate the marriage feast." To the feast friends and neighbours were usually invited (Gen. xxix. 22; Matt. xxii. 1–10; Luke xiv. 8; John ii. 2), and the festivities lasted seven (Judg. xiv. 12) or even fourteen days (viii. 19). In the present case the invitation to neighbours seems to have been withheld (cp. viii. 12) till the actual result made it possible to summon them. They "were merry," adds the Heb. Version. The Vulgate touches the fact more spiritually: *epulati sunt, benedicentes Deum.*

16. *Sister*] For this title for a wife, cp. v. 20.

another chamber] Gk. "the other chamber" (τὸ ἕτερον ταμεῖον), either as being different from that usually occupied by Sarah, or different from that marriage chamber which had been the chamber of death (*v.* 11): "nempe ne funesti loci conspectus Saram angeret" (Grotius).

bring her in thither] It was the custom among the Hebrews that the bride should be first introduced to the marriage-chamber (cp. Gen. xxix. 23). The same custom prevailed among the Romans:

"Jam licet venias, marite:
Uxor in thalamo tibi est."—CATULLUS.

17. *she received the tears of her daughter*] The curious rendering of E. V. marg. is due to the translation of a reading ἀπεμάξατο, instead of that usually adopted, ἀπεδέξατο. The Itala sympathizes with the marg. rendering, *extersit lacrymas.* The other Versions have nothing corresponding to the sentence.

18. *Be of good comfort*] Words twice repeated, as if to bring double comfort. They are quoted but once in the Latin Versions, and are absent from the Chald. and Heb.

give thee joy] Gk. δώῃ σοι χάριν. The E. V. follows the MSS. which read χαράν. A similar variation occurs in Philemon 7, where the A. V. and the Rev. V. both adopt χαράν. In the present case the Chald. and Heb. texts are divided; the Itala and Vulg. are in favour of χαράν. Thus the Vulg. reads, *Dominus cœli det tibi gaudium pro tædio quod perpessa es:* the Chald. rendering is, "May the God of heaven (the Lord God of Israel, Heb.) shew kindness to thee this night, and watch over thee, and give thee joy for the sorrow thou hast had in time past;" the latter words of which are in the Heb., "grant thee mercy, and have pity on thee because of the sorrow which hath passed over thee unto this day."

The Itala closes the verse with the words, *Et exiit inde.*

AND when they had supped, they brought Tobias in unto her.

2 And as he went, he remembered the words of Raphael, and took the [1]ashes of the perfumes, and put the heart and the liver of the fish thereupon, and made a smoke *therewith*.

[1] Or, *embers*.

3 The which smell when the evil spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him.

CHAPTER VIII.

2. Cp. with the instructions in vi. 16. The Gk. and E. Versions alone mention "the ashes of the perfumes." In the Chald. and Heb. the heart only is "put upon a pan," or, according to the Itala and Vulg., *super carbones vivos*. The Itala mentions that Tobit *sustulit de sacculo quem habebat cor et jecor piscis;* according to the Vulg., Tobit used only *partem jecoris*. This Version has in the place of *sacculo* the word *cassidili*—a late Latin diminutive, understood by the Glossaries in the same sense (cp. Reusch *i. l.*).

and made a smoke therewith] The fumigating or disinfecting process was, according to the Chald. and Heb., applied also to Sara's garments (cp. pp. 170, 182). The act is taken by many (cp. the R. C. commentators here) to signify the employment of means divinely appointed to counteract influences found fatal to Sara's previous husbands.

Bede finds in the various stages of preparation here enumerated a type of what the Heavenly Bridegroom required of His Bride. When about to accept the Church of the Gentiles, He bids her first renounce the Devil, all his works and all his powers, and then confess her faith in the Holy Trinity.

3. Itala: *Et odor piscis prohibuit dæmonium.* Fritzsche and Bissell suppose that the foul smell created by the burning of a half-decayed fish's liver was appropriate for the expulsion of a foul spirit, in contrast with that sweet smell which propitiates the beneficent Deity. Munster ('Crit. Sacr.' *i. l.*) anticipates and answers such a view, otherwise unsupported by anything in the text: "Quomodo potuit odor corporalis fugare spiritum? Sicut enim ignis non comburit spiritum, nec frigus lædit ipsum, ita nec fœtor neque odor possunt illum recreare aut nauseam illi facere." He would find in this smoke and smell the symbol of prayer, "quæ instar vaporis cœlum penetrat" (cp. Ps. cxli. 2), and the efficacy of which to "cast out devils" Christ Himself has asserted (Matt. xvii. 19, 21). "Virtute ergo orationis Tobiæ et Saræ fugatus est Asmodæus, et non efficaciâ aliquâ odoris corporalis. Unde et cor piscis et non caput jubetur accendi. Oratio enim cordis et non labiorum placet Deo." Cp. on this subject Excursus II., p. 182.

he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt] So Chald. and Heb. Gk. τὰ ἀνώτατα Αἰγύπτου; rather "Upper Egypt" (cp. Itala), the type of a waste and desolate land (cp. Isa. xiii. 21, xix. 5–7; Ezek. xxx. 7–12; Matt. xii. 43). The wilderness was the home of the demons, says the Talmud (see Weber, p. 245), and the place of uncleanness. Their howlings rang throughout it.

The rendering of the Vulgate, *Tunc Raphael angelus apprehendit dæmonium, et religavit illud in deserto superioris Ægypti*, emphasizes the superior power of the good Angel over the evil spirit. The source of this power is described by Thomas Aquinas (quoted by Gutberlet): "Totus ordo prælationis primo et originaliter est in Deo, et participatur a creaturis, secundum quod Deo magis appropinquantur. Illæ enim creaturæ super alias influentiam habent, quæ sunt perfectiores et Deo propinquiores. Maxima autem perfectio et per quam maxime Deo appropinquantur est creaturarum fruentium Deo, sicut sunt sancti Angeli. Angelus, qui est inferior ordine naturæ, præest dæmonibus quamvis superioribus ordine naturæ, quia virtus divinæ justitiæ, cui inhærent boni angeli, potior est quam virtus naturalis angelorum."

the angel bound him] The evil spirit "vexed no more" Tobit and Sara (vi. 7). "Alligavit, *i.e.* potestatem ejus cohibuit et frenavit" (Augustine, 'De Civ. Dei,' xx. 7). Cp. Thomas Aquinas (in Gutberlet): "Quidam dicunt, quod dæmon superatus nullum hominem potest de cetero tentare nec de eodem nec de alio peccato. Quidam autem dicunt, quod potest alios tentare sed non eundem: et hoc probabilius dicitur, si tamen intelligatur usque ad aliquod tempus (Luke iv. 13). Et hujus ratio est duplex: una est ex parte divinæ clementiæ, quia ut Chrysostomus dicit, non tamdiu diabolus homines tentat quamdiu vult, sed quamdiu Deus permittit. Alia ratio sumitur ex astutia diaboli. Unde Ambrosius dicit quod diabolus instare formidat, quia frequentius refugit triumphari. Quod tamen aliquando diabolus redeat ad eum, quem dimisit, patet per illud quod dicitur Matt. xii. 44."

He "bound him," says Bede, to restrain him from hurting the faithful. Though the evil spirit is permitted sometimes to tempt men, that they may be proved, yet is he hindered from so overcoming them that they should fall from the faith. It is in keeping with this opinion that some have found in the

4 And after that they were both shut in together, Tobias rose out of the bed, and said, Sister, arise, and let us pray that God would have pity on us.

5 Then began Tobias to say, Blessed art thou, O God of our fathers, and blessed *is* thy holy and glorious name for ever; let the heavens bless thee, and all thy creatures.

6 [a]Thou madest Adam, and gavest him Eve his wife for an helper and stay: of them came mankind: thou hast said, It is not good that man should be alone; let us make unto him an aid like unto himself.

[a] Gen. 2. 7, 18, 22.

7 And now, O Lord, I take not this my sister for lust, but uprightly: *therefore* mercifully ordain that we may become aged together.

8 And she said with him, Amen.

9 So they slept both that night. And Raguel arose, and went and made a grave,

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frequent, secret or open, sensual temptations to which the monks of the Thebaïs in Upper Egypt were subjected (cp. "St. Antony" in the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography'), a proof that Raphael did not deprive Asmodeus of power for ever.

The Heb. closes this verse, "And he went out of the chamber, and they shut the door on them twain;" to which the Itala adds, (*Raphael*) *reversus est continuo;* i.e. from Egypt to the house of Raguel.

4. *let us pray that God would have pity on us*] A comparison of the other Versions lends countenance to the opinion that Tobit and Sara were not then fully aware of the complete deliverance vouchsafed to them. The Vulg. has an interesting variation and expansion here: *Tunc hortatus est virginem Tobias, dixitque ei: Sara, exsurge et deprecemur Deum hodie, et cras, et secundum cras, quia his tribus noctibus Deo jungimur; tertia autem transacta nocte, in nostro erimus conjugio; filii quippe sanctorum* (see ii. 5, note, Itala) *sumus, et non possumus ita conjungi, sicut gentes quæ ignorant Deum* (see xi. 17, note). *Surgentes autem pariter, instanter orabant ambo simul, ut sanitas daretur eis.* See Additional Note to vi. 15.

5. *let the heavens bless thee &c.*] The Vulg. expands this thought: *benedicant Te cæli et terræ, mareque, et fontes, et flumina, et omnes creaturæ tuæ, quæ in eis sunt.* "How," asks St. Chrysostom, "can the heavens bless God? They have no mouth, they have no voice. How can they declare the glory of God? (Ps. xix. 1)"; and he answers: "Gaze at them. In their beauty, greatness, height, order, place, in their everlasting duration, is there not a voice, a speech proclaiming His greatness Who hath created so wonderful and so beautiful a thing? Heaven is silent, but its very aspect gives utterance to a voice louder than blast of trumpet, a voice which teaches through the eyes, not through the ears" (Gutberlet).

6. *an helper and stay*] Cp. the beautiful description of the true wife in Ecclus. xxxvi. 24. Passages such as Prov. xii. 4, xxxi. 11, are more familiarly known.

7. *not . . . for lust, but uprightly*] Gk. οὐ διὰ πορνείαν . . . ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας. The Heb. (cp. Chald.) adds, "according to the law of Moses and Aaron." Cp. the language of the Marriage Service in the Book of Common Prayer: "(Marriage) is not to be taken in hand unadvisedly, lightly, or wantonly, to satisfy men's carnal lusts and appetites, . . . but reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God."

The ethics and end of marriage are beautifully and tersely stated in the Vulg. rendering here: *Tu scis quia non luxuriæ causa* (so Itala) *accipio sororem meam conjugem, sed sola posteritatis dilectione in qua benedicatur nomen tuum in secula seculorum* (cp. the Heb. in next verse). The "uprightness of heart" (Heb.), the purity, the continence (cp. Vulg. on *v.* 4), with which Tobias and Sara entered upon their marriage, is, according to some commentators, further indicated by the preference shewn by Tobias for the term "sister."

therefore *mercifully . . . together*] Omit "therefore." The Gk. text has a different punctuation as well as reading: ἀλλὰ ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐπίταξον ἐλεῆσαί με, καὶ αὐτῇ συγκαταγηρᾶσαι. The Heb. reading is, "And Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us, and have compassion on us, and join us together in peace, and give us sons who may be a blessing, occupying themselves in Thy Law." To the Jew the birth of sons carried with it the possibility of giving birth to the expected Messiah. The Itala contains thoughts from both these Versions: *Ut miserearis nostri, Domine, et consenescamus pariter sani cum pace; et da nobis filios in benedictione.* (Chald. "good children.") The Vulg. rather makes these words the special request of Sarah: *Dixit quoque Sara: Miserere nobis, Domine, miserere nobis; et consenescamus ambo pariter sani.*

9. *And Raguel arose*] Vulg. *circa pullorum cantum;* Chald. "in the middle of the night." If the Roman division of the night into four watches (evening, midnight, cock-crowing,

10 Saying, *I fear* lest he also be dead.

11 But when Raguel was come into his house,

12 He said unto his wife Edna, Send one of the maids, and let her see whether he be alive: if *he be* not, that we may bury him, and no man know it.

13 So the maid opened the door, and went in, and found them both asleep,

14 And came forth, and told them that he was alive.

15 Then Raguel praised God, and said, O God, thou art worthy to be praised with all pure and holy praise; therefore let thy saints praise thee with all thy creatures; and let all thine angels and thine elect praise thee for ever.

16 Thou art to be praised, for thou hast made me joyful; and that is not come to me which I suspected; but thou hast dealt with us according to thy great mercy.

17 Thou art to be praised, because thou hast had mercy of two that were the only begotten children of their fathers: grant them mercy, O Lord, and finish their life in health with joy and mercy.

18 Then Raguel bade his servants to fill the grave.

19 And he kept the wedding feast fourteen days.

20 For before the days of the mar-

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morning), be intended, the cock-crowing would be somewhere about one or two in the morning (see Mark xiv. 30, note). According to the other Versions, Raguel's servants dug the grave at their master's bidding.

10. *I fear*] Omit. Raguel's words are variously given. The Vulg. expands the Gk.: *Ne forte simili modo evenerit ei, quo et ceteris illis septem viris qui sunt ingressi ad eam.* The Chald. and Heb. practically agree, "If the young man die, we will bury him in the night, so that no man know it (cp. E. V., *v.* 12), and there will be no reproach to us;" words which the Itala renders, *Dicebat enim; Ne forte moriatur Thobias, et omnibus fiam derisio et opprobrium. Et consummaverunt fossam.*

12. Chald.: "Send one of the maids to the chamber with a light in her hand" (cp. Itala in *v.* 13, note).

that we may bury him] Heb. adds, "before the light of morning;" Vulg. *antequam illucescat dies.*

13. Itala reads, *Et accensa lucerna, aperuit ostium,* &c. The mention of the "light" is evidently intended to impress upon the reader the time—viz. night—of the occurrences specified.

14. *told them &c.*] Chald.: "Bless ye the Master of the world, for he is alive." *Nuntiavit bonum nuntium,* says the Vulg.; which the Itala explains, *et nihil mali passum.*

15. The Vulg. unites the parents in this thanksgiving: *Et benedixerunt Dominum, Raguel videlicet et Anna uxor ejus, et dixerunt* &c. The thanksgiving is given by the Chald., Heb., Itala, and Vulgate Versions, but with considerable variations of language, if also with many approximations of thought; *e.g.* Chald.: "Then Reuel said, Blessed art Thou, O Lord God of heaven and earth, Thou dost strike and Thou dost heal, and Thy blessing is holy and pure. Let Thy saints bless Thee, and all the creatures of Thine hand, and let Thine Angels praise Thee for ever, and blessed be Thy glorious Name, for Thou hast given us joy with Thy great bounty, and not as we suspected. Blessed art Thou, O God, because Thou hast had pity on them both. Grant them peace and mercy and joy in their lives for ever." Vulg.: *Benedicimus Te, Domine, Deus Israel, quia non contigit quomodo putabamus. Fecisti enim nobiscum misericordiam tuam, et exclusisti à nobis inimicum persequentem eos. Misertus es autem duobus unicis* (*e.g.* iii. 15, v. 17). *Fac eos, Domine, plenius benedicere te, et sacrificium tibi laudis tuæ et suæ sanitatis offerre ut cognoscat universitas gentium, quia Tu es Deus solus in universa terra.*

18. The Vulg. and Itala enjoin the filling of the grave *priusquam elucesceret;* cp. Heb. "before the morning, so that no man know it."

19. The usual period for the marriage festivities was seven days (cp. xi. 19; Gen. xxix. 27; Judg. xiv. 12). The circumstances in this case were exceptional and fully explain the extension of time. The other Versions are more full in the description of the feast; *e.g.* Vulg.: *Uxori autem suæ dixit ut instrueret convivium, et præpararet omnia quæ in cibos erant iter agentibus necessaria* (an additional reason for more than the usual seven days' stay). *Duas quoque pingues vaccas et quatuor arietes occidi fecit* (cp. *v.* 8; and the similar division of labour in Gen. xviii. 6, 7), *et*

riage were finished, Raguel had said unto him by an oath, that he should not depart till the fourteen days of the marriage were expired;

21 And then he should take the half of his goods, and go in safety to his father; and should have the rest when I and my wife be dead.

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parari epulas omnibus vicinis suis, cunctisque amicis (see vii. 15, note). The Heb. adds a reason for this "great feast with joy;" viz. "for God hath made them glad with the abundance of His mercy and kindness."

20. *should not depart . . . expired*] The Itala reads, *hic eris manducans et bibens mecum, et lætificabis animam filiæ meæ, multis adflictam doloribus* (cp. vii. 17, note); a description of Sarah which is rendered by Chald. and Heb. "my forsaken daughter."

21. For a similar alteration in the mode of address, cp. Acts i. 4. The Chald., Heb., and Itala preserve the direct mode of address throughout; *e.g.* Chald.: "Take half of my goods now ('and thou shalt go to thy father with joy,' Heb.); and when I and my wife are dead, thou shalt take all. Thou shalt be to me a dear son, and I will be to thee a father, and Ednah my wife a mother for ever." The last words are thus given by the Itala: *Forti animo esto, fili, ego pater tuus sum, et Anna mater tua; tui sumus nos, et sororis tuæ, a modo et in perpetuo.* The Vulg. drops the colloquial form and presents the matter as an historical fact: *De omnibus autem quæ possidebat Raguel, dimidiam partem dedit Tobiæ, et fecit scripturam ut pars dimidia quæ supererat, post obitum eorum Tobiæ dominio deveniret.*

A Babylonian tablet of the date of Nabonidus, containing a marriage settlement, lays down as a precedent that if a marriage contract be concluded, and the dowry of the wife and the property of the husband given by his father be to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, the children take, on the death of their parents, a third of the property. What became of the rest does not appear ('Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' viii. pt. 2, p. 277).

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO CHAP. VIII.

Among the Midrashim or Commentaries of the Jewish Church is one known as the Midrash Tanchuma. Compiled by one Tanchuma ben Abba, who is said by most scholars to have lived in the 5th century A.D., in Palestine (Strack and Zunz place the compiler of this Midrash in the 9th century, and his home in Greece or Italy; see Herzog, 'R. E.'[2] *s. v.* "Midrash"), the work is the first of the Haggadic or Homiletic Midrashim which deals with the Pentateuch as a whole. In the Mantua edition (1563) of this Midrash there is an interesting addition bearing upon the events of this chapter, which occurs as a comment on the section beginning "Give ear" (Deut. xxxii. 1). It is given here according to Neubauer's translation:—

"It is found in the book of Rabbi Moses had-Darshan (11th cent. A.D.), 'He kept him as the apple of his eye' (Deut. xxxii. 10). The Holy One (blessed is He!) keeps those whom He tries, like a man who keeps the apple of his eye. We have an example in the following history. There was a certain man, rich, of high station, and learned in the oral law; the same had a daughter, of exceeding beauty, and moreover pious, who had been married three times to three men, but each time on the morning after the first night of the marriage they found her husband dead. She said, 'Men shall die no more for me; I will dwell in widowhood and seclusion, until God shall look upon me, and take compassion.' And so she remained many days. Now that rich man had in another city a very poor brother, who had ten sons; and every day he and his eldest son brought in bundles of sticks from the wood, and sold them, and by this means he and his wife and his children supported themselves. Once they did not sell any, and they had no money to buy bread, and that day they ate nothing. On the morrow it came to pass, when they went into the wood, that the father fainted away. The son's eyes ran with tears because of their poverty, and he lifted his eyes to heaven. The son considered in his heart, and, having taken leave of his father and mother, went to the city where his uncle dwelt. And when he entered his house, his uncle and likewise his wife and daughter were exceedingly glad, and asked him after his father and his mother and the children. He abode with him seven days, and at the end of the seven days the young man went to his uncle, and said to him, 'I have one request to ask of thee; deny me not.' His uncle said to him, 'Say, my son, what it is that thou desirest.' He replied, 'Swear to me.' And so he did. Then he said, 'This is the request that I ask of thee: Give me thy daughter to wife.' When the man heard it, he wept. 'Nay, my son,' said he, 'nay, for such is her way, unfortunately' [alluding to the death of her husbands]. He

replied, 'Even on these terms.' He said to him, 'If for the sake of my riches thou art eager for her, marry her not, for I will give thee silver and gold in abundance, for thou art a handsome and wise young man; but take my advice, and endanger not thyself with her.' He answered, 'Thou hast already sworn concerning this matter.' The rich man saw how the matter stood, and consented. So he went to his daughter, and told her what had passed between them. When she heard this, she wept and cried out in the bitterness of her soul, and lifted her eyes to heaven, and said, 'Lord of the worlds, let Thine hand be upon me, and let not all these die for my sake.' What did he do? He betrothed her, and prepared a banquet, and invited the elders of the city, and made a canopy, and the bridegroom sat inside it. And a certain elder met him—it was Elijah of blessed memory—and he called him out privately, and said to him, 'My son, I will give thee right counsel, and depart not from my counsel. When thou sittest down to eat, a poor man will come in unto thee clad in black and tattered garments, barefooted, and his hair standing up like nails (cp. Job iv. 15); he is so poor that there is none like him in all the world. When thou seest him, thou shalt arise from thy seat, and seat him beside thee, and make him eat and drink; wait on him with all thy ability, and pay him honour, and let not a word of all which I have said to thee fall to the ground; so shalt thou be left in peace; and now I go my way.' So the old man went away, and the bridegroom went in to his place. They sat down to the banquet, and when they began to eat that poor man came in, and when the bridegroom saw him he stood up from his place, and behaved to him in every respect as the old man had told him. After the banquet that poor man called the bridegroom, who took him to a chamber. He said to him, 'My son, I am a messenger of God, and am come hither to take away thy life.' He replied, 'My lord, give me time; a year or half a year.' He said, 'I will not do so.' Then he said, 'If it be so, give me thirty days or the seven days of the banquet.' He said to him, 'I will not give thee even a single day, for thy time is already come.' He replied, 'I pray thee, wait for me whilst I go and take leave of my wife.' 'In this respect,' said he, 'I will agree to thy request. Go therefore and come back quickly.' He went to the chamber where she was sitting alone and weeping and praying to her Creator; and at the door of the chamber the young man called out to her, and she came to open to him; then she brought him into the chamber beside her, and caught hold of him and kissed him. She said to him, 'My brother, why art thou come?' He answered, 'To take leave of thee, for my time is come to depart after the way of all the earth, for the angel is come, and hath informed me that he is come to demand my life.' She said, 'Thou shalt not go, but thou shalt abide here, and I will go to him and speak with him.' She went and found him and asked him, 'Art thou the angel who is come to demand my husband's life?' He said to her, 'I am.' She replied, 'He shall not die now: it is written in the Law, "When a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not go out to war, neither shall he be charged with any business, but he shall be free at home one year, and shall cheer up his wife which he hath taken" (Deut. xxiv. 5); and the Holy One (blessed is He!) is truth, and His law is truth. Now, if thou take his life, thou wilt make the Law a lie; if thou accept my words, well; but if not, thou shalt come with me to the great tribunal before the Holy One (blessed is He!).' The Holy One (blessed is He!) immediately rebuked the angel, and he went his way. That night the bride and bridegroom slept together; and the bride's father and her mother were weeping in their chamber; and when midnight came, the man and the woman arose to prepare a grave for their son-in-law before the break of dawn. When they arose, they heard the bride and bridegroom sporting and merry together; so they went into the room to see whether it were so: they saw, and were glad, and published it to the congregation, and gave praise to God. And this is an example how the Holy One (blessed is He!) keeps those who trust in Him."

CHAPTER IX.

1 *Tobias sendeth the angel unto Gabael for the money.* 6 *The angel bringeth it and Gabael to the wedding.*

THEN Tobias called Raphael, and said unto him,

2 Brother Azarias, take with thee a servant, and two camels, and go to

CHAPTER IX.

1. The Vulgate begins this chapter as follows: *Tunc vocavit Tobias angelum ad se, quem quidem hominem existamabat, dixitque ei: Azaria frater, peto ut auscultes verba mea. Si meipsum tradam tibi servum, non ero condignus providentiæ tuæ. Tamen obsecro te ut assumas tibi animalia et servitia, et vadas ad Gabelum* &c. The *animalia et servitia* are in the Gk. and E. V. defined to be "a servant and two camels:" the other Versions (Chald.,

Rages of Media to Gabael, and bring me the money, and bring him to the wedding.

3 For Raguel hath sworn that I shall not depart.

4 But my father counteth the days; and if I tarry long, he will be very sorry.

5 So Raphael went out, and lodged with Gabael, and gave him the handwriting: who brought forth bags which were sealed up, and gave them to him.

6 And early in the morning they went forth both together, and came to the wedding: and [1]Tobias blessed his wife.

[1] Or, *Gabael blessed Tobias and his wife*, Junius

Heb., and Itala) read "four servants and two camels" (and so *v.* 6 in the Vulg.).

2. *go to Rages*] Cp. i. 14, v. 6, notes. Reusch quotes here the distance as determined by Sainte-Croix ('Hist. de l'Acad. Royale des Inscriptions,' &c., xlvii. p. 63); from which it would appear that a traveller on a dromedary might perform the journey from Ecbatana to Rages and back in five or six days. On the other hand, more modern travellers quoted by Nöldeke (p. 49, n. 1) and Krall ('Zeitschr. f. d. Oesterr. Gymnasien,' 1882, p. 215) required six to eight days to go from Rages to Ecbatana alone.

bring me the money &c.] The other Versions (except the Gk.) preface these words by "give him his bag" (Chald. and Heb. The Itala and Vulgate have *chirographum*: see v. 3, note). Without this the money would not have been given up (see *v.* 5).

3. This verse gives the reason why Tobias could not himself go to Rages, and *v.* 4 a reason for no delay. Thus the Chaldee: "I cannot go thither, since Reuel hath sworn that I shall not depart from his house before fourteen days;" *cujus jusjurandum*, adds the Itala (cp. also the Vulgate), *spernere non possumus.*

4. *if I tarry long*] Gk. ἐὰν χρονίσω μέγα: more definitely stated by the other Heb. Versions: *e.g.* "if one day exceed the time" (Heb.), in true appreciation of Tobias' filial thought for both father and mother (Heb.). Cp. 1 Sam. ix. 5.

5. *bags which were sealed up*] Gk. τὰ θυλάκια ἐν ταῖς σφραγῖσι (cp. 2 Kings v. 23, LXX.). "When Gabael," explains the Chaldee, "heard that (Tobiyah had invited him to the wedding), he laded the camels with the money and came to the wedding" (so Itala and Heb.).

6. *and Tobias blessed his wife*] The expression may be taken to mean that Tobias asked God's blessing upon his wife, or (with Fritzsche) as summarizing the conclusion of the marriage festivities. Tobias was happy with, and blessed in, his young wife, and expressed his happiness (cp. Judith xv. 9, 12).

The other Versions (Chald., Heb., Itala, and Vulg.) either followed a reading "Gabael blessed Tobias and his wife" (so Ilgen, De Wette, Grimm, and others; see Additional Note), or have inserted such a blessing in the place of the words of the Gk. and E. Versions. The Vulg. gives the most detailed account: *Cumque ingressus esset domum Raguelis, invenit Tobiam discumbentem* (Chald. and Heb. "sitting at the table"); *et exsiliens, osculati sunt se invicem; et flevit Gabelus* (Chald. and Heb. "from exceeding joy"), *benedixitque Deum et dixit: Benedicat te Deus Israel, quia filius es optimi viri, et justi, et timentis Deum, et eleemosynas facientis! Et dicatur benedictio super uxorem tuam et super parentes vestros. Et videatis filios vestros, et filios filiorum vestrorum, usque in tertiam et quartam generationem! Et sit semen vestrum benedictum a Deo Israel, qui regnat in sæcula sæculorum.* The "blessing" is given differently by the Versions, each bringing out some new and happy feature. In the Chaldee the blessing is, "The God of heaven bless a good and honest man who giveth much alms: and blessed be the God of my kinsman Tobi, who hath given thee and thy father and thy mother this good wife." In the Itala the first part of the blessing is very like the Vulgate, differing from it in the opening words: *Benedictus Dominus qui dedit tibi pacem, bone et optime vir, . . . et benedictus tui fili.* It then continues, *Det tibi benedictionem, Dominus cæli, et uxori tuæ, et patri et matri uxoris tuæ; et benedictus Deus, quoniam video Thobi consobrini mei similem.* Lastly, the Hebrew expresses the blessing thus: "Blessed is the Lord God of Israel, Who hath joined thee in joy to the woman, and may He in His mercy give thee sons by her, who occupy themselves in the law of the Lord."

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO VERSE 6.

The Hebrew equivalent of the words in the text would be ויברך טביה את אשתו. Ilgen, De Wette, Grimm, and others, to give them the meaning they desire, viz. "He (Gabael) blessed Tobias and his wife," take את="with." Rosenthal (p. 148), acquiescing

in the suggestion that Gabael gave the blessing, would take the Hebrew to have been ויברך טביה ואת אשתו, from which the ו was drawn away from before את to the end of the proper name Tobias, *e.g.* ויב׳ טביהו, and hence the misreading of the Greek. Other conjectures may be seen in Grimm ('Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theologie,' 1881, Hft. 1, pp. 50–1).

CHAPTER X.

1 *Tobit and his wife long for their son.* 7 *She will not be comforted by her husband.* 10 *Raguel sendeth Tobias and his wife away, with half their goods,* 12 *and blesseth them.*

NOW Tobit his father counted every day: and when the days of the journey were expired, and they came not,

2 Then Tobit said, Are they detained? or is Gabael dead, and there is no man to give him the money?

3 Therefore he was very sorry.

4 Then his wife said unto him, My son is dead, seeing he stayeth long; and she began to bewail him, and said,

5 *Now I care for nothing,* my son, *since I have let thee go,* the light of mine eyes.

6 To whom Tobit said, Hold thy peace, take no care, for he is safe.

7 But she said, Hold thy peace, and deceive me not; my son is dead. And she went out every day into the way which they went, and did eat no meat on the daytime, and ceased not whole nights to bewail her son Tobias,

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CHAPTER X.

1. "Tobi counted," says the Chaldee, "how many days he (his son) needed to go to receive the money, and how many days to return" (cp. the Itala).

they came not] The Vulg. explains, *causa nuptiarum.*

2. *Then Tobit said*] Chald. adds "to himself;" as if the doubts which he felt were not to be spoken to his wife.

Are they detained?] The usual Gk. reading is *μήποτε κατῄσχυνται, i.e.* "Are they ashamed (or 'disappointed;' cp. the LXXtal use of the word in 'Trommii Concord.' *s. n.*) because they have not got the money?" Cp. Grotius, "an elusa ejus spes per Gabeli hæredes" ('Crit. Sacr.' *i. l.*); but this reading is—in accord with the other Versions—usually corrected into *κατέσχηνται* (Ilgen) or *κατίσχονται* (Drusius): thus, *Putas quare moratur filius meus? aut quare detentus est ibi?* (Vulg. So Itala.) The Chald. supports this: "They perhaps detain him there."

is Gabael dead] Tobit had not seen him for twenty years.

4. The Vulg. reads: *Flebat igitur mater ejus irremediabilibus lacrymis, atque dicebat: Heu, heu me, fili mi! ut quid te misimus peregrinari, lumen oculorum nostrorum, baculum senectutis nostræ, solatium vitæ nostræ, spem posteritatis nostræ* (see v. 17, note). *Omnia simul in te uno habentes, te non debuimus dimittere a nobis.* The lamentation is touchingly expressed by the Chald.: "Woe is me, my son, that I sent thee to go to a distant land; the light of mine eyes, why did I let thee go?" Cp. David's lament for Absalom (2 Sam. xviii. 33).

5. *I care for nothing*] Gk. *οὐ μέλει μοι.* Some commentators take this to be an expression of comparison between herself and Tobit: "It was not my doing, but thy father's that thou, my son, didst go away. Therefore I do not blame myself" &c.; but such a sense is invested with unnatural bitterness. Either the words are to be taken as an agonized expression of grief, or the conjectural reading may be adopted, ὢ (= *οὐαὶ*) *μέλει μοι*, which the Vulg. and Chald. (see previous note) *heu*, "woe," indicate. Other conjectural readings are *ὡς μέλει μοι*, or *σὺ μέλει μοι* (Fritzsche), or *οὐ μέλει σοι* (Tischendorf).

the light of mine eyes] A personification of the Psalmist's expression (Ps. xxxviii. 10). For similar terms of endearment, cp. Deut. xxxii. 10; Ps. xvii. 8; Zech. ii. 8.

6. *for he is safe*] Some of the Versions add reasons for this opinion; that of the Chald. being by no means calculated to reassure an anxious mother: "He has met only with an accident." The Itala is more comforting: *Salvus est filius noster; sed aliqua forsitan mora detinet illos; homo enim qui cum illo ivit fidelis est, et ex fratribus nostris* (cp. the Vulg.). The Hebrew Version corresponding to *vv.* 1–6 is singularly condensed and barren of details.

7. *And she went out &c.*] The Chald. reading is: "And she went out into the crossway by day and by night to the place where her son should arrive, and she ate nothing but tears in the night, and her heart had no

until the fourteen days of the wedding were expired, which Raguel had sworn that he should spend there. Then Tobias said to Raguel, Let me go, for my father and my mother look no more to see me.

8 But his father in law said unto him, Tarry with me, and I will send to thy father, and they shall declare unto him how things go with thee.

9 But Tobias said, No; but let me go to my father.

10 Then Raguel arose, and gave him Sara his wife, and half his goods, servants, and cattle, and money:

11 And he blessed them, and sent them away, saying, The God of heaven give you a prosperous journey, my children.

12 And he said to his daughter, Honour thy father and thy mother in law, which are now thy parents, that I may hear good report of thee. And he kissed her. Edna also said to Tobias, The Lord of heaven restore thee, my dear brother, and grant that I may see thy children of my daughter Sara before I die, that I may rejoice before the Lord: behold, I commit my daughter unto thee [1]of special trust; wherefore do not entreat her evil.

[1] Or, *to be safely kept.*

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rest." (Heb.: "and she tasted nothing but tears for days and nights.") The Vulg. thus depicts the daily life of Anna, *quotidie exsiliens circumspiciebat, et circuibat vias omnes per quas spes remeandi videbatur, ut procul videret eum, si fieri posset, venientem.* This Version has nothing corresponding to the E. V.: "and did eat . . . to see me" (end of *v.* 7).

until the fourteen days &c.] The Chald., Heb., and Itala begin a new paragraph here; *e.g.* Chald.: "And when the fourteen days were expired" &c.

9. Cp. the Chald.: ". . . I will send to declare to thy father all that thou hast done. Tobiyah answered him, Give me leave to return to my father." The Vulg. words it: . . . *ego mittam nuntium salutis de te . . . Cui Tobias ait: Ego novi quia pater meus et mater mea modo dies computant, et cruciatur spiritus eorum in ipsis.*

10. *servants*] Gk. σώματα; cp. Gen. xxxvi. 6 (LXX.); 2 Macc. viii. 11; Rev. xviii. 13. The word (plur.) is not infrequent in classical Greek for human beings, and is specially applied to slaves (see Liddell and Scott, 'Lex.' *s. n.*). The meaning here is that adopted by the E. V. (cp. Chald.), and expanded by the Heb. into "servants (male) and maid-servants" (cp. Vulg. and Itala, *pueros et puellas*).

cattle and money] Expanded by most of the other Versions: *e.g.* Chald., "asses, and camels, sheep, and oxen, and garments (of fine linen and purple, Heb.), and vessels of silver and gold."

11. The blessing is differently given by the other Versions, which contain the same thought as the Greek, εὐοδώσει ὑμᾶς τέκνα ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πρὸ τοῦ με ἀποθανεῖν. Thus the Vulgate: *Angelus Domini sanctus sit in itinere vestro, perducatque vos incolumes, et inveniatis omnia recte circa parentes vestros, et videant oculi mei filios vestros priusquam moriar.* The Heb. has the often-recurring thought (cp. ix. 6, note), "May God, the Lord God of your fathers, bless you, and let me see of you sons who occupy themselves in the Law of the Lord."

12. *Honour thy father and thy mother in law*] Note this application of the Fifth Commandment. The father-in-law and mother-in-law were to be to her "parents," on the principle that her husband's kindred became also her kindred. Enmity between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law was one of the signs of a corrupt and demoralised state of society: see Micah vii. 6 (Churton).

The Vulgate drops the form of a personal address, and closes this chapter with some sterling advice to a newly-married couple, consisting of five rules: *Et apprehendentes parentes filiam suam, osculati sunt eam, et dimiserunt ire, monentes eam* (1) *honorare soceros,* (2) *diligere maritum,* (3) *regere familiam,* (4) *gubernare domum et* (5) *seipsam irreprehensibilem exhibere* (cp. Tit. ii. 5). In the Chald. and Itala, as in the E. V., Raguel blesses Sara, and Edna Tobias; in the Hebrew, Anna's admonition is put in Raguel's mouth. The Chald. rendering of Anna's blessing is as follows (cp. also the Itala): "Thou art my son and my brother; may the God of heaven lead thee in peace, and let me see righteous children before me of Sara my daughter (Heb. 'children good in the sight of the Lord before I die'). Now behold Sara my daughter is in thy hand; entreat her not evil all the days of her life (cp. Col. iii. 19). Go in peace. I am thy mother, and Sara is thy wife. May God prosper your ways all the days of your lives." The last words are thus presented in the Itala: *Diligat te Dominus et illam, ut sitis in loco sanctitatis omnibus diebus vitæ vestræ.*

CHAPTER XI.

6 *Tobias' mother spieth her son coming.* 10 *His father meeteth him at the door, and recovereth his sight.* 14 *He praiseth God,* 17 *and welcometh his daughter in law.*

AFTER these things Tobias went his way, praising God that he had given him a prosperous journey, and blessed Raguel and Edna his wife, and went on his way till they drew near unto Nineve.

2 Then Raphael said to Tobias, Thou knowest, brother, how thou didst leave thy father:

3 Let us haste before thy wife, and prepare the house.

4 And take in thine hand the gall of the fish. So they went their way, and the dog went after them.

5 Now Anna sat looking about toward the way for her son.

6 And when she espied him com-

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of special trust] Gk. ἐν παρακαταθήκῃ: Itala, *tanquam bonum depositum;* more precious than the money "entrusted to," "deposited with" Gabael (iv. 1). Cp. Prov. xxxi. 10 &c. The Itala adds: *Et osculata est utrosque, et dimisit illos sanos* (cp. the Heb.).

The Syriac closes the chapter with the reflection: "And Tobias rejoiced, and praised the God of heaven and earth, and said, My wife's parents shall be honoured by me like my own parents, all the days of my life."

The first verse of ch. xi. forms in the Chald. and Itala the concluding verse (with slight changes) of ch. x.

CHAPTER XI.

1. The Chald. amplifies the "praise" to God and the "blessing" upon Raguel and Edna as follows:—"He blessed the God of heaven and earth, Who had sent His Angel and prospered his journey, and blessed Reuel and Ednah his wife, saying, May God help me to honour you all the days of your lives." The last words assume a more positive form in the Itala, *Injunctum est mihi a Domino honorari vos* &c.

and went on his way till they drew near unto Nineve] The "near unto" is defined by the Itala, *donec venirent Charam* (Vulg. *Charan*, emended by Reusch into *Calach*) *quæ civitas est contra Ninevem* (Vulg. *quæ est in medio itinere contra Nineven, undecimo die*). The Chald. and Heb. call the place "Akris" (altered by the Persian translation of the Heb. into "Akdim"), and unite in placing it "over against Nineveh." The Syriac calls it Kosra (or Kasri, possibly the origin of the Καισαρεία of the Greek text B) or Bosra. Many conjectures as to this place are forthcoming, but no identification of it; the Vulg. reading being probably a misprint or an editorial emendation to the well-known city in Mesopotamia (Gen. xi. 31), however geographically inaccurate, rather than some imaginary place of that name on the route. According to the Vulg., the place was reached *undecimo die;* but this must be understood as the time taken by the caravan described in x. 10. The time required by travellers between Ecbatana and Nineveh is variously estimated by commentators from one to six weeks (see Gutberlet, p. 264). A mountain-range (the Zagros) had to be crossed, and the difference between the time required by two travellers (*v.* 3) mounted on dromedaries and "hasting," and that by women, attendants, and herds, would necessarily be great. The Vulg. implies (see above and on *v.* 15) that Sara's united company took eighteen days to reach Nineveh. The latter half of the journey was performed more rapidly than the former, viz. in seven days; and therefore by Tobias and the Angel alone in three to four days. The Vulg. is not, however, supported by the other Versions.

2. The interrogative form of the Gk. and Itala is dropped by the other Versions. The Heb., with a true apprehension of a son's affection, adds the words in Italics, "Thou knowest how thou didst leave thy father *and thy mother*" (cp. ix. 4, note).

3. The Vulg. reads: *Si placet itaque tibi, præcedamus, et lento gradu sequantur iter nostrum familiæ simul cum conjuge tua et cum animalibus* (cp. Gen. xxxiii. 13, 14). In blunter phrase the Chald. puts it, "let thy wife go behind us with our men, and I and thou will go to prepare the house."

4. *take . . . fish*] These words are found in all the Versions except the Chaldee; from which, as also from the Heb., all mention of the "dog" is absent.

5. The Chald. reads, "And they found his mother sitting on the cross-way looking about for her son" (cp. x. 6, note). The yearning, watching life of the mother is thus described by the Vulg.: *Anna autem sedebat secus viam quotidie in supercilio montis, unde respicere poterat de longinquo. Et dum ex eodem loco specularetur adventum ejus, vidit a longe et illico agnovit venientem filium ejus, currensque nuntiavit viro suo, dicens* &c. "She saw,"

ing, she said to his father, Behold, thy son cometh, and the man that went with him.

7 Then said Raphael, I know, Tobias, that thy father will open his eyes.

8 Therefore anoint thou his eyes with the gall, and being pricked therewith, he shall rub, and the whiteness shall fall away, and he shall see thee.

9 Then Anna ran forth, and fell upon the neck of her son, and said unto him, Seeing I have seen thee, my son, from henceforth I am content to die. And they wept both.

10 Tobit also went forth toward the door, and stumbled: but his son ran unto him,

11 And took hold of his father: and he strake of the gall on his father's eyes, saying, Be of good hope, my father.

12 And when his eyes began to smart, he rubbed them;

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says the Syriac, "the dog coming at full speed."

6. *thy son cometh*] Gk. ὁ υἱός μου; so the Heb., but not the Lat. texts. This appropriation of him—"my son"—corresponding with the language and thoughts of x. 4, 5 (see notes)—is practically supported by the Chald., which omits to mention her return to Tobit, but reads: "And when she saw him, she ran to meet him" (not, *i.e.* to his father, as in the other Versions). "And she embraced and kissed him, saying, Blessed be God, Who hath brought thee back in peace, for I counted to see thy face never more. And now, my son, why didst thou delay to come? And he told her everything. And she was exceeding glad, and said to him, Go thou to thy father, and I will stay here until thy wife cometh." Contrast *v.* 9.

7. The words of Raphael as given by the Vulg. contain an injunction not mentioned by the other Versions: *At ubi introieris domum tuam, statim adora Dominum Deum tuum; et gratias agens Ei, accede ad patrem tuum et osculare eum* &c.

I know that thy father will open his eyes] In the effort to see the son restored to him. The Heb., Vulg., and Itala prefer the sense "I know that his eyes shall be opened;" *i.e.* with the gall (Heb.).

8 *and being pricked therewith, he shall rub &c.*] The Itala followed a different reading: *et insidet medicamentum; et decoriabis albugines ab oculis ejus*, &c. The share taken by Tobias in relieving his father is endorsed by the Vulg. (see *vv.* 10–12, notes).

he shall see thee] Cp. the Vulg. *videbit pater tuus lumen cœli, et in aspectu tuo gaudebit.*

After these words the Vulg. adds a verse of which no trace exists in the other Versions: *Tunc præcucurrit canis* ("memor veteris domini," explains Grotius, "ut Argus in Odyssea") *qui simul fuerat in via, et quasi nuntius adveniens, blandimento suæ caudæ gaudebat.* Bede, following up the thought noticed in v. 16, note, discovers in the gladness of the "dog" the type of the joy wherewith "doctores" (teachers) rejoice when they see Judæa by their ministry brought back to the Lord. "They rejoice at the perception of the reward of eternal life, and promise the immediate arrival of the grace of Christ."

9. "Anna," says the Syriac, "put on a vail and ran forth &c."

I am content to die] So Israel could say when he once again embraced his son Joseph (Gen. xlvi. 30).

10. Some words assigned by the Chald. to Tobit may fitly precede the account in this verse: "And when Tobi heard that his son was come, he was exceeding glad, and said to him, My son, come towards me that I may kiss thee, for I cannot go towards thee."

stumbled] "For he did not see," adds the Heb. The Vulg. has some interesting additions: *Et consurgens cæcus pater ejus, cœpit offendens pedibus currere; et data manu puero, occurrit obviam filio suo; et suscipiens, osculatus est eum cum uxore sua; et cœperunt ambo flere præ gaudio. Cumque adorassent Deum* (cp. *v.* 7, note), *et gratias egissent, consederunt. Tunc sumens Tobias de felle piscis, linivit oculos patris sui.*

11. *Be of good hope*] Gk. θάρσει: rather as in Itala, *Forti animo esto* (cp. vii. 18). The underlying thought is an exhortation to courage. The other Versions, except the Syriac, have no remark corresponding to this: but one Gk. MS. makes Tobit exclaim, as he felt the smart from the gall, "What hast thou done to me, my son?" to which Tobias answers, "It is a medicine to heal thee" (so the Syriac).

12. *began to smart.*] Cp. the Vulgate, *Et sustinuit quasi dimidiam fere horam, et cœpit albugo ex oculis ejus, quasi membrana ovi, egredi.* The vehemence of his action is noted by the Itala, *Et decoriavit duabus manibus albugines* (see on ii. 10) *oculorum ejus.* One last

13 And the whiteness pilled away from the corners of his eyes: and when he saw his son, he fell upon his neck.

14 And he wept, and said, Blessed art thou, O God, and blessed is thy name for ever; and blessed are all thine holy angels:

15 For thou hast scourged, and hast taken pity *on me:* for, behold, I see my son Tobias. And his son went in rejoicing, and told his father the great things that had happened to him in Media.

16 Then Tobit went out to meet his daughter in law at the gate of

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filial act of helpfulness to his father is recorded by the Vulgate: *Quam* (*scil. albuginem*) *apprebendens Tobias, traxit ab oculis ejus, statimque visum recepit.* "He saw the light and glorified God" (Syriac). "And God," says the Chald., "made his eyes whole as they were before. And Tobi rejoiced at the great goodness which God had shewn him." The rejoicing was taken up by others: *Et glorificabant Deum, ipse videlicet et uxor ejus, et omnes qui sciebant eum* (Vulg.). "So shall the Jews," says Bede, "after they shall have known the very bitter malice of their most hateful enemy, receive the lost light. They have the zeal of God, but not according to knowledge."

The question whether this was a miraculous cure or one due to natural means has been hotly debated. They who refuse credibility to narratives containing miracles find here one proof of the fictitious character of this Book. The upholders of its authenticity do not find it necessary to discuss this test. They rest content with the sober comment of the Chaldee and Heb. texts, and "rejoice" at this instance of the "great goodness" of God.

14. *blessed are all thine holy angels*] As members of God's "kingdom" (cp. xiii. 1), who minister His blessings to men (Heb. i. 14), and to whom honour and reverence are due, though the service of praise be given to God alone.

15. *thou hast scourged, and hast taken pity on me*] Cp. xiii. 2. The classical reference is Deut. xxxii. 39, the language of which is adopted by the Heb. and Chald. Versions here. These Versions (and the Vulg.) give Tobit's words without any reference to Angels, and are marked by sufficient variation to deserve separate quotation. The Chald. reads: "And Tobi blessed God, saying, Blessed be God, Who hath not withholden His bounty from me, and hath brought me out of darkness to light. It is Thou Who strikest and healest. There is none like Thee, Who healeth for no reward, and there is no god in heaven or on earth who doeth mighty deeds like Thine." The rendering of the Heb. is: "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, Who openeth the eyes of the blind, for He hath opened mine eyes. Blessed is He, and blessed is His Name for ever and ever, Who hath shewn this great kindness to me, for He smiteth and healeth, and killeth and maketh alive; and blessed, yea blessed is He Who hath prospered thy journey, and Who hath brought thee back to us in peace and quietness."

The Versions supply some details which make the story more connected. Thus the Chald.: "Tobiyyah then related to his father all that he had done. And they prepared the house;" and the Vulg., *narravit parentibus suis omnia beneficia Dei, quæ fecisset circa eum per hominem qui eum duxerat:* expanded by the Itala, *et indicavit patri suo Thobias, quoniam perfecta est via illius bene a Domino Deo, et quia adtulit pecuniam; et quemadmodum accepit Sarram filiam Ragubelis uxorem, et quia venit et ipsa, et jam proximo est portæ Ninive.* According to *v.* 3, Tobias and the Angel had "hasted" on; and, as it would seem (*vv.* 1, 16), leaving Sara near "the gate of Nineve." The Vulgate, however, has a unique reading preceding the words above: *Ingressa est etiam post septem dies Sara, uxor filii ejus, et omnis familia sana, et pecora, et cameli, et pecunia multa uxoris, sed et illa pecunia quam receperat a Gabelo,*—apparently reckoning the *septem dies* onward from the *undecimo die* on which "Charan" was reached (see *v.* 1, note). The accounts are hardly to be reconciled.

The number "seven" (Vulg.) suggests an allegorical interpretation to Bede. The seven days typify the light of spiritual grace, which is septiform. Not till after seven days, when Tobit was restored to sight, did the wife of his son enter. So, not till after Judæa shall have been enlightened by faith and shall have received the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit, shall the Church come to her, that there may be one fold and one Shepherd, one house of Christ founded upon one corner-stone.

16. Chald.: "Then Tobi went forth with his son Tobiyyah to meet his daughter-in-law, and Raphael with them;" making no mention of Anna (see *v.* 6, note). The Heb., Itala, and Syriac represent Tobit and Anna as going forth together to meet Sara. Anna would probably have returned to her home after

Nineve, rejoicing, and praising God: and they which saw him go marvelled, because he had received his sight.

17 But Tobit gave thanks before them, because God had mercy on him. And when he came near to Sara his daughter in law, he blessed her, saying, Thou art welcome, daughter: God be blessed, which hath brought thee unto us, and *blessed be* thy father and thy mother. And there was joy among all his brethren which were at Nineve.

18 And Achiacharus, [1]and Nasbas his brother's son, came:

[1] Junius, *who is also called Nasbas.*

19 And Tobias' wedding was kept seven days with great joy.

CHAPTER XII.

5 Tobit offereth half to the angel for his pains. 6 But he calleth them both aside, and exhorteth them, 15 and telleth them that he was an angel, 21 and was seen no more.

THEN Tobit called his son Tobias, and said unto him, My son, see that the man have his wages, which went with thee, and thou must give him more.

2 And Tobias said unto him, O father, it is no harm to me to give him half of those things which I have brought:

3 For he hath brought me again to thee in safety, and made whole my wife, and brought me the money, and likewise healed thee.

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her first welcome to Sara, and now accompanied her husband.

they which saw him go marvelled] Cp. the Itala: *videbant Thobin, qui erat in porta Nineve, venientem, et ambulantem cum omni virtute sua, nemine dante ei manum; et mirabantur.*

17. *Thou art welcome, daughter*] Gk. ἔλθοις ὑγιαίνουσα θύγατερ; more literally reproduced in the Itala: *ut adpropinquavit Thobias, adducens Sarram uxorem suam, benedixit illi Thobis, dicens: Intra sana, Sarra filia. Benedictus Deus . . . . et benedictus Thobias filius meus, et benedicta tua filia; intra in domum tuam sana, in benedictione et gaudio.* "He brought her into his house," adds the Chald., "and blessed her, saying, May God give thee of this wife righteous children, and may mine eyes and the eyes of thy mother behold them."

18. *Achiacharus and Nasbas*] On the former, see i. 21, note. The second name is given as "Nabal" by the Itala, "Nabath" by the Vulgate (=Nabat, 1 Kings xi. 26), and "Laban" by the Syriac. The idea (see marg. rendering) that Nasbas was also a name given to Achiacharus is supported by Grotius, Bissell &c.; but rejected by Hilgenfeld and Gutberlet. The former considers Nasbas "brother's son" not to Tobit but to Achiacharus; and the latter argues for the existence of two separate individuals here, on the ground that in xiv. 10 the proper reading is "Nadab" (as given by the Itala and Sinait. Gk.) instead of "Aman," and that "Nadab" there and "Nabal" here are the same persons. The difference between "Nadab" and "Nabal" is not perhaps insuperable if regarded as an alteration due to a scribe, but the identification is precarious, and the existence of more than one person here is sufficiently supported by the plural of the Itala, Vulg., and Heb., though no names are given in the last-named text: "all the Jews who were in Nineveh rejoiced with great joy at this great kindness which the Lord had shewn to Tobi and his son. And they gave Tobiyyah many precious gifts." The paragraph is entirely absent from the Chald. text.

CHAPTER XII.

1. The Chald. version of this chapter is not only briefer, but in other points follows a unique reading (see Additional Note).

The events described took place, according to the Syriac, when the feast was ended and the guests were gone.

The Vulg. puts the language of Tobit in the form of a question: *Quid possumus dare viro isti sancto, qui venit tecum?* and expands the four benefits enumerated by Tobias (*v.* 4) into *me duxit et reduxit sanum, pecuniam a Gabelo ipse recepit, uxorem ipse me habere fecit, et dæmonium ab ea ipse compescuit, gaudium parentibus ejus fecit, meipsum a devoratione piscis eripuit, te quoque videre fecit lumen cæli, et bonis omnibus per eum repleti sumus. Quid illi ad hæc poterimus dignum dare?*

It was not only what all could do for one to whom all were indebted, but—according to the Syriac—Tobias, conscious of the great service rendered to himself individually, exclaims, "I also have enough wherewith to recompense him" (cp. Gen. xxxiii. 11). The Heb., on the contrary, is less lavish in donation. The "wages" (v. 14, 15) and "more" are assessed at "half the silver" which Tobias brought back.

4 Then the old man said, It is due unto him.

5 So he called the angel, and he said unto him, Take half of all that ye have brought, and go away in safety.

6 Then he took them both apart, and said unto them, Bless God, praise him, and magnify him, and praise him for the things which he hath done unto you in the sight of all that live. It is good to praise God, and exalt his name, and [1]honourably to shew forth the works of God; therefore be not slack to praise him.

[1] Or, *with honour.*

7 It is good to keep close the secret of a king, but it is honourable to reveal the works of God. [a]Do that which is good, and no evil shall touch you.

8 Prayer is good with fasting and alms and righteousness. [b]A little with righteousness is better than much with unrighteousness. It is better to give alms than to lay up gold:

9 [c]For alms doth deliver from death, and shall purge away all sin. Those that exercise alms and righteousness shall be filled with life:

[a] 1 Pet. 3. 13.
[b] Ps. 37. 16.
[c] ch. 4. 10.

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6. *apart*] Gk. κρυπτῶς; Itala, *abscondite;* Vulg. *occulte.*

praise him . . . in the sight of all that live] Connect, as in the Gk. and Lat. Versions, these last words with "praise Him": "Praise Him in the sight &c., for all" &c. Cp. Pss. xcii. 1; cxlvii. 1. The Vulg. specifies particularly, *quia fecit vobiscum misericordiam suam.*

7. The connexion of this verse with what precedes is this: "Be not slack to praise God"; μὴ ὀκνεῖτε,—"do not scruple or hesitate about this. There are matters with reference to which silence is golden; such as the good deeds of men, or the affairs of kings. Good men do not wish to be praised; kings may not wish their affairs made known. Be slack to praise or reveal such things; but praise aloud God's goodness and reveal the works of the King of kings. His mercy and greatness, His love and majesty, can never be praised enough." Note the antithesis "good" and "honourable," "keep close" and "reveal," "secret" and "works," "a king" and "God."

On the other hand, there are "secret things" of God which cannot be, and are not to be, revealed to those incapable of receiving them. Origen and St. Athanasius used this passage as a protest against irreverence, and as an authority for not discussing Divine mysteries before the profane and unbelieving (see Churton *i. l.*).

secret] Gk. μυστήριον; Itala and Vulg., *sacramentum,* the frequent Latin rendering of the Gk. word (cp. Wisd. vi. 24; Dan. ii. 30, 47; Rev. i. 20, xvii. 7).

Do that which is good . . . touch you] The words are absent from the Latin Versions, the Heb., and some Gk. MSS., though some critics have taken them to contain the leading thought of the Book (Rosenthal, p. 123). The translation "touch" hardly expresses the εὑρήσει of the Gk. "Evil" had "touched" Tobit, but never in such a way as to reach or find his deeper life. Cp. Ps. xci. 9, 10; Prov. xii. 21; Matt. x. 28; 1 Pet. iii. 13.

8. The language of Raphael to Tobit should be compared with that of Tobit to Tobias (iv. 7–11, 16). It is as if the Angel reminded Tobit of his own advice, and then pointed to the reward which obedience to that advice had brought to him and Tobias. The Itala renders the opening words, *Bona est oratio cum jejunio, et eleemosyna cum justitia.* On the three cardinal virtues here brought together—"prayer, fasting, and almsgiving"—cp. the language of Thomas Aquinas: "Dominus ponit tria opera (Matt. vi. 1–18), ad quæ omnia alia reducuntur. Nam omnia, quæ aliquis facit ad refrænandum seipsum in suis concupiscentiis reducuntur ad jejunium, quæcumque vero fiunt propter dilectionem proximi reducuntur ad eleemosynam, quæcumque vero propter cultum Dei fiunt, reducuntur ad orationem" (quoted by Gutberlet).

9. Cp. marg. ref. and xiv. 11. It will be observed that this passage dwells in very remarkable language on almsgiving. The expressions used are stronger than those of Dan. iv. 27 (cp. LXX. and Vulg.), and some commentators do not hesitate to describe the teaching as obviously in contradiction to the letter and spirit of the canonical Scriptures. Others, however, notice the proverbial character of the expressions used; the qualifications imposed on the first part of the verse by the second, and the condition attached to both fasting and almsgiving—the being accompanied with prayer. It may be urged that the parables of the rich fool (Luke xii. 16–21) and of the "rich glutton and Lazarus" (Luke xvi. 19), as also the comment of Christ upon one, "who should

10 But they that sin are enemies to their own life.

11 Surely I will keep close nothing from you. For I said, It was good to keep close the secret of a king, but that it was honourable to reveal the works of God.

12 Now therefore, when thou didst pray, and Sara thy daughter in law, I did bring the remembrance of your prayers before the Holy One: and when thou didst bury the dead, I was with thee likewise.

13 And when thou didst not delay to rise up, and leave thy dinner, [1]to go and cover the dead, thy good deed was not hid from me: but I was with thee.

14 And now God hath sent me to heal thee and Sara thy daughter in law.

15 I am Raphael, one of the seven

[1] Gr. *to go and bury.*

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gain the whole world and yet lose his own soul" (Matt. xvi. 26, 27), inculcate a not less distinct warning against selfishness—the living death—a corrective of which is almsgiving. But the passage certainly reflects Rabbinic teaching on the subject (see Buxtorf's 'Rabb. Lex.' *s. v.*; Mill's 'British Jews,' p. 273; Edersheim's 'Life of Jesus,' i. 534).

The Lat. Versions explain the balder statement of the text, and indicate the truer line of interpretation (cp. iv. 10, note). Thus the Itala, endorsing the opening words of the verse, omits the word "*all*" (sin), and renders the words which follow, *Qui faciunt eleemosynam et miserationem et justitiam, saturabuntur vita eterna:* so the Vulgate, *eleemosyna a morte liberat; et ipsa est quæ purgat peccata, et facit invenire misericordiam et vitam æternam. Qui autem faciunt peccatum et iniquitatem, hostes sunt animæ suæ.*

The "death" of this verse has more than one meaning. From death did loving ones save and conceal the man whose deeds of kindness to the dead, and whose alms to the living, were known and remembered (i. 19, 20, notes). From a similar death Manasses escaped (xiv. 10). Again "death" is the death inflicted upon themselves by those "who are enemies to their own life" (*v.* 10; Ps. ix. 6; Prov. viii. 36; Wisd. i. 12), the contrast to which is "life" now and in the future.

The estimate of almsgiving formed by Thomas Aquinas is as follows: "Eleemosyna in se includit virtutem orationis et jejunii duplici ratione: 1°. quia eleemosyna eum constituit, cui datur, debitorem ad orandum et jejunandum et alia bona, quæ potest, faciendum pro eo, qui dedit. 2°. quia eleemosyna propter Deum data est quasi quædam oblatio Deo facta . . . oblatio autem ipsi Deo facta vim orationis habet. Et similiter in quantum bona exteriora ad corporis conservationem ordinantur, subtractio externorum bonorum per eleemosynam, quasi virtute continet jejunium, quo maceratur corpus." Cp. the Homily 'on Alms-deeds,' and Churton's excellent note here.

12. *when thou didst pray &c.*] The Heb. adds, "on account of the tribulation of your soul" (cp. iii. 1, 10, 11, 16).

I did bring the remembrance of your prayers &c.] Gk. προσήγαγον τὸ μνημόσυνον τῆς προσευχῆς ὑμῶν. Cp. *v.* 15; Acts x. 4; Rev. viii. 3, 4. The language of the Heb. text, "I offered your prayer before the throne of God," and of the Lat. Versions (cp. the Itala, *obtuli memoriam orationis vestræ in conspectu claritatis Dei, et legi*), intimate that like the "sweet savour" (Lev. ii. 9) of a sacrifice their prayers were acceptable to God. Raphael and the other "holy Angels (*v.* 15) present the prayers not as mediators and intercessors, adding virtue to their prayers from their merits,—for this belongs to our Saviour Christ alone, the only meritorious Mediator between God and man,—but as messengers relating and reporting our prayers before God" (Bull, quoted by Churton).

For the events alluded to in the latter part of this verse and in *v.* 13, cp. i. 17; ii. 1–17.

13. *I was with thee*] As watcher and witness; as one of "the eyes of the Lord which run to and fro through the whole earth" (Zech. iv. 10).

14. Previous to this declaration of God's goodness, some of the Versions insert in varying terms an explanation. The simplest is the Itala, which reads, *missus sum tentare te et Sarram nurum tuum:* this is enlarged by the Vulg., *quia acceptus eras Deo, necesse fuit ut tentatio probaret te* (cp. 2 Tim. iii. 12; James i. 2 &c.), and the Heb. "God hath tried thee by the blindness of thine eyes, for the Lord trieth the righteous." Cp. Ecclus. ii. 5; Wisd. iii. 5, 6.

15. *one of the seven holy angels*] Cp. Rev. viii. 2. The Heb. and Syriac omit the number "seven": "I am the Angel Raphael, one of the princes who minister before the throne of glory" (cp. the Heb. of Dan. x. 13). Raphael—true to his name (iii. 17)—describes himself not only as the "healer" (*v.* 14), but as companion of Tobit in his duties of love towards God and man (*vv.* 12, 13).

holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One.

16 Then they were both troubled, and fell upon their faces: for they feared.

17 But he said unto them, Fear not, for it shall go well with you; praise God therefore.

18 For not of any favour of mine, but by the will of our God I came; wherefore praise him for ever.

19 [d] All these days I did appear unto you; but I did neither eat nor drink, but ye did see a vision.

[d] Gen. 18. 8. & 19. 3. Judg. 13. 16.

20 Now therefore give God thanks: for I go up to him that sent me; but write all things which are done in a book.

The previous history has further brought him forward in the character of guardian-Angel to the travelling Tobias. As such he is twice figured in the Roman catacombs, and allusions to this story are frequent in the 'Vitri Antichi.' The Roman Catholic Church has given in her hymns a place to these features of his character. The Vesper Hymn for Oct. 24—

"Collaudamus venerantes omnes cœli principes,
Sed præcipue fidelem medicum et comitem
Raphaelem, in virtute alligantem dæmonem:
Quo custode procul pelle, Rex Christe piissime,
Omne nefas inimici. Mundo corde et corpore
Paradiso redde tuo nos sola clementia"—

and the prayer in the 'Itinerarium clericorum' ("Angelus Raphael comitetur nobiscum in via, ut cum pace, salute, et gaudio, revertamur ad propria"), are familiar instances of the hold which this feature of the Book of Tobit had acquired over the Liturgiologists of Rome. "When a good Angel," said Antony the Monk, "appears to a good man, he may well at first produce a feeling of fear on account of his unwonted appearance; but in the end he leaves peace and spiritual comfort."

On the question as to the origin of the number "seven," see Excursus II. § i. (2). Its frequency amongst the Jews as a sacred and perfect number is by many traced to the Scriptural record of the Creation and the thereon grounded sacred septennial divisions (the Sabbath, the Sabbatical year, the Jubilee) rather than to Babylonian or Persian influences.

16. Cp. Judg. vi. 22, xiii. 22; Dan. x. 7; Luke xxiv. 5; Rev. i. 17.

17. *for it shall go well with you*] Rather, "peace shall be with you." Cp. the Heb. and the *pax vobiscum* of the Latin Versions. The usual salutation is intended (cp. Matt. x. 13).

praise God therefore] Gk. εὐλογεῖτε εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, as in *v.* 18. Heb. "Bless the Lord for these great and wonderful things which He hath done unto you."

18. *not of any favour of mine*] The words are not to be understood as if the Angel had grudged what he had been permitted to do; but, as the words following indicate, that the motive at work had been simple and thorough obedience to "the will of *our*—his as well as Tobit's—God."

19. Study the contrast with the statements of the marg. reff. The Heb. and Vulg. here are explanatory. Thus the Heb. is: "Now as to myself, all the time I was with you ye saw me eat and drink, for so it appeared to your eyes; yet I did neither eat nor drink." The Vulg. reads: *Videbar quidem vobiscum manducare et bibere; sed ego cibo invisibili et potu, qui ab hominibus videri non potest, utor;* an interesting reproduction of which is found in the words of the Angel who addresses Joachim, the reputed father of the Virgin Mary, "Cibus meus invisibilis est, et potus meus ab hominibus mortalibus videri non potest" (Thilo, 'Cod. Apoc. N.T.,' i. 346). According to the later Jewish theology, the "heavenly glory" was the food of Angels. It was only in appearance, not in reality, that they seemed to eat like the mortals whom they visited (Weber, pp. 161, 162). The same interpretation is put upon the marg. reff. (Weber, p. 150).

For the general question raised by the words of the Angel, see Matt. xxii. 30; Luke xxiv. 39. Martensen's thought is worth quoting: "The essential and distinguishing marks in the conception of an Angel are not personality, but spirit and power, operating as instruments for the fulfilment of the holy designs of Providence in the lives of men." ('Dogmatics,' § 71.)

20. *give God thanks*] Words preceded in the Syriac by the injunction, "Arise from the earth." The Vulg. adds, *et narrate omnia mirabilia ejus.*

I go up to him that sent me] The resemblance of these words to John xvi. 5, and the record of the ascension of the Angel, may illustrate the familiarity of the writers of the Versions which contain them with the language and events of the New Testament, but nothing more. Evidence either of the canonical worth of the Apocrypha, or of the influence of Christian thought upon this Book, cannot be derived from them. Cp. the Heb. text here: "And now let me go, and I will go to the God Who sent me to

21 And when they arose, they saw him no more.

22 Then they confessed the great and wonderful works of God, and how the angel of the Lord had appeared unto them.

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you. So they sent him away, and blessed the Lord for all this. And the Angel of the Lord went up to heaven (cp. Judg. vii. 21; xiii. 20), and appeared no more to Tobi and his son Tobiyyah."

write ... in a book] That these events and their lessons might be preserved and handed down to posterity. Cp. Luke i. 3; John xxi. 25; Rev. i. 11, 19.

21, 22. The Vulg. reads: *Et cum hæc dixisset, ab aspectu eorum ablatus est, et ultra eum videre non potuerunt. Tunc prostrati per horas tres in faciem, benedixerunt Deum; et exsurgentes, narraverunt omnia mirabilia ejus.*

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The Chald. Version of this chapter is as follows:—

"Now when they went into the house, Raphael did not enter with them, but went his way. After a time Tobi said to Tobiyyah, Go out into the market-place, and call our brother Azaryah, that I may give him his wages, and we will add to them, because he is a trusty and honest man. And Tobiyyah went out into the market-place, and sought, but found not Raphael, and he enquired about him of all the people of the town, but he did not find a man who had seen him. He returned to his father, and said to him, I have not found him. Then his father knew that it was the Angel Raphael, whom God had sent to deliver Sarah from the hands of the demon, and to heal his eyes. And he blessed God, saying, Blessed be God, Who sent His good Angel with my son, and Who prospered his journey, and hath healed two poor and sick people like ourselves. And from that day forward God prospered Tobi and Tobiyyah his son, and gave him children of his wife Sarah. And Reuel and Ednah his wife died, and Tobbiyyah inherited all their goods."

CHAPTER XIII.

The thanksgiving unto God, which Tobit wrote.

THEN Tobit wrote a prayer of rejoicing, and said, Blessed be God that liveth for ever, and blessed be his kingdom.

2 [a]For he doth scourge, and hath mercy: he leadeth down to hell, and

[a] Deut. 32. 39. 1 Sam. 2. 6. Wisd. 16. 13.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. *a prayer of rejoicing*] Tobit's "Eucharistic prayer," as an old writer has called it, is something more than a mere cento of Scripture texts not very appositely strung together. If, as might be expected, largely composed of thoughts expressed in Scripture language (cp. Jonah ii.; Dan. ix. 3 &c.; St. Luke i. 46 &c.; the Prayer of Manasses; and contrast Additions to Esther xiii. 8 &c., xiv. 3 &c.), it is also the utterance of a heart discerning in mercy and healing vouchsafed to an individual the type of redemption and salvation offered to his nation (*v.* 6). It is not self-laudation but self-abnegation which traces in the rehabilitation of his own home and the perpetuation of his own family a type of the "rebuilding of the tabernacle of the Everlasting King" in the earthly Jerusalem (*vv.* 10, 16–18), and of the posterity of "the children of the just" (*v.* 13). As his own sorrow was a reflexion of the national sorrow (iii. 1–6), so his happiness was typical of national happiness. If before it was "profitable to die rather than to live" (iii. 6), now does he remind himself and his fellow-countrymen, "He leadeth down to hell, and bringeth up again" (*v.* 2).

There is no Chaldee text corresponding to this chapter, and the Hebrew presents it in a very abbreviated and different form (see Additional Note).

blessed be his kingdom] The Gk. and Lat. Versions detach the word "blessed" from "His kingdom," and confine it to the first clause. Thus the Itala: *Quoniam in omnia sæcula regnum est illius.* Some take "His kingdom" as an expression equivalent to the host of Angels (cp. xi. 14); others find in the phrase an anticipation of the Beatitudes pronounced over those who are in and of the kingdom of heaven (St. Matt. v. 3–12).

2. Cp. xi. 15 and marg. reff. here. In the Vulg. of *vv.* 1, 2, God is addressed personally, and not as by the other texts impersonally: *Magnus es Domine .... Tu flagellas et salvas et non est qui effugiat manum tuam.* This direct appeal gives point to the charge in

bringeth up again: neither is there any that can avoid his hand.

3 Confess him before the Gentiles, ye children of Israel: for he hath scattered us among them.

4 There declare his greatness, and extol him before all the living: for he is our Lord, and he is the God our Father for ever.

5 And he will scourge us for our iniquities, and will have mercy again, [b]and will gather us out of all nations, among whom he hath scattered us.

[b] Deut. 30. 3.

6 If ye turn to him with your whole heart, and with your whole mind, and deal uprightly before him, then will he turn unto you, and will not hide his face from you. Therefore see what he will do with you, and confess him with your whole mouth, and praise the Lord of might, and extol the everlasting King. In the land of my captivity do I praise him, and declare his might and majesty to a sinful nation. O ye sinners, turn and do justice before him: [c]who can tell if he will accept you, and have mercy on you?

[c] Jonah 3. 9.

7 I will extol my God, and my soul shall praise the King of heaven, and shall rejoice in his greatness.

8 Let all men speak, and let all praise him for *his* righteousness.

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v. 3: "What I, Tobit, as an individual have done; you, Israel, as a nation also do."

4. *There declare his greatness*] Cp. Deut. xxxii. 3. For "greatness" the Itala has "mercy" (*misericordiam*); as it were defining "mercy" to be the highest declaration of God's "greatness" (Num. xiv. 19; Neh. xiii. 22. Cp. the Collect for the 11th Sunday after Trinity). The Vulg. connects *v.* 4 with *v.* 3, and defines how the event of the dispersion may be used to the propagation of the true religion: *Quoniam ideo dispersit vos inter gentes, quæ ignorant eum, ut vos enarretis mirabilia ejus, et faciatis scire eos quia non alius Deus omnipotens præter eum.*

5. *he will scourge us*] So the Gk. (lit. "in our iniquities"). The Lat. Versions have the past tense, *castigavit nos propter iniquitates nostras* (Vulg.); and the Itala changes the person throughout the verse as if drawing a distinction between Tobit and his people, *flagellavit vos .... colliget vos* &c.

The merciful "gathering out of all nations" (cp. Deut. xxx. 3) is to take effect, according to one Heb. text, "in the latter days."

6. Cp. Deut. xxx. 2–4. Words corresponding to "If ye turn .... from you" are wanting to the Vulgate.

confess him with your whole mouth] The Itala repeats the sentence of the previous clause: *confitemini illi ex toto corde vestro, ut faciatis coram illo veritatem.* The Vulg. has a different reading: *Aspicite ergo quæ fecit nobiscum, et cum timore et tremore confitemini illi.*

praise the Lord of might] Gk. τὸν Κύριον τῆς δικαιοσύνης, that "righteousness which exalteth a nation" (Prov. xiv. 34). The Lat. Versions vary the thought of the Greek: thus the Itala, *benedicite Domino in justitia;* and the Vulg., *exaltate in operibus vestris.*

the everlasting King] Gk. τὸν βασιλέα τῶν αἰώνων (cp. Ps. cxlv. 13); Lat. Versions, *regem sæculorum.* This is preferable to the translation upheld by some, "king of the æons," in the sense of "worlds" (Heb. i. 2).

a sinful nation] ἔθνει ἁμαρτωλῶν. If the use of ἔθνος be pressed as against λαὸς—the term usually applied to the Jewish nation—the "sinful nation" and the "sinners" in the next clause will be the Assyrian (cp. Jonah iii.; Nah. iii. 1; Gal. ii. 15); but if the term ἁμαρτωλοὶ be applied to Tobit's own people in the next clause, "the sinful nation" intended is that of the Jews (cp. i. 5, 6). The whole context is in favour of this latter application.

who can tell if he will accept you] Gk. εἰ θελήσει ὑμᾶς: "find pleasure in you, and so accept you" (cp. Ps. xviii. 19, xli. 11; Matt. xxvii. 43; Jonah iii. 9); "For God," adds one Heb. text, "is full of compassion and gracious, longsuffering, and plenteous in mercy and truth" (cp. Ps. lxxxvi. 15).

7. *the King of heaven*] The phrase, repeated in *v.* 11, occurs in the canonical Scriptures in Dan. iv. 37 only. It corresponds to a well-known Babylonian formula (cp. Dan. iv. 19, note), and is appropriate in the mouth of one who, like Tobit, resident in the midst of Assyrian idolatry, could raise it to its only legitimate Object. "Honour and majesty," says a Heb. MS., "are before Him; strength and beauty are in His Sanctuary" (cp. Ps. xcvi. 6).

8. *let all praise him for his righteousness*] The Gk. has a curious rendering, ἐξομολογείσθωσαν αὐτῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, singling out "the home of God's elect" as "*the* place

9 O Jerusalem, the holy city, [1]he will scourge thee for thy children's works, and will have mercy again on the sons of the righteous.

[1] Or, *he will lay a scourge upon the works of thy children.*

10 Give praise to the Lord, *for he is* good: and praise the everlasting King, that his tabernacle may be builded in thee again with joy, and [1]let him make joyful there in thee those that are captives, and love in thee for ever those that are miserable.

[1] Or, *to make.*

11 [d]Many nations shall come from far to the name of the Lord God with gifts in their hands, even gifts to the King of heaven; all generations shall praise thee with great joy.

[d] Ps. 72. 10, 11.

12 Cursed *are* all they which hate thee, and blessed shall all be which love thee for ever.

13 Rejoice and be glad for the children of the just: for they shall be gathered together, and shall bless the Lord of the just.

14 [e]O blessed *are* they which love thee, *for* they shall rejoice in thy [1]peace: blessed *are* [f]they which have been sorrowful for all thy scourges; for they shall rejoice for thee, when they have seen all thy glory, and shall be glad for ever.

[e] Ps. 122. 6.

[1] Or, *prosperity.*

[f] Isai. 66. 10.

15 Let my soul bless God the great King.

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where men ought to worship" (John iv. 20), and suggesting the subject of the next verse; so also the Syriac. The Latin Versions render this verse differently, *e.g.* Vulg.: *Benedicite Dominum, omnes electi ejus; agite dies lætitiæ, et confitemini illi.*

9. *the holy city*] So the Itala. The Gk. is πόλις ἁγίου, and the Vulg. *civitas Dei*, but some prefer "city of the Holy Place or Temple" (cp. *v.* 9). The Lat. Versions omit "and will have mercy .... righteous;" important words, which distinguish the "sons of the righteous," *i.e.* the true children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, from the rebellious and idolatrous "children" of Jerusalem. A Heb. text adds from Jer. xxxi. 17, "There is hope in thine end, saith the Lord, and thy children shall come again to their own border."

Commentators attach to this prophetic outburst (*vv.* 9–18) the widest allusions. Jerusalem is not only the material city the well-known capital of the Holy Land, but also the type of the Church of Christ (*v.* 11) and of the heavenly city (*v.* 16 &c.).

10. *for he is good*] The E. V. followed the reading τῷ ἀγαθῷ or ὅτι ἀγαθός; but the usually received Gk. text is ἀγαθῶς (Itala, *in bono*), the sense of which is expressed in the language of the General Thanksgiving of the Book of Common Prayer, "shew forth Thy praise not only with our lips, but in our lives" &c., or in the more special form apparently intended by the Vulg. *in bonis tuis;* viz. the giving to God of one's substance or property. A Heb. text inserts: "For it shall come to pass, that He shall return unto thee, and shall cause His Name to dwell in the midst of thee. He will build up all thy waste places, and will gather unto thee with joy all thy captivity. And He will plant all thy sons in the midst of thee for ever."

11. *to the name of the Lord God*] Either equivalent to the Vulg. *ad te*, or to the place where He is named, *i.e.* Jerusalem. Cp. Ps. lxxxvi. 9, xcvi. 7, 8; Isa. lx. 6; Micah iv. 2; Zech. viii. 22. The words of the Gk. and E. Versions are preceded in the Latin Versions by words reflecting the language and thought of Isa. lx. 1–3, *Luce splendida fulgebis, et omnes fines terræ adorabunt te* (... *fulgebunt in omnibus finibus terræ*, Itala), with evident allusion to Christ, the Messiah, the "Light of the world," the "Light to lighten the Gentiles." The Church has ever loved to see in the visit of the wise men of the East, the representatives of the heathen world, one fulfilment of words which shall be perfectly realized in the Church triumphant (cp. also Isa. xlix. 23). Cp. the Lat. Versions for other points of expansion in this verse.

12. *Cursed ... hate thee*] Cp. Gen. xxvii. 29; Num. xxiv. 9. The Itala (cp. also Gk. B) enlarges this: *Maledicti omnes qui spernunt te, et omnes qui blasphemant te: maledicti erunt omnes qui odiunt te, et omnes qui dixerint verbum durum, et omnes qui deponunt te et destruunt muros tuos, et omnes qui subvertunt turres tuas, et omnes qui incendunt habitationes tuas* (cp. Deut. xxviii. 15 &c.).

blessed ... love thee] For "love" the Itala and Vulg. have "build," dwelling rather upon the material restoration (*v.* 10) than the spiritual.

13. The beautiful alliteration, "the children of the just (or, 'the sons of the righteous,' *v.* 9) ... the Lord of the just," is lost in the Lat. Versions. The yearning for the gathering together of the Dispersion to Jerusalem is of frequent occurrence. Cp. Dan. xii. 7; Orac. Sibyll. iii. 734; Enoch xc. 33; 4 Esdr. xiii. 39 &c.; 2 Macc. ii. 18.

15. The Itala expands this verse: *Anima mea, benedic Domino regi magno, quia liberavit*

16 For Jerusalem shall be built up with sapphires, and emeralds, and precious stone: thy walls and towers and battlements with pure gold.

17 And the streets of Jerusalem shall be paved with beryl and carbuncle and stones of Ophir.

18 And all her streets shall say, Alleluia; and they shall praise him, saying, Blessed be God, which hath extolled it for ever.

(? *liberabit*, see Reusch *i. l.*) *Hierusalem, et ædificabit iterum domus illius in omnia sæcula sæculorum* (Vulg. *quoniam liberavit Jerusalem, civitatem suam, a cunctis tribulationibus*). *Felix* (Vulg. *Beatus*) *ero si fuerint reliquiæ de semine meo ad videndum claritatem tuam, et confitendum nomini regis cœli.*

16, 17. Cp. Isa. liv. 11, 12; Rev. xxi. 18 &c. The assignment of jewels &c. to various parts is more definite in the Itala: *Ostia Hierusalem sapphiro et smaragdo ædificabuntur: ex lapide pretioso omnes muri tui, et turres Hierusalem auro ædificabuntur, et propugnacula ejus auro mundo.* For these precious stones and the ingenious if fanciful conclusions which have been drawn from their colours or order, see notes to Rev. *l. c.* Their purity and lustre are, at least, a type of the heavenly treasure, of the incorruptible good things of God (Churton).

17. *shall be paved*] The Gk. ψηφολογηθήσονται embodies the idea of tesselated pavement, a mosaic arrangement common in the houses of the rich Romans. The pavement shall be, according to the Vulg., *ex lapide candido et mundo* (cp. Rev. ii. 17; xxi. 18), though Reusch conjectures *candido et mundo* to be a corruption for *carbunculo* (Itala).

stones of Ophir] Cp. 1 Kings ix. 28; 2 Chron. viii. 18. The numerous and different views as to the position of this much-disputed place may be reduced to four. Critics and geographers have found it in (1) Southern Arabia, (2) the east coast of Africa, (3) the eastern parts of India; or regarded it (4) as a collective name for distant southern lands. The most probable site would seem to be on one or other of the coasts of (1). Cp. Pressel in Herzog, 'R.E.[2],' *s. n.*

18. *all her streets*] Gk. ῥύμαι. The usual meaning in the Bible of the narrower street or "lane" as distinguished from the broader streets, πλατεῖαι (*v.* 17: cp. Luke xiv. 21), is not perhaps to be pressed here. The *vici* of the Lat. Versions may point to the other use of ῥύμη, a city-quarter. The "streets" here personify those who in them raise the "endless Alleluia" (Isa. lx. 18; Rev. xix. 6). The Lat. Versions detach the words "Blessed" &c., from what precedes them, and make them the utterance, not of the singers in the streets, but of Tobit himself: *e.g.* Itala, *Benedictus Dominus, qui exaltat te, et benedictus in omnia sæcula sæculorum: quoniam in te benedicet nomen sanctum suum in æternum.*

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The Hebrew has some interesting variations on the accepted texts. Neubauer gives the translation as follows: — "At that time Tobiyyah wrote down all these things with joy. And Tobi said, Blessed is the Lord, the great God, Who doeth marvellous things to His people and His servants. He smiteth and healeth, and killeth and maketh alive, and bringeth down to hell and lifteth up. Who hath dispersed us among the Gentiles; we are bound to publish all these marvellous works among the nations. And ye, O children of Israel, be strong and let your heart be of good courage, and let not your hands be weak, for your work shall be rewarded, and He will wait that He may be gracious to you, and will be exalted that He may have mercy upon you. For the Lord is a God of judgment; blessed are all they that wait for Him. And ye, my children, continue in alms, prayer, and supplication before the Lord of all the world, for alms and prayer drive back the decree, for it is said, 'And alms do deliver from death.' And blessed is the Lord, Who hath shewn to me and my father and my forefathers, and every one who hath trusted in Him, wonders, and marvels, and great and terrible things. O Lord of the world, shew us in our days salvation and redemption by the coming of the Redeemer and the building of Ariel (*i.e.* Jerusalem; cp. Isa. xxix. 1, 2) before the eyes of all Israel, as it is said, 'In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely;' and it is written, 'And the ransomed of the Lord shall return;' and again, 'The Lord doth build up Jerusalem, He gathereth together the outcasts of Israel.' Blessed is the Lord for ever, Amen and Amen.

"End of the book of Tobi, the son of Tobiel. Praise to God."

CHAPTER XIV.

3 *Tobit giveth instructions to his son,* 8 *specially to leave Nineve.* 11 *He and his wife die, and are buried.* 12 *Tobias removeth to Ecbatane,* 14 *and there died, after he had heard of the destruction of Nineve.*

SO Tobit made an end of praising God.

2 And he was eight and fifty years old when he lost his sight, which was restored to him after eight years: and he gave alms, and he [1]increased in the fear of the Lord God, and praised him.

[1] Or, *did more and more fear.*

3 And when he was very aged, he called his son, and the six sons of his son, and said to him, My son, take thy children; for, behold, I am aged, and am ready to depart out of this life.

4 Go into Media, my son, for I surely believe those things which [a]Jonas the prophet spake of Nineve, that it shall be overthrown; and that for a time peace shall rather be in Media; and that our brethren shall lie scattered in the earth from that

[a] Jonah 3. 4.

CHAPTER XIV.

2. *eight and fifty years old*] The Versions and MSS. are hopelessly at variance here. Blindness came upon Tobit when he was 50, or 56, or 58, or 62, or 80, or 88 years of age (see Gutberlet, p. 343); 58 being the number approved by the best authorities. There is similar discrepancy as regards the duration of his life (see *v.* 11, note).

after eight years] Here also the Versions vary. The Syriac has the number 7; the Chald., Heb., Itala, and Vulg., the number 4 (see ii. 10, note).

and he gave alms &c.] That life of quiet good and of "daily increase more and more" in the service of God (*magis Deum colere*, Itala) is beautifully depicted, if in slightly different terms, by the Vulg.: *Reliquum vero vitæ suæ in gaudio fuit, et cum bono profectu timoris Dei perrexit in pace.* The comment of an old writer (Badwell in 'Crit. Sacri') sums it up thus: "Cursum pietatis ac religionis institutum non interrupit sed continuavit." Cp. Ps. lxxi. 14.

3. *when he was very aged*] *In hora mortis* (Vulg.). The number of his grandsons was seven, according to Itala and Vulg. The Syriac and a Heb. text read: "When I am dead, and thou hast buried me, see that after my death thou continuest no longer in Nineveh. Take thy children and all that thou hast and go into Media &c."

The forecast of the future here given by Tobit is based upon a belief in the fulfilment of God's word as declared by His Prophets; as such it is not unsuited to the clearness of spiritual vision sometimes vouchsafed to God's true servants as they approached their end (Gen. xxvii. 2, xlvii. 29). The time and occasion were appropriate: "Anima, quando appropinquat ad mortem, præcognoscit quædam futura subtilitate suæ naturæ" (Gregory the Great, quoted in Gutberlet, p. 349).

4. "So direct your hearts," allegorizes Bede, "that ye may leave the desires of this life and this world's 'conversation.' With all the heart seek heavenly things."

The Itala does not limit the prophecy of old to that of Jonah nor confine the destruction to Nineveh: *Omnia erunt, et venient super Assur et Nineven, quæ locuti sunt prophetæ Israel quos misit Dominus. Omnia evenient, nihilque minuetur ex omnibus verbis: sed omnia contingent temporibus suis, et in Media erit salus magis quam in Assyriis, et quam in Babylone: quia scio ego et credo quoniam omnia quæ dixit Dominus erunt et perficientur; et non excedet verbum de sermonibus Dei.* Jonah (iii. 3) had declared to Nineveh God's judgment that in forty days it should be overthrown. The Ninevites had "turned from their evil way, and God had repented of the evil, that He had said that He would do unto them; and He did it not" (Jon. iii. 10). When Tobit here declares his conviction that Nineveh should yet be overthrown, it is evident he felt that the repentance of Nineveh had been but short-lived (cp. his experience, ii. 18, note, and *v.* 10, note). Judgment might tarry, and he does not define too closely when it should come (*prope erit*, Vulg.); but come it would, and in the time of his sons. The fall of Nineveh took place in B.C. 608 (Delitzsch) or in B.C. 606 (Hommel), when Jehoiakim was king of Judah (2 Kings xxiv. 1). The Medes under Cyaxares and the Babylonians under the Crown-prince Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the city, and reduced Assyria to a Babylonian province. Media was then a safer country to live in than Assyria: so the Syriac here, "peace shall rather be in Media than in Nineveh and amongst the Assyrians and in Babylon." The "prophets" alluded to by the Itala may be Nahum (iii. 7. Grotius would read Ναοὺμ instead of Ἰωνᾶς), Zephaniah (ii. 13), Isaiah (x. 5, 12; xiv. 25), and Micah (v. 5).

our brethren shall lie scattered in the earth from that good land] Rather, "our brethren in the land" (*i.e.* the remnant of the ten tribes

good land: and Jerusalem shall be desolate, and the house of God in it shall be burned, and shall be desolate for a time;

[b] Ezra 3. 8. & 6. 14.

5 [b]And that again God will have mercy on them, and bring them again into the land, where they shall build a temple, but not like to the first, until the time of that age be fulfilled; and afterward they shall return from all places of their captivity, and build up Jerusalem gloriously, and the house of God shall be built in it [1]for ever with a glorious building, as the prophets have spoken thereof.

[1] *for ever* is not in the Roman copy.

6 And all nations shall turn, and fear the Lord God truly, and shall bury their idols.

7 So shall all nations praise the Lord, and his people shall confess God, and the Lord shall exalt his people; and all those which love the Lord God in truth and justice shall rejoice, shewing mercy to our brethren.

8 And now, my son, depart out of

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left in the land and joined to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin) "shall be scattered" &c. The Syriac reads: "The rest of our brethren of Israel who dwell in Jerusalem shall lie scattered in the whole earth" &c. The "good land" is Palestine (Exod. iii. 8).

The Itala gives a different sense to the last words, *fratres nostri, qui habitant in terra Israel omnes dispergentur, et ex illis captivi ducentur ad terram optimam.* The Vulg. rendering is probably nearest to what may have been in the mind of the speaker: *fratres nostri, qui dispersi sunt a terra Israel, revertentur ad eam.*

for a time] Either an allusion to the termination of the full period of 70 years (Jer. xxv. 11, xxix. 10; Dan. ix. 2) or to the dawn of liberty announced by Cyrus (Ezra i. 1).

5. *not like to the first*] See Ezra iii. 12; Dan. ix. 25; Hagg. ii. 4. "Non ea magnificentia et gloria si structura spectetur, sed majore gloria si Regnum Christi spirituale consideretur" (Badwell in 'Crit. Sacr.'). It is to this ideal—the final fulfilment of the Messianic hopes—that the words ἕως πληρωθῶσι καιροὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος (cp. Dan. ix. 24 &c.) look onward. The rendering of the E. V. hardly does justice to the Gk., while the Itala has an altogether different rendering, *quoadusque repleatur tempus maledictionum* (Deut. xxviii. 15 &c.).

In this verse, a Heb. MS. makes several additions or amplifications: "There they shall build again the city and a temple . . ., and they shall continue there many days until . . . fulfilled." This is followed by a paragraph which foretells yet another captivity: "After this they shall go away into a very grievous captivity. But the holy and blessed God shall be mindful of them, and shall gather them from the four quarters of the world, and afterward they shall return . . . building; and all the land thereof that is desert shall be filled with people, and all that fear God shall return thither. And the temple shall be erected with an excellent building, which shall not be destroyed or overthrown for ever and ever."

6. *shall bury their idols*] κατορύξουσι. Cp. LXX. of Gen. xlviii. 7; Ezek. xxxix. 11; and for the words, Isa. ii. 20 and the Itala here, *relinquent omnia idola sua, quæ seducunt illos falso errore.* The Lat. Versions add to the rejection of idols a coming to Jerusalem and dwelling there, whence many commentators take Jerusalem to be typical of the Church of Christ, in which the union of Jew and Gentile is possible.

7. *and all those . . . shewing mercy to our brethren*] The Lat. Versions have interesting variations upon this thought. The Itala reads: *In die illa, cum diligentia et omnis justitia in illis erit, et gaudebunt qui diligunt Deum verum: qui autem faciunt iniquitatem et peccatum, deficient de terris omnibus:* the Vulg. is shorter and still more independent, *gaudebunt in ea* (Jerusalem) *omnes reges terræ adorantes regem Israel* (cp. xiii. 14, 15, Vulg.; Isa. xlix. 7, 23).

8. The address of Tobit now changes from general and prophetic remarks to what is personal to Tobias. From considering what shall be the future of his people, he passes on to consider what may bring happiness to his own son and his children, and the dominant idea in his mind is that contained in the last words of *v.* 7: upon this he enlarges in the verses following.

The Chaldee, which has but little resembling *vv.* 1–7, may be said to begin its last chapter here. It has a text differing much from that given in the E. V.: "After (some) days Tobi fell sick, and called his son Tobiyyah, and enjoined him the commandments of God, saying to him, My son, do goodness all thy days to the poor and the rich, and give alms all thy days, for the sake of which God will bless all the works of thine hands. The Lord blessed Abraham

Nineve, because that those things which the prophet Jonas spake shall surely come to pass.

9 But keep thou the law and the commandments, and shew thyself merciful and just, that it may go well with thee.

10 And bury me decently, and thy mother with me; but tarry no longer at Nineve. Remember, my son, how Aman handled Achiacharus that brought him up, how out of light he brought him into darkness, and how he rewarded him again: yet Achiacharus was [1]saved, but the other had his reward: for he went down into darkness. [2]Manasses gave alms, and escaped the snares of death [3]which

[1] Or, *preserved.*
[2] Junius readeth, *Nitsba.*
[3] Rom. *which he had set.*

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our father on account of the alms and tithes which he gave; and also Isaac, for that he gave tithe and did almsdeeds; and so when Jacob went to the house of Laban and prayed, he vowed only to give tithe and alms to the poor, and therefore God made him prosperous, and gave him all that he asked, and preserved him from Laban and his brother Esau. And if thou do like as they did, He will bless thee as He blessed them. And he enjoined them other commandments; and when he had made an end of doing so, he was gathered to his people."

Both the Itala and Vulg. give the address as spoken not only to Tobias, but to his sons. These Versions have nothing resembling *v.* 8, which seems a repetition of *v.* 4. *Et nunc, filii, vobis mando: Servite Domino in veritate, et facite coram illo quod ipsi placet; et filiis vestris mandate, ut faciant justitias et eleemosynas, et sint memores* (*Dei*), *et benedicant nomen ipsius in omni tempore, in veritate, in toto corde suo, et in tota virtute sua* (Itala).

9. *keep thou . . . commandments*] The sentence corresponding to this in the Lat. Versions is a comment upon it: thus the Vulg., *Servite Domino in veritate, et inquirite ut faciatis quæ placita sunt illi.*

shew thyself merciful] Gk. γενοῦ φιλελεήμων (ἀπ. λεγ.), the point of which is not brought out in "merciful." Stress is evidently laid on almsdeeds, and Tobias is bidden to be a "lover of almsgiving." In this sense both Itala and Vulg. take the thought (see above).

that it may go well with thee] The Vulg. intimates in what sense the exercise of justice and almsdeeds may bring good: *ut sint memores Dei, et benedicant eum in omni tempore in veritate, et in tota virtute sua.*

10. The reading of the Itala here (cp. also the Vulg.) is: *Nunc vero, fili, exi a Ninive, et noli manere hic: sed quacunque die sepelieris matrem tuam circa me, eodem die noli manere in finibus ejus; video enim quia multa iniquitas est in illa, et fictio multa perficitur* (cp. Wisd. xiv. 25), *et non confunduntur.*

Remember how Aman handled Achiacharus] This episode is mentioned only by the Gk. and Itala texts, and is differently rendered by the Syriac, "Remember how Ahab requited Akikar, who brought up Tobit." Critics have sought to identify Aman with the Haman and Achiacharus with the Mordecai mentioned in the Book of Esther (cp. Grätz, 'Monatschrift,' u.s.w., p. 401). The difficulties in the way of such identification are far greater than any resemblances (see a critical analysis of the matter in Fritzsche). It is perhaps more natural and simple to understand the passage as the record of an event in Tobit's own family, to which Achiacharus belonged (i. 21, 22), and as an illustration which would give point to the advice preceding it. Tobit had laid great stress upon the cultivation of obedience to God's law, justice, and almsdeeds, and the filial duty of paying the last sepulchral rites to a parent. There came to the dying man's memory the example which Achiacharus furnished of the good man and one Aman (or Ahab) of the bad. Simply to allude to this was enough; the details would be known to Tobias, and the application of the lesson an easy one. The Itala has Nadab instead of Aman; this and the Syriac Ahab are possible indications that the transcriber of the Greek text had before him some name other than Ἀμὰν, but preferred it from his wish to identify the story with that of the Haman of the Book of Esther.

out of light . . . into darkness] Commentators usually understand this to mean that Aman reduced Achiacharus from prosperity to adversity. "He misguided him," explains the Syriac, "that he should not possess the land." But the Itala depicts it as an attempt upon the life of Achiacharus; *quem vivum deduxit in terram deorsum . . . quæsivit Nadab Achicarum occidere.* "He escaped," adds the Syriac, "into the light out of the snare which Ahab had laid for him, and entered into possession of the land." The Itala takes the "he" in "how he rewarded him again" not as referring to Achiacharus rewarding Aman with good for evil, but as referring to God, *reddidit Deus malitiam illius ante faciem ipsius.*

Manasses] The name is a *crux* to critics: naturally the name expected is Achiacharus, the reading here of the Itala and Syriac; but whence arose the reading Μανασσῆς? Some

they had set for him: but Aman fell into the snare, and perished.

11 Wherefore now, my son, consider what alms doeth, and how righteousness doth deliver. When he had said these things, he gave up the ghost in the bed, being an hundred and eight and fifty years old; and [1]he buried him honourably.

[1] Or, *they*.

12 And when Anna his mother was dead, he buried her with his father. But Tobias departed with his wife and children to Ecbatane to Raguel his father in law,

13 Where he became old with honour, and he buried his father and mother in law honourably, and he [1]inherited their substance, and his father Tobit's.

[1] Or, *possessed*.

14 And he died at Ecbatane in Media, being an hundred and seven and twenty years old.

15 But before he died he heard of the destruction of Nineve, which was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus: and before his death he rejoiced over Nineve.

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have supposed it the Hebrew name of the Gk. Achiacharus; others, reading Amon instead of Aman, rectify Achiacharus by Manasseh, and refer to 2 Chron. xxxiii. 20–23; others, again, count Manasses a misreading for Nasbas (xi. 18). It seems impossible at present to arrive at a satisfactory explanation. The name was common (cp. Judith viii. 2), and the act alluded to in the text may have been one known to Tobit's family.

gave alms and escaped the snares of death] Cp. iv. 10, xii. 9, of which this passage is intended to be a practical illustration (see *v.* 11).

11. *an hundred and eight and fifty*] Or 102, according to the Vulg. and Syriac; or 112, according to the Itala, Sinait. text &c.; or 150, according to some MSS.

At the end of *v.* 10 the concluding words of the Chald. version find their place: "And after his (Tobi's) death, God blessed Tobiyyah, because he fulfilled the commandments of his father, and He made him exceeding prosperous, and bestowed blessing on all the works of his hands.

"Behold we learn how great is the power of alms and tithes. Because Tobi gave alms and separated his tithes as is meet, how the Holy One (blessed is He!) rewarded him. And because the fathers of the world knew the power of alms, therefore they gave heed to them. Of Abraham it is written, 'And he gave him tithes of all' (Gen. xiv. 20); of Isaac it is written, 'Then Isaac sowed in that land' (Gen. xxvi. 12), and 'sowing' means nothing else than alms, as it is said, 'Sow to yourselves in alms' (Hos. x. 12); of Jacob it is written, 'And of all that Thou shalt give me, I will surely give the tenth unto Thee' (Gen. xxviii. 22). The end of the history of Tobiyyah. Praise to God."

12. *departed . . . to Ecbatane*] If Judith i. 14, 15 be historically correct, Tobias, while living at Nineveh, had escaped the troubles which fell upon Ecbatane; now by removing to Ecbatane he would escape the troubles coming upon Nineveh. "So from age to age the warnings of God's prophets have been a protection to God's people, and a means of their preservation. Cp. St. Matt. xxiv. 15–18." (Churton.)

13. *he buried . . . honourably*] "In Ecbatane" (Syriac). The Lat. Versions record a previous trait in Tobias' character: *invenit eos (soceros suos) incolumes in senectute bona; et curam eorum gessit (curam habebat senectutis eorum honorifice*, Itala), *et ipse clausit oculos eorum* (Vulg.).

14. The Vulg. adds: *vidit quintam generationem filios, filiorum suorum. Et . . . cum gaudio sepelierunt eum.* The age given in the E. V. and Gk. is variously given as 117 by the Itala, 107 in the Syriac, and 99 in the Vulg.

15. *taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus*] Rather by Nebuchadnezzar, the Crown-prince and general of his father's (Nabopalassar's) army, and Cyaxares (see *v.* 4, note). The Itala has the name *Achicar rex Medorum*. The Syriac adds that Tobias heard also "of the captivity into which it (the people of Nineveh) was carried into Media; and he praised the Lord for all the things that He had done."

The anachronism which introduces Assuerus here is only intelligible on the supposition that the scribe caught at another name connected with the time of Esther (cp. *v.* 10, note).

The Vulg. closes its text with the following record of the descendants of Tobias:—*Omnis autem cognatio ejus, et omnis generatio ejus in bona vita et in sancta conversatione permansit, ita ut accepti essent tam Deo quam hominibus, et cunctis habitantibus in terra.*

JUDITH.

INTRODUCTION.

על שלשה דברים העולם עומד על התורה ועל העבודה
ועל גמילות חסדים:

"Upon three things the world standeth: upon the Law, and upon the Liturgy, and upon the Showing of Mercies." (Simeon the Just: *Pirqê Abôth*, i. 2.)

"Dum Assyrios penes Medosque et Persas Oriens fuit, despectissima pars servientium: postquam Macedones praepotuere, rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Graecorum dare adnixus, quominus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est, nam ea tempestate Arsaces desciverat."—Tac. *Hist.* v. 8.

Πολλαὶ γυναῖκες ἐνδυναμωθεῖσαι διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπετελέσαντο πολλὰ ἀνδρεῖα. Ἰουδεὶθ ἡ μακαρία, ἐν συγκλεισμῷ οὔσης τῆς πόλεως, ᾐτήσατο παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐαθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων· παραδοῦσα οὖν ἑαυτὴν τῷ κινδύνῳ ἐξῆλθεν δι' ἀγάπην τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ὄντος ἐν συγκλεισμῷ, καὶ παρέδωκεν Κύριος Ὀλοφέρνην ἐν χειρὶ θηλείας.—S. Clem. Rom. i. 55; Lightfoot, p. 159.

"Item placuit ut praeter scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum. Sunt autem canonicae scripturae Genesis, Exodus, . . . Judith."—*47th Canon of Third Council of Carthage*, A.D. 397.

§ I. General Relation of the Book to Ancient History.

The Book of Judith professes to supply the historical narrative of a series of events which occurred in Palestine soon after the return of the Jews from Babylonia, and the restoration of the Temple (ch. iv. 3; v. 18, 19). On the other hand, it assumes that the Assyrian and Median monarchies were still existing at the epoch of the story. Thus at the outset we are met by a fundamental contradiction, which is inexplicable on the assumption that the book is a literal history. And when it is added that, on the most favourable construction,[1] the account of the campaigns of Holofernes bristles with political, geographical, and strategical impossibilities, we see at once that we have to do with a work of fiction, not a sober chronicle of bygone events.

[1] See O. Wolff, 'Das Buch Judith' (Leipzig, 1861). The profuse learning, much of it now antiquated, which Wolff has here amassed, only shews that the historical character of the book cannot be sustained.

§ II. Patristic Testimonies and Original Language.

The first external testimony to the work is the reference in the Epistle of S. Clement of Rome (1 ad Cor. 55), written towards the close of the first century of our era. It is also cited by S. Clement of Alexandria,[1] Tertullian,[2] and Origen,[3] who observes: *Περὶ Τωβία ἡμᾶς ἐχρῆν ἐγνωκέναι ὅτι τῷ Τωβίᾳ οὐ*

[1] 'Strom.' II., lib. iv. p. 617.
[2] 'De Monog.,' 17, *sub fin.*
[3] 'Hom. 9 in Judices;' 'Hom. 19 in Jerem.;' 'Epist. ad Africanum,' c. 13, cited in text.

χρῶνται (οἱ 'Εβραῖοι) οὐδὲ τῇ 'Ιουδίθ. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ ἐν ἀποκρύφοις 'Εβραϊστὶ, ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μαθόντες ἐγνώκαμεν. Origen, therefore, had ascertained from the Jews that a Hebrew text of Judith was unknown.[1] S. Jerome, however, used a *Chaldee* text in preparing his new Latin version. In his preface to the book, which should be compared with that to Tobit, he writes: "Apud Hebraeos liber Judith inter Hagiographa legitur: cujus auctoritas ad roboranda illa quae in contentionem veniunt, minus idonea judicatur. Chaldaeo tamen sermone conscriptus, inter historias computatur. Sed quia hunc librum Synodus Nicaena in numero sanctarum scripturarum legitur computasse, acquievi postulationi vestrae immo exactioni: et sepositis occupationibus quibus vehementer arctabar, huic unam lucubratiunculam dedi, magis sensum e sensu, quam ex verbo verbum transferens. Multorum codicum varietatem vitiosissimam amputavi: sola ea quae intelligentia integra in verbis Chaldaeis invenire potui, Latinis expressi." Volkmar, indeed, has put a grossly unfair construction upon this passage.[1] But, as regards the Nicene

[1] The Greek of the LXX. is the source of the Syriac and Old Latin versions.

The Greek MSS. present a great variety of readings, and have been grouped by Fritzsche thus: Cod. II. (Vatic.) gives the purest text; Codd. III. (Alex.), X. 23, 52, 55, an inferior state of it. The other cursives fall into two groups, as follows:—

(1.) Codd. 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 107, 236, and often 23. (2.) Codd. 64, 243, 248, 249; often supported by III., 52, 55.

The text of the Complutensian and Aldine editions (Co. Ald.) follows now the one, now the other group.

The text of each group, especially that of the former, varies greatly from the archetypal text.

Two other forms of the text are seen in Cod. 58, which is followed by the Old Latin and Syriac; and in Codd. 19, 108. Both are attempts to reconstruct the ordinary Greek text.

Nickes finds the common text in Cod. II., III. (23), 52, 55. The other MSS. fall into the two groups:—(1.) 64, 243, 248, 249; (2.) 44, 106, 71, 74, 76, 236. Codd. 58, 19, and 108 constitute an independent group, with which the Old Latin and Syriac accord. Volkmar writes: "The Greek version of the LXX. is preserved in two principal recensions: (1.) Cod. Vatic. or II. (4th cent.), and Cod. Alex. or III. (5th cent.), with numerous minor followers, especially 52, 55. (2.) Codd. 58 (19, 108), with the Old Latin (Reg. and San-Germ. a), and Walton's Syriac. The Vulgate consists of a new and very arbitrary account, after an Old Latin text, which was itself a somewhat free following of the second recension. Historically, this Vulgate version is worthless." (?)

Volkmar is right in his remarks upon the value of Cod. 58, which presents many acute emendations of the common text (see the Commentary). He adds that although we have but a single translation of the lost Hebrew original, and that in no single MS. quite pure, yet the true text may be restored from Tischendorf's ed. of Cod. Vatic. with the variants of Cod. Alex. (1850), and the apparatus of Holmes and Parsons, Sabatier, and Walton. The extreme literalness of the translation from the Hebrew is a material help.

[1] He thus paraphrases the plain statement that the book was written in Chaldee: "Diess Buch ist (wie schon die lateinische Uebersetzung vor mir klar zeigt) ursprünglich chaldäisch geschrieben" ('Einleit. in die Apokr.' p. 8). Continuing a kind of criticism by which an ancient writer may easily be made to contradict himself, and to say almost anything that a modern critic pleases, Volkmar writes (ibid. pp. 9, 10): "Wenn Hieronymus nun sofort das Nähere gesagt hat, 'sola ea quae intelligentia integra in verbis Chaldaicis (*sic*) invenire potui, Latinis expressi,' so ist das denkbarer Weise eine übermässige Kürze des Ausdrückes, wo er hätte sagen sollen: 'in verbis codd. illorum variorum (Latinorum), qui ex Chaldaïco sermone provenerunt.' Denkbar bleibt aber auch, dass Hieronymus den Mund etwas zu voll genommen hat, wie ihm das auch sonst begegnet. . . . . Dass er hier jedenfalls zu viel oder, was diessmal dasselbe ist, zu wenig gesagt hat, das ergiebt sich bestimmt genug. (1.) Es besteht factisch seine ganze Arbeit nur in einer abkürzenden, aber auch umstellenden und Allerlei rathenden Wiedergabe des Vet. Lat., so zwar, dass er selbst den Ausdruck in ganz Willkürlichem wiedergegeben hat, selbst gegen seine Art Latein. . . . Nicht einmal den griechischen Text hat er bei dieser schnellfertigen lucubratiuncula verglichen. (2.) Es ist wohl möglich dass die Juden schon zu seiner Zeit eine chaldäische Bearbeitung des schönen, von der abendländischen Kirche so hoch gehaltenen Buches gemacht haben; eine solche Megillat mochte dem Hieronymus bei einem Juden zu Gesicht gekommen sein. Nur ist sie am wenigsten die Grundlage für seine lucubratiuncula geworden. Denn er hat, wie es scheint, gar kein Chaldäisch verstanden, oder doch viel zu mangelhaft, wie er Prol. in Tobiam selbst gesteht." Had Volkmar read the 'Prol. in Danielem,' where Jerome describes the pains he took to learn Chaldee, ending with the statement that he could read and understand that language better than he could speak it? ("Et ut verum fatear, usque ad praesentem diem magis possum sermonem Chaldaïcum legere et intelligere quam sonare.") In the same preface, he says of Daniel and Ezra, precisely as of Judith, that they were "Chaldaeo sermone conscriptos." Volkmar's criticism unduly magnifies the coincidences of phraseology between

sanction, it may have been stated in some history of the Council known to S. Jerome that Judith had therein been quoted, or otherwise recognised as Scripture, although no trace of the fact is to be found in the extant Acts and Canons of the Synod; or "legitur" may simply refer to a statement of his correspondents (cf. Badwell's remark: "Et Hieronymus videtur totam rem non nisi ex dubia fama habuisse"). At the same time S. Jerome himself had no great opinion of the value of the book.[1] He appears to have dealt with it in the same fashion as with Tobit, which he translated along with Judith (398 A.D. at Bethlehem): that is to say, he employed a Jewish scholar familiar with both Hebrew and Chaldee to translate aloud from the Chaldee text into Hebrew; he himself, in turn, dictating his Latin version of the Hebrew to an amanuensis (see 'Praef. in Tob.'). Tobit, he tells us, cost him "unius diei laborem;" Judith, "unam lucubratiunculam." This may only mean the first rough draft; but in any case, with regard to Judith, the work was done in great haste, not to say carelessly; the translator, as he says himself, not attempting word-for-word exactness, so long as he secured an equivalent sense. He adds that he did not trouble himself about the numerous and arbitrary variants of MSS.; only concerning himself to reproduce or preserve in his own version those particulars of the story for which he could find, with a clear perception of the sense, corresponding statements in the words of his Chaldee codex ("sola ea quae intelligentia integra in verbis Chaldaeis invenire potui, Latinis expressi"). His work appears to have been not so much a translation of the Chaldee MS. as a verification or reform of the Old Latin text by means of that codex, which he supposed to be more authentic; and this accounts for the fact, of which Volkmar makes so much, that the language of the Vulgate not seldom coincides with that of the Old Latin, which, of course, lay before S. Jerome. (See Appendix II.) That being so, it is evident that the Chaldee text must have differed considerably from the Greek of the Septuagint, upon which the Old Latin is based. And since almost every line of the Greek presents unmistakable marks of translation from a Hebrew original, it is equally evident that the Chaldee text used by S. Jerome did not represent the oldest form of the narrative, but must itself have been a free translation or adaptation of the Hebrew account, which in his day was no longer extant.[1]

the Vulgate and the Old Latin, while it altogether fails to give a credible explanation of the numerous and striking differences. My own impression is that the Vulgate text may very well be regarded as a free rendering of a Chaldee recension of Midrashic character. (See Appendix II.)

[1] Nickes argues that for this very reason his testimony is all the more valuable: "nam Hieronymus nisi veritate coactus, nunquam ita de contempto libro ab Hebraeis, ejusque de auctoritate canonica, testificatus esset." He thinks the Libell. Synod. ap. Mansi, ii. 747 *sq.*, proves that the Nicene Fathers drew up a Catalogue of Scriptures.

[1] This Chaldee version may even have been made from a Greek or Latin text; as appears to have been the case with the Chaldee Tobit published by Dr. Neubauer, which presents such spellings as רגש, ראניש, which recall Rages and Ῥαγαῖς, rather than the native name Rhagâ (Vendidad); and which writes אגבתנים (cf. Vulg. Jud. i. 1, Ecbatanis) instead of אחמתא (Ezra vi. 2); תיגרין (cf. Greek and Lat. Τίγριν, Tigrin) instead of the Diglath of the Targum and Talmud; אקיקר, instead of אחיעכר; and קברי instead of נברי (= נבריאל). Such translations were made by the Jews down to a comparatively late period. The little Megillath Antiochos, also called the Greek Roll, referred by Zunz to the age of the Geonim (the post-Gemaric Rabbis), and first cited A.D. 941, is a case in point. It exists in Chaldee (and in a Hebrew translation therefrom), on which account Dr. Jellinek says it must be "very old."

Judith may have been done into "Chaldee," for the benefit of the Palestinian and Mesopotamian Jews, in the time between Origen and Jerome. If not accidentally lost, the Hebrew may have been suppressed by the Rabbis of an earlier period, because the book glorifies the Hasmonean family, which had become the object of Pharisaic hatred.

This Introd. was already in type, when, by the kindness of the Editor, I received a copy of Dr. Anton Scholz's 'Das Buch Judith.' He holds that S. Jerome translated from the Greek, retaining, however, only so much of it as he found warrant for in his Chaldee MS. He did not aim at literalness; but as he was writing for Christians who were familiar with the Old Latin, he conformed his new version thereto, so far as he was able. In estimating the agreements between the two, some allowance must be made for the alterations of later harmonizers,

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I have said that the Greek of the LXX.—the oldest existing form of the narrative—is not the original text. We find in it not merely the usual phenomena characteristic of Greek written by Jews. It is not merely Greek with a certain sprinkling of Hebraisms. The language as a whole, the syntactical construction, the mode of presenting events and ideas, the general complexion of the work, so irresistibly suggest a Hebrew original, that as a rule it is easy to divine what the Hebrew must have been.[1] There is no need to illustrate these statements here, as the illustration of them constitutes an essential element in the commentary.[2]

§ III. Date inferred from internal Evidence and Tradition.

Can the date of the book be determined? I think so, at least approximately. As we have seen, it is first cited by S. Clement towards the end of the first Christian century. But I cannot, therefore, agree with scholars who, on the ground of this fact, taken in connexion with the silence of Philo and Josephus, assign this or a later date for the composition of the book. The argument from the silence of these authors, if admitted, would prove too much. Josephus omits Job as well as Judith; perhaps because, as Nickes thinks, he did not know where to fit either into his history: while Philo fails to notice, not Judith only, but the entire Apocrypha.[1] S. Clement's reference supplies a *terminus ad quem*. It does more; it implies that the book had already existed for some considerable period; for time must be allowed after the publication of the Hebrew narrative for its translation into Greek and reception into the Greek Scriptures. The other limit can only be fixed, if at all, by the internal indications of the book itself. These at once exclude the times of the Jewish monarchy and the Babylonian exile. The passages already cited (iv. 3; v. 18 *sq.*) expressly assign the events narrated to the time immediately subsequent to the return from the Captivity. In that case, however, the author has transferred the conditions of his own time to an earlier age; for, as Fritzsche observes, the legal standpoint, the advance in ceremonial strictness, the cry for vengeance, the long oppression which constitutes the background of the piece,[2] the mention of the sabbath eve (προσάββατον) and the eve of the new moon (προνουμηνία, ch. viii. 6), and the references to the Sanhedrin (γερουσία), undoubtedly point us to the latest pre-Christian cen-

and for chance. In the Song of Judith (ch. xvi.), S. Jerome naturally retained the language of a familiar hymn (cf. Wolff). Neither the LXX. nor the Vulgate presents the original text inviolate. In each there is a certain number of obvious amplifications; especially in the LXX., which contains some fifteen verses more than the Vulgate.

In spite of this, I should myself say, "especially in the Vulgate:" cf. notes at v. 13; vi. 20; x. 5; xv. 3, 9. The passage, ch. i. 12 b–16, which is wanting in the Vulgate, is certainly genuine, if style and substance count for anything. On the other hand, many phrases and sentences in the Vulgate have the look of glosses and expansions. The Vulgate, however, is unduly disparaged by Volkmar and even Fritzsche. It undoubtedly preserves some features of the original narrative, which have disappeared from the Greek: see notes on ch. ii. 21; iii. 1, 9; v. 14; vii. 3, 7; xiv. 13; xvi. 4, 13, 25.

[1] The writer, therefore, was a Palestinian, not an Alexandrian Jew; as is also indicated by the intimate knowledge of the topography of Canaan, which glimmers through the textual corruptions of the book.

[2] An important point is the comparative infrequency of Greek particles. Thus μὲν occurs but once (ch. v. 20); ἂν, only four times; ἄρα, τε, οὖν, not at all. Δὲ is wanting in four chapters; ἀλλὰ in nine. The common use of σφόδρα (= Heb. מאד), and the pleonastic expression of the relative (ἐν οἷς . . . ἐν αὐτοῖς, ch. vii. 10; ὧν . . . αὐτῶν, ch. xvi. 4) should also be noticed.

[1] Volkmar urges that the book must be later than Domitian, as Josephus does not mention it, although he makes use of such trifling additions to the history of Israel as are found in 3 Esdras and the Greek Esther, and was too uncritical to suspect the truth of the book, had he known it. He passes over Job, because its locality is extra-Palestinian, and its subject the private history of a non-Israelite.

Hilgenfeld says Josephus did not use Judith, because it was an Apocryphon.

Ewald wrote oracularly: "Von Philon oder Josephus eine Anspielung auf dieses Buch erwarten heisst diese gelehrten Männer nicht kennen."

[2] Keil affirms the contrary, in the interest of his theory, which refers the events of Judith to the time of Artaxerxes Ochus.

turies for the date of the story.[1] With this internal evidence Jewish tradition accords (see Appendix I.), as it calls Judith the daughter of John the brother, or of Mattathias the father, of Judas Maccabeus.[2]

§ IV. Author's Standpoint and Object.

The book can hardly be older than the First Book of Maccabees, which was

The entire absence of idolatry (ch. viii. 18) excludes the whole period of the monarchy. And the fact that Israel is not divided into two kingdoms, but that the *whole* country obeys the High Priest and Sanhedrin (iv. 4, 6; xv. 5, 8), points to the period of the Hasmonean government.

[2] Zunz, 'Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden,' p. 124. As this work has become scarce, I will here append the author's remarks upon our book. "Mit der Maccabäischen Sagen steht das Buch Judith in einer doppelten Verwandschaft; eines Theils giebt es uns gleichfalls die Sage einer Erlösung und eines angeblichen Volksfestes: anderntheils, wird in der späteren Hagada Judith als Tochter des Jochanan oder des Matathia und als Heldin der Hasmonäischen Zeit dargestellt. Es findet sich in einer von dem griechischen Text völlig abweichenden Gestalt, in den Sammlungen der Hagadischen Geschichten [Megill. Taanith, ch. 6, &c.]; und schon Hieronymus meldet dass Judith in aramäischer Sprache von den Juden nicht als kanonische Schrift, sondern als eine Geschichte betrachtet wurde. Es wäre wohl möglich dass in einer palaestinensischen Stadt zum Andenken an die Heldenthat eines Weibes ein Volksfest gefeiert; und nachdem die wahre Veranlassung vergessen war, und einer mannigfach ausgestatteten Sage Platz gemacht hatte, der Judith zu Ehren eine Geschichte, vermuthlich noch vor der Zerstörung des Tempels, erdichtet wurde."

Hitzig connected Judith with the revolt of Simeon bar Cocheba (A.D. 132). Volkmar, with much learning and greater dogmatism, insists that the book is a true history, "veiled under the forms of O. T. language, and written for the festival of victory held on the 12th Adar, after Trajan's death;" in fact, for the first celebration of the *yom Turyanos* (Trajan's Day), at the end of A.D. 117, or the beginning of 118. The "profanation" of ch. iv. 3 is the destruction of the second Temple by Titus; the Return is the restoration of the sacrifices on the Temple-site, conceded by Hadrian at the beginning of his reign, but almost immediately withdrawn (!). Volkmar bases his speculations upon the data furnished by Grätz ('Geschichte der Juden,' iv. 136–148; Berlin, 1853). He identifies the campaign of ch. i. with Trajan's first Parthian expedition (Dio Cassius, lxviii. 15). But, as Lipsius observes, "Trajan returned before he had even crossed the Tigris, much less reached Parthia proper; without having triumphed in any important engagement, for the simple reason that none such had occurred; without having come into collision with Osrhoes, the Parthian king; without having seen either Ecbatana or Rhagae; much less, having taken all the other strongholds of the Parthians. He only got as far as Mesopotamia, and the Parthian power was for the present still unbroken. Under such circumstances, to tell the tale of Trajan's exploits after the fall of Ecbatana and the victory at Rhagae (Jud. i. 15), was something more than even Jewish imagination was capable of." The campaign of ch. ii. can only be assimilated to Trajan's second Parthian war, by assuming much of the narrative to be mere poetical romancing on the part of the Jewish author. At the same time, Volkmar takes for granted his own competence to separate fact from fiction, by a sort of historical divination apparently. Although Grätz had declared (p. 138) that "there is no indication that the Jews in *Palestine* assumed a warlike attitude under Trajan," Volkmar makes them participate in the general outbreak of the Jews of Cyrene, Egypt, Cyprus, and Babylonia, which took place in the last year of that emperor (A.D. 117); and he supposes that the Moorish prince Lusius Quietus, whom Trajan appointed governor of Judea (ἡγεμὼν Ἰουδαίας) in recognition of his services in crushing the revolt in Mesopotamia (Euseb. iv. 2), proceeded at once to suppress the movement in Palestine. But even if the account be correct, the appointment of Quietus is sufficiently explained by Trajan's apprehensions; and, as a matter of fact, our only authorities, the epitomators of Dio and Eusebius, say nothing of any actual rising in Palestine. It is true that Grätz (p. 146), on the ground of certain Rabbinical passages, asserts that the Jews of Palestine also organized a rebellion, headed by Julianus of Alexandria and Pappus. But he adds: "Upon the nature of the war in Judea, the sources are altogether silent. They only note that in the first year of Hadrian, or 52 years after the destruction of the Temple, the Jews rebelled against Rome." This was "the war of Qitos" (Polemos shel Qitos) of the Jewish narratives. In the midst of his career of bloodshed, Quietus was recalled by Hadrian, probably at the prayer of the Jews, and permission given to rebuild the Temple. Quietus was put to death by Hadrian's orders; an incident which, according to Volkmar, is symbolized in Judith by the slaying of Holofernes. The Jewish testimonies, however, are both obscure and ambiguous. The passage from the Mishna (Sota ix. 14: ed. Wagenseil, p. 962) runs: "In the war of Vespasian, they (*i.e.* the Sanhedrin) made a decree against the crowns of bridegrooms, and the timbrel [repeated, Gittin 7a]. In the war of Titus, they made a decree against the crowns of brides, and that a man teach not his son Greek." Grätz and Volkmar here conjecture Qitos (קיטוס) for Titos (טיטוס); a reading which they also assume in Seder Olam Rabba, c. 30 (not 31), on the strength of the fact that De Rossi's edition gives it. (See Meor Enayim, by R. Azariah Min-ha-'Adummim: Mantua, 1574.) But not only is the Seder Olam, as Volkmar allows, a much corrected and

probably written not so very long after the close of the reign of John Hyrcanus (died B.C. 105): see 1 Macc. xvi. 23 *sq.* Perhaps we may refer Judith to the time of Salome-Alexandra (B.C. 79–70), who succeeded to the government on the death of her second husband, Alexander Jannaeus; and in whose councils the Pharisaic or high orthodox party was dominant. The book may then be regarded as an attempt to recommend Pharisaic principles by a sort of historical novel, ostensibly founded upon records of the elder past, but essentially depending upon recollections of the age immediately preceding that of the author. It draws an attractive picture of the golden times after the Return (ch. iv. 2 *sq.*), when the royal and pontifical functions had not yet become joined in ill-omened union in the same person; because the government of the restored nation was conducted by the High Priest, assisted by the Council of Elders (the Sanhedrin), and the people knew no king but Jehovah (ch. iv. 6, 8; xv. 5, 8). Aristobulus, the first husband of Salome, was also the first of the Hasmonean pontiff-princes to assume the unpopular title of king,—unpopular at least with the Pharisees; and her second husband, Jannaeus (Heb. Jannai, Jonathan), had been content in the first decade of his reign with the title of High Priest only. It was a time of military enterprise, during which Salome conducted home affairs in the name of her absent consort. After the breach between Jannai and the Pharisees, he is styled on his coins "Jonathan the king," "Alexander the king." Now the Book of Judith professes to describe a time when there was no king in Israel (*i.e.* the time prior to the Hasmonean assumption of the kingly title); and it is a fact that after the death of Jannaeus, so long as Salome lived, her eldest son, Hyrcanus II., was only High Priest; and although Salome herself was nominally sovereign, the reality of power lay with the Pharisees. There was a queen, but no *king* in Israel. A work written to uphold the Pharisaic theory of government by High Priest and Sanhedrin might well have appeared during this period.[1]

interpolated work; De Rossi's edition seems to stand alone in this particular correction (or misprint?): see the ed. published at Mantua, 1513, that of Genebrardus, Basiliae, 1580, and that of Constantinople, 1516. The last reads: "From the war of Herod to the war of Vespasian, eighty years. And these in the presence of the Temple. From the war of Vespasian to the war of Titus, fifty and two years. [The numbers are expressed by words, not by the numeral signs.] From the war of Titus to the war of Ben Coziba, sixteen years. And the war of Ben Coziba [*i.e.* Bar Cocheba], three years and a half." Instead of *Herod* (הורודום), the other editions read אסוירום, which looks like Severus, but which Volkmar corrects into Sabinus. The numerals vary in the different editions. It is hardly safe to build upon so uncertain a foundation; but even if Qitos be correct, and Quietus intended, the reference will be to the historical war in Mesopotamia, not to the hypothetical one in Judea. Volkmar labours in vain to force the words of Spartianus, "Lycia denique ac Palaestina rebelles animos efferebant," into evidence of an actual revolt in Judea; and when ('Handbuch,' p. 56) he quotes a statement relating to Lusius Quietus (*ὥστε ἐς τοὺς ἐστρατηγότας ἐγγραφῆναι, καὶ ὑπατεῦσαι τῆς τε Παλαιστίνης ἄρξαι· ἐξ ὧν που καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐφθονήθη* (*i.e.* by Hadrian) *καὶ ἐμισήθη καὶ ἀπώλετο*), with the remark that the last sentence contains "the theme of the entire Judith-poem;" and actually ventures upon the following paraphrase of it: *Λούσιος μάλιστά που πρὸς τῆς Ἰουδαίας* (*Ἰουδίθ*) *ἀπώλετο, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτετμημένος,* he forces upon our perception the extreme artificiality of his theory, and the hopelessness of finding any real support for it in the documents to which he refers us. The simple truth is that the Book of Judith presents not the smallest trace of the state of Jewish affairs in the Roman times; and the citation by S. Clement of Rome is of itself a fatal objection to Volkmar's theory. (See Lightfoot, 'Epp. of S. Clement,' pp. 4, 5; where the date of the epistle is fixed as A.D. 95.) As Lipsius has pointed out, the *yom Turyanos* (or *Tiryanos*) of the Megillath Taanith need not refer to Trajan at all, but to the Roman general Rufus, the *tyrannus* who crushed Bar Cocheba.

Further objections to Volkmar's theory will be found in the commentary.

[1] The mention of the Edomites as enemies of the Jews depends on O. T. recollections, and on the data of 1 Macc. iv. 61; v. 1–3. Consequently, it does not prove, as Lenormant supposed, that the book is older than the time of John Hyrcanus. Similar considerations invalidate Movers' theory that the author has transferred the political geography of his own day to the past, because he includes Scythopolis and Samaria in the Jewish state (ch. iii. 10; iv. 4), whereas they were independent of Judea, till Hyrcanus conquered and annexed them (Joseph. 'Ant.' xiii. 10, 3). The reference to Samaria may be explained by 1 Macc. xi. 28, 34, and the heathenism of the sea-coast (ch. ii. 28) by 1 Macc. v. 15, 68; x. 69, 75, 77, 86; without the assumption that the book is prior to the last years of Jannaeus, who con-

In weaving his didactic romance, the author draws freely upon such historical knowledge as he possessed, borrowing much from the sacred records of his own people, and something from the less familiar field of foreign history. In the happy age which he professes to describe, a signal deliverance of the country had been won from Heaven, by dint of rigorous adhesion to the precepts of a developed Mosaism. God could not look with indifference upon the public prayers and fasts of a united people (ch. iv. 11–13): comp. 1 Macc. iii. 46–49. The lesson of Israel's past was that "whilst they sinned not before their God, they prospered; . . . but when they departed from the way which he appointed them, they were destroyed" (ch. v. 17, 18). What that way was, in the estimation of the writer, is evident from the account which he gives of his heroine (ch. viii. 4–6). She is represented as a rich and beautiful widow (a compliment, perhaps, to the royal widow Salome), living in strict seclusion, mortifying the flesh with the austerities of a nun, wearing sackcloth next the skin, keeping strict fast except on "the eves of the sabbaths and the sabbaths, and the eves of the new moons and the new moons, and the feasts and solemn days of the house of Israel." The greater strictness in the observance of festivals exacted by the rigid Pharisee is here by implication advocated. Not only the sabbaths and the new moons which the Law prescribed, and which Antiochus Epiphanes sought to abolish (Dan. vii. 25; 1 Macc. i. 45; Megillath Antiochus; Midrash Hanuccah; *vid. infra*), but also the eves of those festivals were now required to be observed. Circumcision is the test of the proselyte Achior's sincerity (ch. xiv. 10). What is said (ch. xi. 13) about the unlawfulness of even "touching with the hands" the firstfruits of corn and the tenths of wine and oil, and Judith's ablutions before prayer and before her daily meal (ch. xii. 7–9), is evidence in the same direction. The influence with the Most High of such zeal for the Law was, in the author's judgment, practically unbounded. The elders of Bethulia suppose that Judith's prayers will bring them rain (ch. viii. 31); a detail which recalls the Jewish story about Onias (Coniah), called המעגל, who was able to coerce the Almighty by his prayers. (Onias was contemporary with Simeon ben Shetach: *vid. infra.*) The unqualified approbation bestowed upon the treacherous cruelty of the patriarch Simeon—a feature in Judith which has occasioned some perplexity—is easily accounted for upon our theory of the origin of the book. In ch. viii. 1 (see also ix. 2) Simeon figures as Judith's original ancestor; a fact which at once reminds us that a Simeon was the forefather of Judas Maccabeus, whose father, Mattathias, was "the son of John, the son of Simeon" (1 Macc. ii. 1). Simeon was, in fact, a Maccabean (better, Hasmonean) name; and the thought of the old writer may have embraced "Simon (or Simeon) called Thassi,"[1] the heroic

quered the towns of the coast (Joseph. 'Ant.' xiii. 15, 4; cf. xiii. 12, 2).

On the other hand, a Jew writing after A.D. 70, when the Sanhedrin took up its quarters at Jamnia, would hardly have reckoned that town as heathen (ch. ii. 28; cf. iii. 8).

Judith dies at the age of 105 (ch. xvi. 23). It is a curious fact that from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Salome is a period of about 105 years (175–70 B.C.).

Again, if Judith be supposed to have been 23 when she killed Holofernes-Nicanor in 161 B.C., she must have lived 82 years after that event, to reach the age of 105. But 82 deducted from 161 leaves 79, and 79 B.C. was the year of Salome's accession as sole ruler. Cf. also the note on ch. xvi. 25.

[1] The Syriac has *Tharsi*, i.e. perhaps "shield-bearer," from Chald. חרים, *tĕrēs*, "a shield:" cf. Arab. *tarrâs* and *târis*, from *turs*, "a shield." All the epithets of the five brothers would naturally be not Hebrew but Jewish-Aramean, the vernacular of the time. In that case, "Caddis" is doubtless the Gaddi of the Syriac version; an appellative from Gad (Syr. *gaddā*), "fortune," meaning "lucky," Felix (cf. Gaddi, Num. xiii. 11).

"Avaran," Syr. *Ḥawrān*, perhaps means "the pale" (from חור Chald. and Syr., *albus fuit*).

The "Savaran" of 1 Macc. vi. 43 should also be Avaran.

"Apphus," the surname of Jonathan, is in the Syr. *Ḥappûs*, which may be compared with the root חפס, "to dig," and then "to search out," *explorare*, *excogitare*. Apphus will then be a good name for a military leader (cf. also the Heb. uses of חפש).

"Maccabeus," the most famous of these epithets, has been variously derived. The Syriac has *Maqbi*, and the name is so written

elder brother of Judas, who was recognised as High Priest and ruler of the Jews by Demetrius Nicator (143 B.C.), and also by the Romans,—a recognition solemnly ratified by his grateful countrymen, who decreed the permanence of those honours to him and his heirs, "until there should arise a faithful prophet" (1 Macc. xiv. 35 *sqq.*). But the chief reference may be to another Simeon, who was, if my view be correct, more nearly the author's contemporary; I mean the famous Simeon ben Shetach, who led the Pharisaic party during the reigns of Alexander Jannaeus and Alexandra Salome. This Simeon was at least closely connected with the Hasmonean family, as he is called the queen's "brother" ('Berachoth,' 48a, l. 21). His influence, which in the king's time had been great, became unbounded under Salome; and, if we may credit the Talmudic accounts, his unrelenting party-spirit drove him on to a ruthlessness even surpassing that of his patriarchal namesake and prototype. (See 'Jerus. Sanhedr.' vi. 6; and passages cited in Introd. to Susanna.)[1] Among the statutes enacted by himself and his party were certain changes in the law of evidence, especially affecting the kind of charges exemplified in the Story of Susanna (*vid. infra*); and certain regulations protecting the rights of married women (*e.g.* that in all future marriage-contracts the husband should execute an instrument, making all his goods liable for his wife's dowry), and restricting the power of divorce (cf. Judith ix. 2). These reforms may have been partly, if not wholly, intended to gratify a female ruler; an intention which may also be recognised in our romancer's portraiture of a woman, and that a widow, as the saviour of the commonwealth.[1] At the same time, no doubt, this representation suggests the weakness of the Jewish community, considered from the human standpoint, and revives old memories of great deliverances wrought by women, such as Deborah and Jael and Esther; while hardly veiling a triumphant scoff at the defeat of the Syrians by their numerical inferiors.

§ V. His Use of Pseudonyms.

It will be evident already that I regard the chief proper names in the Book of Judith as covering allusions to the persons and historical situations of a period much later than the times from which they are ostensibly derived. The name of the heroine, Judith, which was the only form available as a feminine of Judah —strictly, of course, it is the feminine of Jehudi (see note, ch. viii. 1)—was doubtless chosen as suggesting that of Judas Maccabeus.[2] The "Nabuchodonosor" of the story, who reigned over the "Assyrians" in "Nineveh the great city," and who slew Arphaxad king of the Medes in the mountains of Ragau,[3] is a personage unknown to sober history, and one whom the lately recovered annals of Assyria and Babylon have made more than ever impossible. But the difficulty vanishes when we remember that the real Nabuchodonosor, who razed Jerusalem and the Temple, and deported the

in the Megillath Antiochus (מקבי), where it is explained to mean "Slayer of Strong Ones" (קטל תקיפין), probably by a play on מכה כבירים. I think that the word should be written מַקְבָא, and that this is either a popular pronunciation of מְעַקְבָא, in the sense "he who tracks or traces out" (cf. Targ. Prov. xxiii. 30; Maccoth 10 a, quoted in Levy's 'Chald. Handwörterbuch,' where the root is explained by *nachspüren*), which agrees with what is said of Judas in 1 Macc. iii. 5, *καὶ ἐδίωξεν ἀνόμους ἐξερευνῶν*: or else an Aphel formation from נקב (קבב), in the sense "he who pierces through" with sword or spear (Hab. iii. 14; 2 Kings xviii. 21; Job xl. 24, xli. 2).

[1] "Said R. Eliezer, An example (may be seen) in the case of Simeon ben Shetach, who hanged women at Ascalon. They said unto him, Eighty women hanged he; though they do not (legally) sentence two persons in one day." (Tract 'Neziqin:' Livorno, 1770.)

[1] If Salome is really hinted at, this explains the commanding, almost queenly attitude assumed by Judith in her interview with the Elders, and on other occasions (ch. viii. 10; xiv. 5; xv. 8).

[2] It will be seen that I do not hold the allegorical view of Grotius and others, which makes Judith Judea, and Bethulia the "virgin of Jehovah" (so Bissell still), which last, as Ewald observes, was pardonable in Grotius's day, but is no longer so. See note on ch. iv. 6.

[3] Old Persian *Rhagâ*; the modern *Raï*. But the LXX. has Ragau for Heb. Reu, the fifth from Arphaxad (Gen. xi. 18).

Jews to Babylonia (B.C. 588), became in the thought of their posterity the prototype and symbol of all tyrannous oppressors of their nation; and a probability at once suggests itself that some later king, some "new Nebuchadnezzar," Antiochus Epiphanes for instance, may be intended by this ancient parallel. This suggestion is confirmed by the fact that "Assyrians" undoubtedly stands for Syrians in the later Jewish usage (see Joseph. 'Ant.' xiii. 6, 7). And if "Nabuchodonosor" denotes some *Syrian* king, we see at once why his capital is called "Nineveh" rather than Babylon; for Nineveh was the capital of the Assyrians (= Syrians). In Judith, therefore, "Nineveh the great city" will mean Antioch the Great, the capital of the Seleucids. (In quite the same way, "Babylon" means Rome in Jewish writings of the first two centuries: cf. 1 Pet. v. 13; and Apocalypse *passim.*) In this connexion it is interesting to observe that, according to the adaptation of the story in the Midrash (*vid.* p. 13, 2), the Israelites pursue the enemy to Antioch (Jud. xv. 5, "past Damascus," which was the capital of the old Syrian kingdom).

"Arphaxad," again, is a Hebrew-Biblical ethnic name, and not a Median royal one (ch. i. 1). It is true that the story connects with Arphaxad certain details of genuine Median history; but those details belong to different kings. The fortifications of Ecbatana are ascribed by Herodotus to the first king of the Medes, whom he calls Deioces (Hdt. i. 98); the Median sovereign who was defeated and slain by the Assyrians was his successor, Phraortes (Hdt. i. 102); and it was the son of the latter, Cyaxares, who in conjunction with Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, achieved the final overthrow of the Assyrian empire at the fall of Nineveh (B.C. 607). Possibly, as Lipsius observes, Arphaxad stands for the Median sovereign Arbaces, of whom Ctesias relates what Herodotus relates of Cyaxares (Diod. Sic. ii. 24 *sqq.*), and makes him die in *the twelfth year* of Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 593 (see Jud. i. 1). The Book of Judith does, in fact, contain some real although confused reminiscences of the reign of the historical Nebuchadnezzar, interwoven in motley fashion with recollections of other and later times. Lenormant has suggested a plausible identification of Arphaxad with Artaxias, the founder of the kingdom of Armenia, and of Artaxata its capital; who was defeated and captured by Antiochus Epiphanes (Appian, 'Syr.' p. 117 B); just as Arphaxad, the builder of Ecbatana and founder of the Median monarchy, was worsted and slain by Nabuchodonosor. It is, at all events, certain that genuine history knows nothing of an Assyrian invasion of Media such as that described in Judith. The monuments record no capture of Ecbatana, no killing of "Arphaxad." Sargon made a few inroads upon W. Media; but the Assyrians never subdued the interior (see Sayce, Hdt. p. 60). If in 721 B.C. Sargon could deport Israelites to "the cities of the Medes," border cities must be meant. Sennacherib made an expedition against Media, but with no great success. Esarhaddon invaded it repeatedly, and has recorded his capture of Sidirparna and Eparna, "lords of strong cities," and how three other Median city-lords submitted to his yoke. But he speaks of the country as remote, and untrodden by his fathers. His successor Assurbanipal made no expedition against Media, so far as we know. But "Medes" in our work may very well designate the Parthians, who succeeded to the Medo-Persian empire; and "Arphaxad" perhaps does more than hint at the Parthian royal titles Arsaces, Arsacides.[1] At any rate, the selection of the name cannot have been entirely arbitrary, but was doubtless determined by assonance with some really

[1] So Ewald, who identifies the High Priest Joacim with John Hyrcanus, and connects the story of Judith with the war of Demetrius II. against Egypt. While the Syrian forces were ravaging the sea-coast, the Jews trembled for fear of the like treatment. Judith was therefore written by some patriot to encourage resistance, but the dangerous names of the present were concealed under historic disguises ('Gesch.' iv. 541 ff.). The objection is that the main facts of that war are not discernible in our story; and that, on this view, Nabuchodonosor does duty for two very different characters, viz. Antiochus Sidetes and Demetrius II. See Fritzsche and Lipsius.

historical name. Whether Volkmar be right or wrong in his equation of Arphaxad with Artavasdes, an Armenian and also a Median royal name, which he explains to mean "The Great King," and compares with Arsaces, which John Malalas (p. 351) renders ὁ βασιλεύς; it is at least certain that Arsaces was the title of that "king of Persia and Media" against whom Demetrius Nicator made his ill-starred expedition into Media, ending in his own captivity (*circ.* 141 B.C.), as related in the First of Maccabees (1 Macc. xiv. 1–3). The campaign of Nabuchodonosor against Arphaxad was hardly conceived independently of this brief account, or of the sources of it; although the exigencies of his plot forced the author of Judith to conduct the train of events to an exactly opposite issue, so that it is the Median sovereign who is defeated, and the Assyrian that triumphs. What, however, principally occupied the mind of the old romancer was, in all likelihood, the expedition of Antiochus Epiphanes into Persia, as we shall see (1 Macc. iii. 31–37; vi. 1 *sqq.*; 2 Macc. ix. 1–3).

Holofernes, the "chief captain" of the Assyrians, bears a name which resembles Medo-Persic rather than Assyro-Babylonian designations; just as Bagoas the eunuch, his major-domo, bears a name which is simply a Persian term denoting eunuch (see note, ch. xii. 11); and just as Nabuchodonosor's demand of "earth and water," in token of submission, is an obvious reminiscence of a familiar Persian custom (ch. ii. 4). We need not stop to consider Grotius's allegorical explanation of this curious name by the more curious "Chaldee" הלפר נחש, "lictor serpentis."[1] Holofernes (there is no *h* in the Greek or the Syriac) would seem to be merely a variant spelling of Orophernes, an authentic Persian form, and in fact a standing title of the kings of Cappadocia, both in the Persian and in the Seleucid epoch.[1] And when it is observed that an Orophernes sat on the Cappadocian throne in the year 158 B.C.[2] —that is, in the time of Jonathan the High Priest, the brother of Judas Maccabeus—we obtain another coincidence so strikingly corroborative of our theory that it can hardly be considered accidental. The real Orophernes was a military usurper, of violent and unscrupulous character, and well qualified on these, if on no other grounds, to play the part of the savage Assyrian general in the drama of Judith. Here, as in so many other instances, the author has availed himself of actual history for the purposes of his historical fiction. The name of another chief actor in the play supplies yet another hint of the age of our story. The High Priest contemporary with Judith is Joacim (ch. iv. 6); and Joacim is a variant of Eliacim,[3] which was the Hebrew—that is, the original—name of the Hellenizing high priest Alcimus, the unscrupulous adversary of Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc. vii. 5) and his brother Jonathan (1 Macc. ix. 54 *sqq.*). The wide difference evident between the fictitious and the historical Joacim, hardly weakens the force of this coincidence, when we remember the arbitrary character of the work under consideration. As pointed out in the note *ad loc.*, it is also true that Joacim was the name of the successor of Joshua, the High Priest of the Return (Neh. xii. 10); a fact which made the name all the more suitable for the purposes of the writer, who wishes it to appear that his professed history belongs to the time immediately subsequent to the return from the Babylonian Captivity (ch. iv. 2, 3). The long speech of Achior the Ammonite, which is a retrospect of Israelite history from the times of Abraham to those of the Exile and Restoration, is sufficient proof of this assertion (see

[1] The article is a mistake. According to Ewald, לופר, or rather ליפר, is (or may be) a very rare Rabbinic loanword from the Greek (= λειοφόρος, "booty-bearer"). Spiegel has orally informed me that the termination -φερνης in Graeco-Persian names is identical with the Old Persian *qareno*, "splendour." The name Orophernes, therefore, is perhaps equivalent to the Greek term εὐρυφαής.

[1] We need not, therefore, with Keil and Gutschmid, suppose that the basis of the story is the campaign of Artaxerxes Ochus against Egypt, in which a Cappadocian prince of this name took part (Diod. Sic. xxxi.).

[2] Polyb. iii. 5, 2; Aelian. ii. 41; Appian. 'de rebus Syr.' 47, where the spelling is Olophernes.

[3] The Vulgate reads Eliachim, except in ch. xv. 9.

especially ch. v. 18, 19). But this is merely a literary device or caprice, and does not exclude the applicability of the language to a similar cycle of events in a later age (cf. the ὅτι ἦν ἔρημος of Jerusalem, with 1 Macc. i. 39; iii. 45). It is not perhaps insignificant that the term προσφάτως of ch. iv. 3—a passage whose meaning is quite clear, in spite of the arguments of Nickes and others—recurs in the same connexion in the prayer of the priests after Nicanor's threats against the Temple, which four years previously had been restored by Judas Maccabeus (τόνδε τὸν προσφάτως κεκαθαρισμένον οἶκον, 2 Macc. xiv. 36). Nicanor's, I take it, is *the* personality concealed under the pseudonym Holofernes—Orophernes; although individual traits and single details may be derived from what is told of other Syrian commanders of the Maccabean, or, as we ought to say, Hasmonean time. Similarly, although more than one of the Syrian invasions of Judea may be thought to present points of contact with the expedition of Holofernes, I am convinced that the expedition of Nicanor is the one that dominated the mind of the writer. The overthrow of Nicanor and the beheading of the "man that bare deadly hate unto Israel" (1 Macc. vii. 26) was, at least to the later Jewish imagination, the grand event of those times; accordingly it constitutes the climax and conclusion of the Second Book of Maccabees. In my opinion, then, the Book of Judith is a free composition in the manner of the Haggada, principally based upon recollections of the feats of the heroic Judas; and more especially upon the facts related in 1 Macc. iii. 27–iv. 61, vi. 1–7, vii. 26–50; 2 Macc. ix. 1–3, x. 1–8, xv. A careful comparison of these passages with the corresponding portions of Judith would probably go far to convince any unprejudiced reader of the substantial truth of this view. But, indeed, the numerous minute touches as well as larger resemblances by which an affinity may be established between the Book of Judith and the Maccabean chronicles, can only be estimated adequately at the cost of a thorough comparative study of the three books. To point out a few of them. As Nabuchodonosor claims dominion over Egypt (ch. i. 9, 10, 12), and invades Judea in pursuance of a general scheme of vengeance upon all the western countries; so Antiochus fell upon Jerusalem on his return from invading Egypt (1 Macc. i. 16 *sqq.*, 20 *sqq.*), which he had aspired to annex to his own dominions. As Nabuchodonosor invades Media and enters Ecbatane (ch. i. 14), so Antiochus Epiphanes invades Persia (1 Macc. iii. 31), enters Persepolis (2 Macc. ix. 2), and comes to Ecbatane (2 Macc. ix. 3). As Holofernes crossed the Euphrates and destroyed all the "high cities" (ch. ii. 24), so Antiochus crossed the Euphrates and went through the "high countries" (1 Macc. iii. 37). As in Judith the invaders of Judea are "Assyrians," so in Maccabees Nicanor is compared to Sennacherib's envoys (1 Macc. vii. 33); and both in that passage and in 2 Macc. viii. 19, xv. 22, the destruction of the Assyrians is mentioned in connexion with Nicanor. In Judith (ii. 8) Nabuchodonosor appears as a destroyer of temples and idols; in 1 Macc. vi. 2 (2 Macc. ix. 2) Antiochus appears as a robber of temples. In Judith, *l. c.*, vi. 2, Nabuchodonosor claims exclusive divinity for himself; in 2 Macc. ix. 12, Antiochus, dying miserably, confesses that "It is meet to be subject unto God, and that a man that is mortal should not proudly think of himself as if he were God."[1] The noble Psalm of Judith ends with a prophecy that the Lord will take vengeance on the foes of Israel by "putting fire and worms in their flesh;" but this is precisely what befel Antiochus Epiphanes, according to the tradition in 2 Macc. ix. 9, with which the author of Judith was probably acquainted, in which case he has put into his heroine's mouth a kind of *vaticinium post eventum* (contrast 1 Macc. vi. 8 *sqq.*). And last, but not least, there is the

[1] The style of Θεὸς, adopted by the Seleucid sovereigns, and the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus, is sufficient to account for the Haggadist's representation. But, of course, the text of Judith is only an extremely concrete mode of symbolizing the Syrian sovereign's resolve to uproot Judaism, and replace it by Hellenic institutions; a resolution which was the prime source of the Hasmonean revolt under Judas Maccabeus. (Cf. also Ezek. xxxi. 11, Heb.)

remarkable addition in the Vulgate (ch. xvi. 31), which tells us that the day of Judith's triumph was observed by the Jews as an annual feast from her time onwards (*usque in praesentem diem*). This notice may have existed in S. Jerome's Chaldee codex: more probably it embodies a conjectural identification suggested by the Rabbi who assisted him in the translation of the book. At all events, it points apparently to the festival known as the *yom Nicanor* (יום ניקנור) or Nicanor's Day (13th Adar), *i.e.* the occasion of his death, B.C. 161; or, as the Jewish versions of the story assume (see the Appendix below), to the festival of the Dedication of the Temple (חנוכה, Chanukkah; τὰ Ἐγκαίνια, Encaenia, John x. 22), which began on the 25th Chisleu, having been instituted by Judas Maccabeus, B.C. 165. The former is more likely, both on other accounts, and because the Vulgate speaks of a one-day celebration (cf. 1 Macc. vii. 49); whereas the Dedication was kept "by the space of eight days" (1 Macc. iv. 59).[1]

[1] "Judith in Calendario Hebraeorum assignatur 25 mensis noni qui Casleu dicitur" (Corn. à Lap.). But nothing of the kind is found in the Hebrew calendars; and Rainolds rightly observes: "Atqui dies ille nunquam est habitus pro festo a Judaeis, neque agnoscunt talem aliquem diem, aut quicquam tale esse gestum. *Nemo veterum Judaeorum mentionem fecit alicujus hujusmodi festi.*" The forgery which R. Azarias (de Rossi) translated into Hebrew, under the title of ספר ידידיה האלכשנדרי ('Meor Enaim,' iii. 32, fol. 105, 2), which asserts that the High Priest Jeshua, the father of Joakim, "wrote the history of Judith, and ordained that the memory of her deliverance be kept every year," is not an exception to the statement in Italics. Certain modern Jews have connected Judith's feast with the Encaenia, confusing her victory with that of the Maccabees. In a hymn received into the Rituals her exploit is interwoven with the victory of Judas and the Dedication; whence R. David Ganz ('Tzemach David,' Millenar. 4, ann. 622) remarks: "Judith, a brave Hebrewess, killed Holofernes (אלפירנא), the captain of the host, when she lay beside him on his couch, and cut off his head . . . as it is written in the Book of Judith. The time of this event we know not; for I have found nothing of it in Josephus: but according to the poet, the event occurred in the days of the Hasmoneans" (ולפי דברי הפייטן המיסד יוצר של חנוכה היה זה המעשה נם בימי חשמונאים). After a few remarks upon the uncertainty of this evidence, Ganz refers his reader to R. Azarias (*l.c.*), who rejects this opinion, and indeed the whole story of Judith. (See the discussion in Selden, 'De Synedriis,' iii. 13.)

APPENDIX I.

I will now give the Hebrew forms of the story, referred to above, which I translate from the text of Dr. Ad. Jellinek, 'Bet ha-Midrash,' i. 130 *sqq.*, ii. 12 *sqq.*

History of Judith.

"The story goes that the king of the Gentiles came against Jerusalem with forty thousand mighty men of valour, and besieged it many days. And the children of Israel were afraid of them through the siege and the distress; and they were in great tribulation. And there was in Jerusalem a damsel of the daughters of the prophets. And when she saw that the destruction was great and the affliction strong, she put her life in her hand, and went forth with her maid, and knocked at the city gates, and said unto the porters: Open the gates that I may go out; peradventure the Holy One (blessed be He!) will work for me a sign and a wonder, and I shall kill this infidel (כופר), and Israel will be saved by my hand. And they said unto her: We will not open; for we fear that thou desirest one of the king's horsemen to be wedded to him, or that thou wilt frame evil designs against the city to take it. And she said: Far be it from me; but I trust in the pity of Heaven to help me against this enemy. And she sware unto them by Jehovah the God of Israel; and they opened the gates, and she went forth with her maid. And she came unto the tent of the king, and went in before him; and the damsel was exceedingly beautiful (עד מאד). And when the king saw her, she found grace in his sight, and obtained mercy before

him. And the king said unto her: Who art thou, my daughter, and whence comest thou, and whither goest thou? And she said unto him: Of the daughters of the prophets am I: I heard from my father that thou wilt subdue the city and take it; so I came to intreat for my life, and the life of my father's house, to deliver them when thou takest the city. And the king said unto her: I will do according to thy word, and I am well pleased to take thee to me to wife. And she said unto him: My lord, O king, behold I am as one of thine handmaids; do what is good in thine eyes. But I must acquaint thee, my lord, O king, that I am unclean (שאנכי נדה), and in the evening I shall be ready for the bath (ראויה לטבילה). Bid thy servants, in the evening when they see two women going to the fountain, that they look not upon us, and that they speak not with us good or evil. And I will go and bathe, and return to thee. And the king bade that so it be done. And he rejoiced with great joy over the damsel, and over the good news that she brought unto the king. And he gathered all his princes and his servants, and made them a banquet, and did eat, and drank of the wine and was drunken, and slept heavily. And all departed, every one to his own tent, and none was left with the king, save the damsel and the maid. And the damsel directed her heart to Heaven, and she rose and drew the sword, and cut off therewith the king's head, and she carried his head in her hands;[1] and the two of them went and passed through the camp, and none spake a word to them, until they arrived at the gates of Jerusalem. And she called to the porters, and said unto them: Open the gate, for the Holy One (blessed be He!) hath holpen me, and I have slain the enemy. And they believed not her words. And there was one of the king's princes (or captains) who used to say to the king, Let this people alone, besiege them not, and fight not with them in battle, for their God is with them, and he loveth them, and will not deliver them into thy hand. See what he hath done to those who were before thee, to the former kings and to the princes (captains) who besieged Israel, what was their latter end. And he multiplied arguments (תוכחות), until the king was incensed at him; and the king commanded to bind him, and to hang him up alive beside the gate of the city.

"And when the damsel saw that they were not pleased to open the gate, she said to them: If ye will not believe me, behold the captain hanging there will recognise his head. And they believed the words of the damsel, and opened the gate. And they shewed the head to the hanged captain, and he recognised it and said: Blessed be Jehovah, who hath delivered him into your hand, and rescued you out of his hand. And the thing was noised abroad, and the young men and the warriors of Israel gathered together, and they took their swords in their hand, and they came to the camp, and were crying with a loud voice, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is One Lord! And the men of the camp saw them, and went to the king's tent, and saw that their champion was dead; and they fled, and left their tents and their horses and all their wealth, and saved their life; and Israel pursued after them unto Antioch, and returned in peace, and took much spoil of them (מאד). And the elders and wise men of Israel gathered together, and went into the house of Jehovah; and blessed and praised Jehovah, who giveth them rest from all their enemies, and who saveth them in the time of trouble alway, and confirmeth his promises in them, &c. He in his mercy will do signs and wonders (נסים ונפלאות) with us in the time of the present distress, as he did with our fathers.

(The History of Judith is ended.)"[1]

[1] Reading בידיה. Dr. Jellinek has printed בדדיה, "in her bosom."

[1] It will be seen that in this adaptation of the story to the purposes of the Midrash, the proper names are all omitted, just as they are in the similar adaptation of Tobit which Dr. Neubauer has printed from the Midrash Tanḥûmâ (Book of Tobit, pp. 36 *sqq.*). The variations from the Apocryphal account (Judith, a daughter of the prophets; her excuse for visiting the fountain) may perhaps be traces of an older and independent Hebrew narrative. Dr. Jellinek observes: "This short history of Judith is found in the

Of the next piece, the *Midrash la-Hanukkah*, Dr. Jellinek observes: "The Midrash, here printed for the first time, after a MS. of the Leipzig Raths-Bibliothek (Cod. XII. of the printed catalogue), which also contains the 'History of Judith' given above, is of great importance, as it is the hitherto unknown source of the most important Haggadic elements worked up (*verarbeiteten*) in the festal poems of the two sabbaths of the Chanuka-feast.[1] Judith is here brought into connexion with the Chanuka-feast [*i.e.* the festival of the Dedication or Encaenia, established by Judas Maccabeus]; and the narrative of Hannah, the daughter of John, is here imparted in two versions." I translate such portions of the Midrash as bear on our story:—

"The Rabbis have handed down as follows. In the days of the kingdom of the wicked Javan, they decreed against Israel that . . . whoever married a wife, she should be wedded to the governor (הגמון, ἡγεμών) first, and afterwards go back to her husband. And they went on in this way three years and eight months, until the daughter of John the High Priest was wedded. [According to 'Megillath Taanith,' cap. vi. p. 51, ap. Meyer, 'de festis Hebr.,' it was the only daughter of Mattathias ben Johanan, the High Priest.] When they led her to this governor, she uncovered (פרעה) her head, and rent her clothes, and stood bare in the face of the people. Straightway Judas and his brethren were filled with indignation against her, and said, Bring her forth to burn; and let not this matter be revealed to the government, on account of danger to lives: for she hath hardened her face to become naked in the face of all this people. Then she said to him, How shall I be exposed to scorn before my brethren and my friends, and not be exposed to scorn in the eyes of an uncircumcised and unclean person, since

collection of small histories or חבור יפה of R. Nissim ben Jacob [fl. circ. A.D. 1030]; and although the name of Judith is not therein mentioned, it stands expressly in the *Histories* (מעשיות) of a Vatican Codex 285, in Midrash No. XII. of our collection, and in a little MS. of the Bodleian. The story is probably taken from an old Hebrew presentation of the history of Judith, which in some points deviated from the apocryphal Book of Judith. The nameless captain is the Ammonite Achior of the apocryphal relation."

[1] "In a prayer for the first Sabbath of the Feast of the Dedication, which begins אודך כי אנפת בי ותשב, the book (of Judith) is mentioned quite plainly in connexion with the religious persecutions under Antiochus. The names of Judith, Holofernes, Achior, are expressly given. Although we cannot say how old that liturgy is, yet we must conclude from it that the heroic deed of Judith is no fable, but a real event, as we see in that prayer a sort of tradition. The deed was done in the time of the Maccabean war; but the book must have been written late, for Josephus does not mention its contents, though fond of such stories."—*Die Apokryphen des A. T. von M. Gutmann, Distriktsrabbiner*, Altona, 1841.

"Some pretend there were two Judiths, the one of Bethulia, d. of Merari, who beheaded Olofernes; the other of Jerusalem, d. of Mattathias, and sister of Judas Maccabeus (or as others say, d. of John the Hasmonean, and sister of Judas), who was loved by Nicanor, general under Demetrius (1 Macc. vii. 26), and killed him, and cut off his head, about three years after the Maccabean victory, and while Judas was at war with him. Whence R. Gedaliah ben Jechai, talking about the Maccabean exploits, observes: 'And this deliverance is in our oral tradition (קבלה), that Nicanor was killed by means of Judith bath Mattithyah, whom Nicanor loved greatly, and she came unto him, and gave him victuals of cheese which cause thirst, and made him drunk, and killed him. And she brought his head to her brother; and then the Jews went against the Greeks, and killed them, and drove them from the land of Israel. It is right that you should know that there is no mention of this woman save the Midrash, which R. Nissim, Sabb. cap. ii., brings forward.' ('Ad Alphesium,' i., tit. 'De Sabbato,' cap. 2, fol. 106 r.) Indeed, R. Nissim there, omitting Judith's name, and speaking of the daughter, not of Mattithyah but of Johanan his son, taken I suppose for Judith herself, says that the Greeks 'decreed against all the betrothed virgins that they should wed them first to the governor; and by a woman's hand a sign was done, which they tell in the Midrash; viz. that the d. of Johanan made the chief of the enemy eat cheese till he was drunk, and cut off his head; and they all fled. And therefore it was made customary to eat cheese at Chanukkah.' Hence R. Gedaliah says it is probable that when the Megillath Taanith had become obsolete, the sages of the time agreed to connect Judith's feast with the rejoicing of Chanukkah, though the two Judiths were different." (Selden, who cites all this from 'Meor Enaim,' iii. 51, fol. 163, 2, and adds that the *yom Nicanor* was Adar 13 in spring, while the Encaenia were held in winter, and the two feasts were never confused with each other: 1 Macc. vii. 43, 49; 2 Macc. xv. 36; Joseph. 'Ant.' xii. 7, 7; 10, 5. The Maccabean Judith is a fiction.)

ye are willing to betray me, and to bring him to lie with me. When Judas and his confederates (חביריו) heard that, they took counsel together to kill the governor. Straightway they clad the damsel in royal attire, and made a bridal canopy of myrtle, from the house of Hashmonai to the house of the governor; and all the masters of harp and cittern came, and the masters of music; and they were playing and dancing until they came to the governor's house. When the king heard that, he said to his princes and his servants, Behold them, they are of the great ones of Israel, of the seed of Aaron the priest: how glad are they to do my will! worthy are they of great glory. And he bade cause his princes (captains) and his servants to go outside, and Judas and his confederates went in with his sister to the governor. And they cut off his head, and spoiled all that he had, and killed his princes and his servants, and trode down the Javanim (Greeks) utterly, save the root of the kingdom. And Israel who were in the city were in terror and trembling, for the sake of those young men of Israel. A voice from heaven (בת קול) came forth and said, The young men, who went forth to make war with Antioch (אנטוכיא), have gained the victory![1] And those young men returned, and shut the gates, and wrought repentance, and occupied themselves with the Law, and with works of mercy. When the king of the Greeks heard that Israel had killed his governor, he gathered all his people, and came before Jerusalem with siege, and the Jews were sorely terrified. And there was there a widow woman, Judith by name; and she took her maid, and went to the gates of Jerusalem, and said, Let me go forth, that Heaven (המקום) may work a miracle by my hand. And they opened unto her, and she went forth, and went to the troops. And they said unto her, How fair thou art! She said unto them, My pleasure is to speak unto the king. And she went before the king. And he said unto her, What seekest thou? And she said, My lord, I am a daughter of the great ones of Israel, and my brethren are prophets. And I heard, when they were prophesying, that to-morrow Jerusalem will fall into thy hand. When he heard it, he rejoiced with great joy. And he had a man of his wise men who used to watch the signs of heaven (מזלות), and he was wont to say: I see that Israel are returning (unto God) in penitence, and that thou wilt not prevail over them: return unto thy place. And the king was filled with indignation against him; and the king bade seize him, and bind his hands and feet, and hang him on the tree beside Jerusalem. And the king said, To-morrow, when Jerusalem falleth into our hands, we will kill him. And the king believed this Judith, and loved her, and said unto her, Is it thy pleasure to be taken to wife? And she said unto him, My lord, O king, I am not worthy, save for one of thy servants. But truly, since thy heart inclineth thereto, cause a herald to pass through all the camp, that every one that seeth two women going to the fountain touch them not: because I must go thither, to wash myself and to bathe. Straightway they caused the herald to pass through (the camp), and she did so. And the king made a great banquet, and they drank and were drunken, and afterwards went all, one by one, to their tents. And the king sate in her bosom, and he slept. And this Judith went and lifted his sword (סייף), and cut off his head, and stripped off the linen garment (סדין) upon him. And she went with the king's head to the gates of Jerusalem, and said, Open me the gates,

[1] This one sentence is in Aramaic, not Hebrew. It seems to be borrowed from Sota ix. 13 (Talmud Jerush.), where we read as follows, on the authority of R. Joshua ben Levi (fl. 225 A.D.): "Who rose after him (*i.e.* Zechariah ben Jehoiada)? Jeremiah and Baruch. After they were dead, the later prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. After them, the holy Spirit (*i.e.* prophetic inspiration) ceased; however, people availed themselves of *bath qôl*. An instance. Simeon the Just heard a *bath qôl*, when coming out of the Holy of Holies. And he (*sic*) said, Slain is the army of Golikus (??גוליקס), and his decrees are abolished.

"(Another) instance. The young men had gone forth to fight with Antioch. And John the High Priest heard a *bath qôl*, when he came out of the Holy of Holies, and it said, The young men that made war with Antioch have gained the victory! And they wrote down the very time, and fixed it, and determined that in the self-same hour the thing came to pass."

for already hath the Holy One wrought a miracle (נס) by my hand. And they said unto her, Is it not enough for thee that thou hast played the harlot and dealt corruptly, that thou art also come with craft among us? (שבאת בעלילה עמנו.) Straightway she shewed them the king's head. When they saw it, they opened the gates and came out, and raised the cry, Hear, O Israel, Jehovah our God, Jehovah is One! When the Greeks heard that, they said, To-morrow they will come against us. And they went to the king, and brought him out headless; and there fell upon them terror and dread, and they all fled. And Israel pursued after them, and killed of them ever so many (כמה וכמה). So may the Holy One (blessed be He!) work vengeance on our enemies speedily, and hasten for us salvation, according to that which is written, 'And there shall come to Zion a Redeemer.'

* * * * *

"'Their sword shall go into their own heart, and their bows shall be broken.' Said R. Simeon ben Yochai:[1] These are the Greeks who made war with the house of Hashmonai and his sons. And in the hour that they entered into the temple, a Greek went and took the book of the Law, and brought in Hannah the daughter of John the High Priest, whose beauty was peerless in the world; and she was wedded to Eleazar ben Hashmonai. And this Greek intended to go in unto her, in the presence of her husband and her father. Said John: I am the High Priest, and my sons are three, and thou art Hashmonai, and thy sons are seven; lo (we are) twelve, according to the twelve Tribes. I trust that the Holy One will work a miracle by our hands. Straightway Eleazar drew the sword, and killed this Greek; and he said, My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth."

The longer history of Judith published by Jellinek (*op. cit.* ii. 12–22) keeps closer to the Apocryphal narrative than either of the preceding. It is not, however, a translation of the LXX. or the Vulgate, though often agreeing with the latter against the former (see notes).[1] The story is here retold in a good Hebrew style, with a copious interweaving of phrases and passages from the O. T. The opening sentence, borrowed from the 'Megillath Antiochos,' is this: "And it came to pass in the days of Olofernes (אליפורני) the king of Javan, a king great and strong;—he had subdued many provinces and strong kings, and razed their castles, and burnt their palaces (or temples) with fire;—in the twelfth year of his reign he set his face to go up and subdue Jerusalem the Holy City." This use of the 'Meg. Ant.,' a work first quoted by Saadyah Gaon (941 A.D.), and according to Zunz not older than that period, proves the lateness of this Midrash; but it may preserve some ancient materials. Although the piece is too long for insertion here, points of interest will be found noticed in the commentary. Chief among these are the correct naming of Judith's father as Beeri (not Merari); see Gen. xxvi. 34: the non-mention of the name of Achior, who is called a conquered king; the designation of Chabris and Charmis as priests (not elders), and of Ozias as the *Nasi Yisra'el*, "Prince of Israel" (chief of the Sanhedrin?), and the consequent omission of the High Priest Joacim-Eliacim. Naturally, this Midrash is characterized by numerous abbreviations and expansions of the original story, according to the taste of the unknown author.

[1] Called Rashbai; lived about A.D. 120. Reputed author of the book Zohar.

[1] Several Hebrew translations of Judith appeared in the 16th and 17th centuries (see a note in Neubauer's Tobit, p. vii.). I have seen two at the British Museum; and an edition lies before me which was printed at Vienna in 1819. These editions prove the popularity of the story with the modern Jews. I may here record my obligations to my old pupil, Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum, who has given me much kind help in verifying references.

NOTE.—As to the Jewish feast of Chanukkah, to which the Midrashim relate, the following passage from the Talmud is instructive: "What is Chanukkah? That which the Rabbis have taught: On the 25th in Chisleu, the eight days of Chanukkah are, in the which a man may not mourn, and in the which a man may not afflict himself. For when the star-worshippers entered

the temple, they defiled all the oils that were in the temple; and when the kingdom of the house of Hashmonai prevailed, and conquered them, men sought and found not save a single vial of oil that was laid up (מונח, Ex. xvi. 33, or 'left over,' *ibid.* 23), with the seal of the High Priest. And there was not therein save for one day's lighting. There was done therewith a miracle (נס), and they lighted from it eight days. For another year they fixed them, and made them good days with *Hallel* and *Hoda'ah*." (Tal. Bab. Shabbath, 21 b, l. 21 from end.)

APPENDIX II.

1. The Vulgate and the Septuagint.

S. Jerome tells us in his preface to Judith—

(1) That he had and used a Chaldee text;

(2) That he made his version in the greatest hurry, snatching time from other pressing engagements ("sepositis occupationibus quibus vehementer arctabar, huic unam lucubratiunculam dedi");

(3) That he did not trouble about verbal precision, but was content with an equivalent sense ("magis sensum e sensu quam ex verbo verbum transferens");

(4) That he summarily dismissed from consideration the various readings of MSS., instead of trying (as a modern editor might do) to construct a sounder text by comparison of them ("Multorum codicum varietatem vitiosissimam *amputavi*"; cf. ch. ix. 12, Vulg.); and

(5) That he wrote down in his Latin version only those portions of the narrative for which he was able to find clear warrant in the words of his Chaldee copy: that is to say, he made his Chaldee MS. the standard, if not the sole source of his new edition of the story ("Sola ea quae intelligentia integra in verbis Chaldaeis invenire potui, Latinis expressi").

I think this account fairly corresponds with what we find in the Vulgate. Take the opening chapter.

1. "Arphaxad itaque rex Medorum *subjugaverat multas gentes imperio suo, et ipse aedificavit civitatem potentissimam quam appellavit Ecbatanis.*"

Comparing this with the Greek (Fritzsche's text), we note that, for the sake of avoiding the long parenthesis, which there suspends the principal sentence, the rendering of Ἔτους δωδεκάτου τῆς βασιλείας Ναβουχοδονόσορ ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀσσυρίων ἐν Νινευὴ τῇ πόλει τῇ μεγάλῃ is transferred to *v.* 5 ("Anno igitur duodecimo regni sui Nabuchodonosor rex Assyriorum qui regnabat in Nineve civitate magna"). This and other transpositions may have been made in the exercise of the translator's discretion, as he expressly renounces all pretence to a literal following of his original (3 *supr.*). But it is also possible, and I think probable, that he found it already in his Chaldee codex; as was almost certainly the case with the statements in italics, *subjugaverat multas gentes imperio suo,* &c., which have their exact parallels in the opening sentences of the Chaldee 'Megillath Antiochos': הוא כבש מדינן סגיאין .... הוא בנא מדינתא רבתא .... וקרא לה אנטכיא. "Ipse subjugavit multas civitates . . . ipse aedificavit civitatem magnam . . . et appellavit eam Antiochiam."

2. "Ex lapidibus quadratis et sectis; fecit muros ejus in latitudinem cubitorum septuaginta, et in altitudinem cubitorum triginta; turres vero ejus posuit in altitudinem cubitorum centum." Instead of the exact specification of the dimensions of the stones (εἰς πλάτος πηχῶν τριῶν καὶ εἰς μῆκος πηχῶν ἕξ.), we have here the brief general expression *quadratis*, which may be due to the Chaldee text (מרבע); and it seems arbitrary to set down the variations of the numerals expressing the height and breadth of the walls to any other source than this obvious one.

The ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις αὐτῆς by which the Greek describes the position of the towers is omitted. Some things may be supposed to have been left out, because S. Jerome was writing hastily, and did not consider minute accuracy essential to his task. He does not say that he rendered *all* statements for which he found equivalent words in his Chaldee

exemplar, but that he rendered nothing which he did not find there.

3. "Per quadrum vero earum latus utrumque vicenorum pedum spatio tendebatur; posuitque portas ejus in altitudinem turrium; 4. Et gloriabatur quasi potens in potentia exercitus sui, et in gloria quadrigarum suarum."

V. 3 takes the place of *καὶ τὸ πλάτος αὐτῶν* (*i.e.* of the towers) *ἐθεμελίωσεν εἰς πηχεῖς ἑξήκοντα*, which is harsh and obscure: *vid. not. ad loc.* S. Jerome has perhaps given a loose paraphrase, expressing his own idea of the sense, viz. that the towers were squares of 20 feet each way, but without reckoning the inner side (3 × 20 = 60). But as he goes on to make the gates as high as the towers (100 cubits), whereas the Greek has *καὶ ἐποίησε τὰς πύλας αὐτῆς πύλας διεγειρομένας εἰς ὕψος πηχῶν ἑβδομήκοντα* (70 cubits), I think his Chaldee text here again differed considerably from the Greek.

The words (*v.* 4), "Et gloriabatur quasi potens in potentia," &c., may represent a Chaldee original: ואשתבח כגברא בגבורתיה דחיליה וביקר רתיכוהי (cf. Jer. ix. 22), but they are possibly a free treatment of *εἰς ἐξόδους δυνάμεων δυνατῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ διατάξεις τῶν πεζῶν αὐτοῦ* (or *ἁρμάτων αὐτῶν*, X., Old Lat., Syr.); in which case, we have an instance of "sensum e sensu" transference (3). Instead of adhering to the bald statement of the reason for the great breadth of the gates (40 cubits), which he omits, he makes the moral motive prominent, the love of display which actuated the king in these military pageants (cf. ch. v. 7). This, however, is exactly what one would expect in a Midrashic treatment of the story; and confirms the supposition, which is otherwise probable, that the Chaldee codex used by S. Jerome was simply a Midrash Yehudith founded upon an older text.

v. 5. "Anno igitur duodecimo regni sui Nabuchodonosor rex Assyriorum, qui regnabat in Nineve civitate magna, pugnavit contra Arphaxad *et obtinuit eum*," (*v.* 6) "in campo magno qui appellatur Ragau, circa Euphraten et Tigrim et Jadason in campo Erioch regis Elicorum." See on *v.* 1. The italicized sentence at the end of *v.* 5 corresponds to the opening statement of *v.* 15 in the Greek (*καὶ ἔλαβε τὸν Ἀρφαξὰδ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι Ῥαγαῦ*), and concludes all that is said of the war with Arphaxad, about which the Greek has four additional verses (13–16).

In *v.* 6 the proper names further define the locality of the Great Plain; but in the Greek they define the allies of Nabuchodonosor: *καὶ συνήντησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν ὀρεινὴν καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ τὸν Τίγριν καὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀριὼχ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἐλυμαίων.* The Vulgate also omits the close of the verse: *καὶ συνῆλθον ἔθνη πολλὰ εἰς παράταξιν υἱῶν Χελεούδ.*

The omissions make a substantial difference to the narrative. At first sight, it looks as if all motive for Nabuchodonosor's embassies and for his war upon the West were eliminated. According to the Greek, the object of the expedition of Holofernes was to punish the whole West, and especially Judea, for refusing to send quotas to the war against Arphaxad. The Greek text itself, however, only signifies the contents of N.'s message to the nations by a single brief remark (*v.* 11): *καὶ ἐφαύλισαν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τὸ ῥῆμα N. βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ οὐ συνῆλθον αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ὅτι οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐναντίον αὐτῶν ὡς ἀνὴρ εἷς, καὶ ἀνέστρεψαν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ κενοὺς ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ πρὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν.* For all this the Vulgate has only: "Qui omnes uno animo contra dixerunt (= the first three words of the Greek) et remiserunt eos vacuos, et sine honore abjecerunt" (= *καὶ ἀνέστρεψαν . . . αὐτῶν*).

It is easy to suggest that the obscurities of *v.* 6 in the Greek (see note *ad loc.*) were felt and summarily got rid of by S. Jerome; and that in *v.* 11 his flying haste, and desire to curtail redundancies, resulted in the omission of an essential clause. But I cannot think that such suggestions account for all the peculiar phenomena of his version, which may, in fact, be more satisfactorily explained by reference to parallel phenomena in the Jewish forms of the story

(Appendix I.), which make no allusion at all to the expedition against Arphaxad.

To later Jewish editors the assignment of reasons for an attack upon Judah and Jerusalem seemed to be mere surplusage. The "king of the Gentiles" was the natural enemy of the house and people of God (Beth-eloah). I suppose, then, that in the Vulgate we have clear traces of the use of a Jewish-Chaldee recension of the story, in which the influence of such a point of view was already to a considerable extent exemplified. It is noteworthy that *v.* 7 in the Vulgate opens with what may be regarded as another reason for the embassies, and one more in accordance with later Jewish ideas: *Tunc exaltatum est regnum N. et cor ejus elevatum est.* The words remind us of passages in the Book of Daniel (iv. 30; v. 20), and in my judgment supply a distinct trace of the Chaldee version of Judith. It is implied, though not said, that the envoys demanded the usual recognition of the Great King's suzerainty.

The omission in what follows of "Persia," "the west," "Antilibanus," and "the coast" (*v.* 7), of "Betane," "Chelous," "Cades," "Egypt" and its cities (*vv.* 9, 10), and of the names of the countries in *v.* 12, may also be fairly assumed to indicate similar omissions in the Chaldee codex. They have their exact parallel in later Midrashic adaptations of the Apocryphal narratives (cf. Appendix I.; and the Story of Tobit in the Midrash Tanḥûmâ, *apud* Neubauer's Tobit, pp. 36–38).

The readings *Jadason* for Hydaspes, *Elicorum* for Elymaeorum, *Cedar* for Galaad, *Jesse* for Gesem, might be corruptions of the Chaldee originals. As to Jadason, the first three consonants correspond sufficiently with the Greek name; Elici (עילקאי) is not far from Elymaei (עילמאי), Galaad (גלעד) might become Cedar (קדר) by omission of one letter and common confusions of the others, and Jesse (ישי) may be the remnant of Goshen (גשן).

The mere juxtaposition of the Old Latin text with the Vulgate is enough to shew how much or how little truth there is in Volkmar's assertion that the latter is merely an arbitrary abridgment of the former. I add the first chapter in both texts, from Sabatier.

2. The Old Latin and the Vulgate.

(Chap. I.)

Old Latin.	*Vulgate.*
1 Anno duodecimo regni Nabuchodonosor qui regnavit Assyriis in Ninive civitate magna, in diebus Arfaxath regis, qui regnavit in Medis in Ecbathana civitate, et aedificavit turrem in Ecbathana,	1 Arphaxad itaque, rex Medorum, subjugaverat multas gentes imperio suo, et ipse aedificavit civitatem potentissimam quam appellavit Ecbatanis,
2 Et in circuitu muros ejus, ex lapidibus excisis, latitudine cubitorum trium, et longitudine cubitorum sex: et fecit altitudinem muri cubitorum sexaginta, et turres constituit supra portas ejus cubitorum centum:	2 Ex lapidibus quadratis et sectis; fecit muros ejus in latitudinem cubitorum septuaginta, et in altitudinem cubitorum triginta, turres vero ejus posuit in altitudinem cubitorum centum.
3 Altitudinem et latitudinem earum fundavit in cubitis sexaginta: et fecit portas ejus exsurgentes in altum cubitis sexaginta, et latitudinem earum cubitis quadraginta,	3 Per quadrum vero earum, latus utrumque vicenorum pedum spatio tendebatur, posuitque portas ejus in altitudinem turrium;
4 Ad exitum quadrigarum suarum.	4 Et gloriabatur quasi potens in potentia exercitus sui, et in gloria quadrigarum suarum.
5 Et fecit bellum in diebus illis rex Nabuchodonosor adversus regem Arfaxath	5 Anno igitur duodecimo regni sui Nabuchodonosor rex Assyriorum qui regnabat in Ninive civitate magna, pugnavit contra Arphaxad et obtinuit eum,
6 In campo magno, hic est campus Ragau. Et convenerunt in pugnam omnes habitantes in montanis, et Euphrate, et Tigri, et Ydaspi, in campis Arioth regis Elimeorum: et collegerunt se gentes multae ad bellum filiorum Chelleuth.	6 In campo magno qui appellatur Ragau circa Euphraten et Tigrim et Jadason in campo Erioch regis Elicorum.

Old Latin.

7 Et misit Nabuchodonosor rex Assyriorum ad omnes inhabitantes Jamnae, Persidis, et Ciliciam, & Damascum, Libanum et Antelibanum, et contra faciem maris,

8 Et qui sunt in nationibus Carmeli et Galaad, et superiori Galileae in campo magno Esdrelon,

9 & ad omnes qui erant in Samaria, et in civitatibus ejus, et trans Jordanem usque Hierusalem, et Bathana, et Chelus, et Cades, et flumina Aegypti, et Tafnas, et Ramesses, et omnem terram Gessen, donec veniatur supra Thaneos et Memphis, et omnes qui inhabitant Galilaea maritima in Jordanen, in totam terram Aegypti, donec veniatur ad fines Aethiopiae.

11 Et contempserunt omnes inhabitantes terram illam, verbum Nabuchodonosor regis Assyriorum, neque convenerunt cum illo in praelium, quia non timuerunt eum: sed erat adversus eos quasi vir unus. Et remiserunt legatos ejus vacuos, sine honore facies [*marg.* faciei] eorum.

12 Et iratus est rex Nabuchodonosor ad omnem terram illam vehementer, et juravit per sedem regni sui, animadversurum se in omnes fines Ciliciae et Damasci et Scythiae, et interfecturum gladio suo inhabitantes Moab et filios Ammon et omnem Judaeam et omnes qui in Aegypto sunt, usque dum veniatur montanam, et ad finitima duorum aequorum.

* Et praeparavit se in virtute sua adversus regem Arfaxath in anno septimo decimo: et invaluit in pugna sua, et redegit in potestate sua omnem virtutem regis Arfaxath, et omnem equitatum ejus, et omnes currus ipsius, et dominatus est civitatum ejus.

** Et abiit usque Ecbatham, et obtinuit turres ejus, et praedatus est plateas ejus, et ornamenta ejus, et posuit ea in opprobrio: et cepit regem Arfaxath in montibus Ragau, et percussit illum in lanceis suis, et disperdidit eum usque in hodiernum diem.

*** Et reversus est Nabuchodonosor rex in Niniven, ipse et exercitus, multitudo virorum bellatorum copiosa nimis: et erat illic securus habitans; et epulatus est ipse et virtus ejus per dies centum viginti.

Vulgate.

7 Tunc exaltatum est regnum Nabuchodonosor, et cor ejus elevatum est; et misit ad omnes qui habitabant in Cilicia et Damasco et Libano,

8 Et ad gentes quae sunt in Carmelo et Cedar et inhabitantes Galilaeam in campo magno Esdrelon,

9 Et ad omnes qui erant in Samaria, et trans flumen Jordanem usque ad Jerusalem, et omnem terram Jesse quousque perveniatur ad terminos Aethiopiae.

10 Ad hos omnes misit nuntios Nabuchodonosor rex Assyriorum;

11 Qui omnes uno animo contra dixerunt, et remiserunt eos vacuos, et sine honore abjecerunt.

12 Tunc indignatus Nabuchodonosor rex adversus omnem terram illam juravit per thronum et regnum suum quod defenderet se de omnibus regionibus his.

APPENDIX III.

Authorities.

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***Addition to note 2, p.* 245.**] **I am informed that the Bodleian MS. of the Seder Olam (Oppenheim, 317; Neubauer, 692. 8) reads טימום; and that in MS. Hunt. 487, Neubauer 2197. 1, the chapter is missing.**

JUDITH.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Arphaxad doth fortify Ecbatane.* 5 *Nabuchodonosor maketh war against him,* 7 *and craveth aid.* 12 *He threateneth those that would not aid him,* 15 *and killeth Arphaxad,* 16 *and returneth to Nineve.*

IN the twelfth year of the reign of Nabuchodonosor, who reigned in Nineve, the great city; in the days

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CHAPTER I.

1–5. The Hebraic cast of the passage is noticeable. *V.* 1 starts with a determination of time, "In the twelfth year of Nebuchadnezzar," but the relation of the event which happened in that year is suspended by the long parenthesis extending from the words "who reigned in Nineve," *v.* 1, to the end of *v.* 4. Then the main sentence is resumed with *v.* 5: "And king Nebuchadnezzar made war in those days."

1. *In the twelfth year.*] The twelfth year of the Nebuchadnezzar of O. T. history was the fourth of Zedekiah, the last king of Judah (see Jer. xxxii. 1). Now in that year the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre and Sidon, sought to induce Zedekiah to join in a general revolt against Babylon (Jer. xxvii. 3, compared with xxviii. 1). The time would be judged favourable, if Nebuchadnezzar was engaged elsewhere, say in Media (see Duncker, 'Gesch. Alt.' ii. 343, quoted by A. Scholz). The Syriac says: In the *thirteenth* year. O. Wolff, who insists upon the historical character of *Judith*, and identifies Nebuchadnezzar with Kineladanus, fixes the date as 644 B.C. But the Kineladanus of Ptolemy is the Sardanapalus of Berosus, the Assurbanipal of the monuments, who became King of Assyria 668 B.C., and assumed the style of "King of Babylon" 647 B.C., after the overthrow of his brother Samas-sum-ukin; and Assurbanipal has left no record whatever of the five years' war with Phraortes, king of Media (644–639 B.C.), assumed by Wolff. Volkmar thinks that the two numbers 12 and 13 are both mistakes for 16 (IB′ and IΓ′ for IF′).

Nabuchodonosor.] Ναβουχοδονόσορ, the spelling of the LXX. and Vulg. The native Babylonian inscriptions give Na-bi-um-ku-du-ur-ri-u-çu-ur, i.e. *Nabû-kudurri-uçur*, or *Nabû-kudûr-uçur*, to which the Ναβουκοδρόσορος of Strabo and other Greek historians comes very near. The common Heb. spelling is נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר, *Nĕbûkadneççàr* (2 Kings xxiv. 1, &c.); but a truer transcript of the name is exhibited by the Heb. text or *Kĕtîb* of Jer. xlix. 28, viz. נבוכדרצור, pointed by the Masorets *Nĕbûkadreççàr*, but which may have been originally pronounced נְבוּכַדְרֶאֱצוֹר, *Nĕ(ă)bûkodr'ŏçôr;* cf. the *Kĕtîb* of Ezra ii. 1, נבוכדנאצור. The meaning of this royal title is "Nebo, guard thou the crown!" Cf. also Jer. xxxix. 1, 11; xliii. 10.

who reigned.] The Gk. text adds *over the Assyrians* ('Ασσυρίων): and Syriac and Vulg. add *King of Asshur*, rex Assyriorum, after the king's name. The fictitious character of the work thus becomes evident *in limine.* No sovereign of this name ever swayed the sceptre in Nineveh, which was taken and destroyed circ. 607 B.C. by Nabopalassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar and founder of that Babylonian empire which rose upon the ruins of the Assyrian.

in Nineve, the great city.] Cf. Gen. x. 12; Jonah i. 1, iii. 2, iv. 11; Tobit i. 10. In the narrower sense, the name *Nineveh* denotes the west city, which lay opposite the present Mosul, and was the royal residence of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal: in the wider sense, it represents the whole complex of towns in the angle formed by the Tigris and the Zab, thus including not only Nineveh proper (*Kuyunjik*), but also Calah (*Nimrûd*), and Resen, which lay between them, as well as the unknown Rehoboth-Ir, and Dûr-Sargon (*Khorsâbâd*). The circuit of these four quarters was about ninety miles. The Assyrian *Ninua, Ninâ* (rarely *Ninû;* cf. the Gk. Νῖνος), disguise the oldest name, *Ganna ki*, "(the goddess) Ganna's Place;" a title dating from circ. 3000 B.C. According to Volkmar, Nineveh in Judith is Antioch the Great, the Roman capital in the East.

Arphaxad.] Another fictitious name, not occurring in the lists of Median kings in Hdt. and Ctesias, and only known as a geographical or ethnical designation in the O. T. (See

of Arphaxad, which reigned over the Medes in Ecbatane,

2 And built in Ecbatane walls round about of stones hewn three

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Gen. x. 22, 24; xi. 10–13.) The name is explained by Gesenius ('Thesaurus,' *s. v.*) from the Arabic *'urfa*, boundary, and the proper name *Chesed*, the eponym of the Chaldeans or *Chasdîm* (Gen. xxii. 22). Arphaxad would thus mean *finis Chaldaeorum*. Cf. Josephus, 'Antiq.' I. vi. 4: "Arphaxad named those who are now called Chaldeans Arphaxadeans." Bochart conjectured that Arrapachitis (Ptol. vi. 1), a district of Assyria lying near Armenia, was the indigenous home of the Chaldeans or Arphaxadites. This district is called *Arrabcha*, or *Arbacha*, in the Assyr. inscriptions. Cf. the Armenian *Albâq*. It is possible that the author of Judith has confused the name of *Arbaces*, the first king of the Medes according to Ctesias, who reigned 28 years after overthrowing Sardanapalus, with the O.T. Arphaxad. Volkmar, however, who considers that "Medes" here denotes the "neo-Medes" or Parthians, identifies Arphaxad with Artavasdes (Dio Cass. 40, 49, 51), the Old Persian *Arta-fasbda*, *μέγας βασιλεύς* (see Hdt. vi. 98; vii. 61), and Pehlevi *Art-fasad*, Arbaces; and makes Arphaxad in the O. T. denote Media itself. Wolff, on the other hand, maintains that Arphaxad in Judith is Phraortes (*Frawartish*), the second king of Media, according to Herodotus. Perhaps the name is to be compared with that of Arsaces (*i.e.* Mithridates I.), who is called king of Persia and Media, 1 Macc. xiv. 2, and who reigned circ. 140 B.C.

the Medes.] Hdt. i. 95–130 gives the history of their empire from its foundation by Deioces to its overthrow by Cyrus the Persian. He states that "the Assyrians ruled Upper Asia for five hundred and twenty years. The Medes were the first to raise the standard of revolt." Their struggles for liberty were successful, and the other subject nations followed their example. At first the Medes lived in self-governing village communities, but eventually Deioces by artifice got himself made king, and centralised the power of the nation at Ecbatana. "When he had gotten the rule, he compelled the Medes to make themselves a single town. . . . He built walls great and strong—those that are now called Agbatana—rising in circles one within the other, and so contrived that the one circle rose above the next by its bastions only." This stronghold stood on a round hill, and the ring walls were seven in number, within the last of which were the royal palace and treasury. The bastions were painted white, black, purple, blue, and bright red successively, and the highest two were silvered and gilded (Hdt. i. 98).

The Medes are mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions by *Rammân-nirâri* (812–783 B.C.), and probably by his immediate predecessors *Samši-Rammân* and Shalmaneser II. (accessit B.C. 860). Sargon took *Bît Daiukku*, "the house of Deioces," a district of Media, and carried off its chief Daiukku (circa 715 B.C.) This perhaps led to the fortification of Ecbatana, and the centralisation of the power of the Median tribes.

Ecbatane.] See note on Tobit iii. 7. The historical capital of Media, called in O. T. *Achmetha*, Ezra vi. 2; the modern *Hamadân*. The Heb. name is a form assimilated to *Hamath*, so as to suggest the meaning *citadel;* but the original name was not Semitic. In the annals of Nabonidus recently discovered the spelling is A-gam-ta-nu. The native form of the name was *Hañgmatâna*, as appears from the inscriptions at Behistun. The Babylonian spelling in the same inscriptions is A-ga-ma-ta-nu. In the sixth year of Nabonidus (*Nabû-nâ'id*), the last king of Babylon, that is circ. 550 B.C., Cyrus took Ecbatana, after defeating Astyages (*Ištuvêgû*), who, according to Herodotus, was the son of Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes, the son of Deioces, who founded the Median empire, and "built," *i.e.* fortified, the city. Volkmar says that Ecbatana in Judith is a symbol of the apparently invincible power of the Parthians; but he goes on to identify it with Nisibis, the stronghold of the Arsacid kings in their struggles against the Seleucids, and afterwards against the Romans, as possessors of Syria. He even suggests a combination of *Accad*, a Jewish name of Nisibis, with *Batnae*, that of a town near it (the Syr. *Batnon dasrûg*); thus *Accad-Batna* = Ecbatana.

2. *And built in Ecbatane walls round about.*] Codd. 19, 108: *καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν* Ἐκβάτανα (pro *ἐπ'* Ἐκβατάνων) *καὶ περιέβαλεν αὐτῇ κύκλῳ τείχη καὶ* (? *ἐκ*) *λίθων κ.τ.λ.*, thus making "Arphaxad" found Ecbatana. So the Vulg. *ipse aedificavit civitatem potentissimam.* The Syriac has: "and he built a tower in *Fanfattan* (?) and girt it with a wall in hewn stones." Cf. Old Lat. *aedificavit turrem in Ecbathana et in circuitu muros ejus.* Cod. 58 omits *ἐπ'* Ἐκβατ. and reads *πύργον ἐκεῖ.*

of stones hewn.] *ἐκ λίθων λελαξευμένων.* Cf. Exod. xxxiv. 1; 2 Kings xii. 12; Ezek. xl. 43. Heb. אַבְנֵי גָזִית; Vulg. *ex lapidibus quadratis et sectis.* Taking the cubit at 21 in., the stones were 5 ft. 3 in. broad and 10 ft. 6 in. long. "The fortifications of Ecbatana were undoubtedly remarkable, and even proverbial. See Themistios, 'Or.' xxvi. p. 319" (Fritzsche). See also Hdt. i. 98, quoted *supra*. Polybius relates that Antio-

cubits broad and six cubits long, and made the height of the wall seventy cubits, and the breadth thereof fifty cubits:

3 And set the towers thereof upon the gates of it, an hundred cubits *high*, and the breadth thereof in the foundation threescore cubits:

4 And he made the gates thereof, even gates that were raised to the height of seventy cubits, and the breadth of them was forty cubits, for the going forth of his mighty armies, and for the setting in array of his footmen:

5 Even in those days king Nabuchodonosor made war with king Arphaxad in the great plain, which is the plain in the borders of Ragau.

6 And there came unto him all

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chus the Great in his Parthian campaign (209 B.C.) came hither, and pursued his victory so far as Rhagae. He expressly mentions that Ecbatana was unwalled (ἀτείχιστος οὖσα), probably already in the time of which he is writing. After alluding to the marvellous strength of its citadel, and the incredible splendour of its palace, he states that although it had been plundered in the time of Alexander, Antigonus, and Seleucus Nicator, yet Antiochus managed to carry off nearly 4000 talents from a temple there. (Polyb. x. 27–29, quoted by Volkmar.)

seventy cubits.] Codd. 19, 108, *eighty*; Old Lat. *sixty*; Vulg. *thirty*. The breadth of the walls according to Cod. iii. and the Vulg. was *seventy* cubits. The Syriac and Old Lat. omit the breadth.

The breadth of the walls of Babylon was fifty "royal" cubits, and the height two hundred. (Hdt. i. 178.) The walls of Nineveh were one hundred feet high, and broad enough for three chariots to drive abreast upon them. (Diod. Sic. ii. 3.) Volkmar truly observes that the author has drawn on his fancy in describing the walls of Ecbatana, and that he has confused the city walls with those of the famous citadel. The proportion of breadth to height is absurd (so Eichhorn).

3. *And set the towers, &c.*] Lit. *and the towers of it* (*i.e.* the wall) *set he on the gates of her* (*i.e.* the city), *one hundred cubits* (*i.e.* in height). Vulg. *turres vero ejus posuit in altitudinem cubitorum centum.*

and the breadth thereof in the foundation, &c.] The Greek is καὶ τὸ πλάτος αὐτῆς ἐθεμελίωσεν εἰς πήχεις ἑξήκοντα. All the MSS. give *αὐτῆς*, which could only refer to the *city*. Fritzsche edits *αὐτῶν*, after Gaab. Cf. Old Lat. latitudinem *earum*. The breadth of the *towers* at the foundation was sixty cubits. Higher they became narrower. The wall towers of Nineveh were 1500 in number, and each 200 feet high. (Diod. Sic. ii. 3.)

4. *And he made the gates thereof, even gates, &c.*] Lit. *and he made the gates of her* (*i.e.* the city) *gates rising to a height of seventy cubits.* Codd. 19, 108, *eighty*; Cod. x., Syr., Old Lat., *sixty*.

for the going forth of his mighty armies.] Greek εἰς ἐξόδους δυνάμεων (Codd. 19, 108, δυνάμεως) δυνατῶν αὐτοῦ. Δυνατοὶ is here a subst. =Heb. גִּבּוֹרִים, *heroes, warriors*: cf. 1 Chron. xix. 8, xi. 11. Heb. prob. לָצֵאת צִבְאוֹת גִּבּוֹרָיו, *for the going forth of the hosts of his warriors*; or less prob. לָצֵאת צִבְ" חֵילוֹ, *for the going forth of his mighty hosts.* The δυνατοὶ may denote the *horsemen* and *chariotry* — רֶכֶב וּפָרָשִׁים—as opposed to the πεζοὶ or *footmen*: cf. 2 Chron. xviii. 4.

The reason for the extraordinary breadth of the gates was that the army might be able to march through them in order of battle.

and for the setting in array of his footmen.] The Greek διατάξεις, *dispositions* of troops, occurs Hdt. ix. 26; Demosth. 'de Cor.' 248. Heb. וְלַעֲדֹר רַגְלָיו (1 Chron. xii. 33, 38); or וּלְמַעֲרֶכֶת רַגְ'; cf. also 1 Kings vi. 9; 2 Kings xi. 8. Codd. 19, 108: εἰς ἐξόδους δυνάμεως δυνατῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἁρμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς διαταξ. κ.τ.λ. Syriac: "for the going forth of the chariots of his army." Old Lat. *ad exitum quadrigarum suarum.*

5. *Even in those days king Nabuchodonosor made war.*] For the phrase ποιεῖν πόλεμον πρός τινα see Josh. xi. 18; 1 Chron. v. 10. In Heb. *to make war with* (אֶת or עִם). The phrase cannot mean merely to *declare* or *decide on* war, as Volkmar finds it necessary to assert.

in the great plain.] Volkmar is wrong in making בְּ (ἐν) equivalent to ἐπί, *über*, or *ob*, for the purposes of his peculiar theory. He remarks: "The northern district of the Parthian realm, around the great plain (on the Cyrus), not the W. and S. of the kingdom, was at the outset the object of Trajan's war against the Arsacid."

in the borders of Ragau.] *I.e.* in Rhagiana (Ptol. vi. 2, 6); where "Rages" (Tobit i. 14) was situated. Syriac *Dûrâ* (!), Dan. iii. 1. Volkmar quotes from Athenæus a statement that the Parthian kings passed the summer at Rhagae, and the winter at Babylon. The town (Rhagâ) is mentioned in the Ven-

they that dwelt in the hill country, and all that dwelt by Euphrates, and Tigris, and Hydaspes, and the plain of Arioch the king of the Elymeans,

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didad, ch. i. The "great plain" is the table-land of *Irak-Ajemi* (Media Magna), between *Koom* and the range of *Elburz*, S. of the Caspian (Wolff).

6. *And there came unto him.*] *I.e.* to Nebuchadnezzar (not to Arphaxad, as Volkmar assumes for the sake of his hypothesis). The phrase *συναντᾷν τινι* (here and at Josh. xi. 20, *πρός τινα*) may denote a friendly or a hostile meeting. Here the former sense holds, as appears not only from the specified localities, but also from the contrasted behaviour of other nations (*vv.* 7–11), and the consequent decision of the king to take vengeance on the latter: cf. also ch. v. 4. The reading of Codd. 19, 108, which add *εἰς πόλεμον*, and that of Codd. x. 58, which also give *εἰς πόλεμον*, but omit *πρὸς αὐτὸν*, and the Syriac ܘܢܦܩܘ ܠܩܘܒܠܗ *et egressi sunt contra eum*, implies the hostile intention; but in that case why is not the king represented as vowing vengeance upon these nations also, in *v.* 12 *sq.*? The Heb. may have been וַיֵּצְאוּ לְפָנָיו; cf. 1 Chron. xii. 17. The "hill-country" is the Zagros range E. of Assyria; not Adiabene (Volkmar), nor Judæa (Ewald).

all that dwelt by Euphrates.] The Greek *οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὸν Εὐφράτην* is an inexact equivalent of *οἱ κατοικ. παρὰ τὸν Εὐφρ.*, which finds a parallel in Polyb. iii. 42. 2: *τοὺς κατοικ. τὸν ποταμόν.* Cf. Num. xiii. 30: *κατοικεῖ παρὰ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν* = יֹשֵׁב עַל־יַד הַיַּרְדֵּן. *Euphrates* is the Persian *Ufrâtus*, the Sumerian *Pura-nunu*, "great river." The non-Semitic *pura*, "river," has received a Semitic form in the Assyro-Babylonian *Purattu*, and the Heb. *Pĕrâth*. The Tigris was called by the Sumero-Accadians *Idignat*, *Idigna*, and *Idignu*; by the Assyrians and Babylonians *Idiglat* and *Diglat*; by the Hebrews *Hiddèqel* (Gen. ii. 14; Dan. x. 9); in the Targums and Talmud, *Diglath*, with which the modern Arabic *Diglat* coincides. The Old Persian is *Tigrâ* (cf. the Greek *Τίγρις*), *l* and *r* being interchanged as in Persian *Bâbiru* = Babel, *Porus* = Pûl; cf. also Orofernes, Olofernes.

and Hydaspes.] The *Indian* river of this name (Sanscrit *Vitasta*, modern Jhelam) hardly suits in connection with the Euphrates and Tigris. The Syriac has the probable original, *Ulai*—*i.e.* the Eulaeus of Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' vi. 31, cf. Dan. viii. 2. In the inscriptions of Sennacherib and Abpl. it is called *nâr U-la-a-a*, the river *Ulâ'a*, and is described as flowing in the immediate neighbourhood of Susa. Schrader says it is doubtful whether this river is the same as the Choaspes (Hdt. i. 188, v. 49), *i.e.* the modern *Kercha*, flowing west of Susa (Kiepert), or the present *Karûn*, east of Susa (Delitzsch, 'Paradies'). Fritzsche refers to Strabo, xv. 3, where "the Choaspes and the Eulaeus and the Tigris" are mentioned together as distinct rivers. At any rate *Hydaspes* may be an error for *Choaspes*. Cf. Virgil's "Medus Hydaspes" (Georg. iv. 211), and Horace's "fabulosus Hydaspes." The Old Lat. MSS. give Hydaspi, Hydnas, and Idas. The Vulg. has *Iadason*.

and the plain of Arioch.] The common reading *καὶ πεδίῳ Εἰριὼχ* is meaningless. Gaab would cancel *πεδίῳ*. Volkmar edits: *καὶ τὸ πεδίον Ἀρ. τοῦ βασ.* Fritzsche, *καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀρ. ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἐλυμαίων*, comparing the Syriac, which has *in the plain of Arioch king of Elam*, as an apposition to what precedes, and the Old Lat. *in campis* (Cod. Germ. 15, *et campos*). The Vulg. also makes the clause an apposition: *in campo Erioch regis Elicorum.* Codd. 23, 44, 64, &c. *καὶ πεδίον*; iii. 58, 236, 249, *καὶ πεδία*; 19, 108, *καὶ τὰ πεδία.* Tischendorf (1875) edits *καὶ πεδίῳ Εἰριὼχ ὁ βασ. Ἐλυμ.*, but notes the Alexandrine variant *καὶ παιδία Ἀριὼχ*, *and the sons* (i.e. *warriors* or *followers* or *people*) *of Arioch*—a plausible reading. But the Syriac seems preferable, as Elam-Susiana was the locality of the river Choaspes. Fritzsche's text opposes "the plain" to "the hill country." *And in the plain Arioch, king of the Elymeans*, (*met him*). The name Arioch or Eirioch occurs Gen. xiv. 1, 9; Dan. ii. 14. It has also been read in the cuneiform as *Erim-Akû*, king of Larsa, and son of *Kudur-Mabug*, king of Elam. He reigned circ. 2180–2140 B.C., and by the conquest of Nisin became master of Southern and Middle Babylonia. Circ. 2170 B.C. he made the expedition to South Palestine in conjunction with *Kudur-lagamar* of Elam, and other princes, as related in Gen. xiv. (See Hommel. 'Die vorsemitische Kultur,' p. 422.) The name is equivalent to the Assyrian *Arad-Sin*, "servant of the moon-god."

the king of the Elymeans.] Fritzsche remarks that the *genitive* is necessary; the nominative can only be a later error. He, however, edits the nominative, which admits of the explanation given above. Codd. x. 19, 44, 58, al. *βασιλέως*; 108, Co. *τοῦ βασιλέως.* So the Syr., Old Lat., and Vulg. The *Elymeans* are the people of *Elymais*, a Persian district (Polyb. v. 44, 9), but here the Heb. עֵילָם is meant (so Syriac), *i.e.* Susiana.

and very many nations, &c.] Fritzsche omits

and very many nations of the sons of Chelod, assembled themselves to the battle.

7 Then Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians sent unto all that dwelt in Persia, and to all that dwelt westward, and to those that dwelt in Cilicia, and Damascus, and Libanus, and Antilibanus, and to all that dwelt upon the sea coast,

8 And to those among the nations that were of Carmel, and Galaad, and

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the *very*—σφόδρα, a favourite word in Judith—because wanting in Codd. ii. iii. x., Old Lat. (and Syr.). Tischendorf retains it; cf. Heb. הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד. Lit. the clause runs: *And there came together* (*very*) *many nations to the array* (παράταξιν, *acies*, 1 Sam. xvii. 8; or *militia*, 1 Chron. v. 18) *of the sons of Cheleud.* Παράταξις might also mean *battle;* cf. Polyb. i. 40. 1. Χελεούδ, Codd. iii. 23, 44, 58, et mult. libr.; Χεσλαιουδά, Cod. x.; vulgo Χελεούλ. Old Lat. *Chelleuth* suggests בני חילותא as the Chaldee text of Judith (Deut. iii. 18). Vulg. omits. Syr.: "And many nations were gathered together to fight with (*i.e.* against) *the Chaldeans*"—ܥܡ ܟܠܕ̈ܝܐ. This *may* be original, although our Nebuchadnezzar is not king of the *Chaldeans*, but of the Assyrians; Heb. עִם בְּנֵי כֶשֶׂד, "with the sons of Chesed," *i.e.* the כַּשְׂדִּים or Chaldeans. Ewald thinks Χελεοὺδ = Heb. חֹלֶד, Syr. ܚܘܠܕܐ *talpa*, and that "sons of the mole" was at the time a nickname of the Syrians; a very doubtful guess accepted by Volkmar, who sees in it a Jewish scoff at the Roman military "diggers." On the cuneiform monuments the name *mât Kaldu* (or *Kaldi*) denotes sometimes the whole of Babylonia, sometimes the southern part of it, from Babylon to the Persian Gulf. From this name the Greeks formed their Χαλδαῖοι. The Heb. *Casdîm* has not been found in the cuneiform. Schrader suggests that it was derived immediately from the Babylonians, and is the more original form. The Χελεοὺδ of Judith is not unlike *Kaldu* (*i*). But it may be Chilmad (*Kilwādha*) above Bagdad; Ezek. xxvii. 23.

7. *Then.*] *And.* So "But" (*v.* 11), "Therefore" (*v.* 12), "Then" (*v.* 13), "Also" (*v.* 15), "So" (*v.* 16). In all these cases the Greek has καί, answering to the Heb. *waw*.

sent unto all.] To demand their help (*v.* 11). For ἀποστέλλειν ἐπί τινα, cf. Hdt. viii. 64. The Syriac omits "All that dwelt in Persia," *i.e.* Persis, Persia Proper. Volkmar is obliged to call the message to Persia "unhistorical," because Trajan had no authority there.

all that dwelt westward.] πρὸς δυσμαῖς, *at the sunset, in the west:* cf. ii. 19; 1 Chron. vii. 28. But Codd. 19, 108, 58, 44, &c. read πρὸς δυσμάς, *westward*=ἐπὶ δυσμάς, ch. ii. 6. This general designation is specialised in what follows—viz. the people of Cilicia, &c. The Assyrians called Phoenicia-Palestine *mât Abarri*, "the country of the west." (Omit *and* after *westward.*)

and Libanus, and Antilibanus.] *I.e.* Coele-Syria, between these parallel ranges.

upon the sea coast.] Lit. *over against* (κατὰ πρόσωπον) *the coast.* The Heb. might be עַל־פְּנֵי הַיָּם, Gen. xxv. 18, Deut. xxxii. 49; or לִפְנֵי ה׳", Gen. xxiii. 17; but more probably על־שפת הים or עַל־יַד הַיָּם; cf. Syr. Phoenicia and Philistia are intended. The enumeration of localities and cities is geographically accurate. Codd. 19, 108, *and those that dwelt in Jamnia and Damascus*, and x. gives *Jamnia* for *Persia.* The Old Lat. also contains this name, but not the Vulg. Cf. ch. ii. 28. The mistake may have originated in the Heb. יָמִין, *dexter*, used in the sense of *australis.* Damascus and the Lebanon lay *south* of Cilicia.

8. *And to those among the nations, &c.*] The Greek is: καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῦ Καρμήλου. . . . καὶ τὴν ἄνω Γαλιλαίαν καὶ τὸ μέγα πεδίον Ἐσδρηλώμ. As Fritzsche remarks, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι appears meaningless. It was to the nations themselves that the message was sent. He supposes that the Heb. original was either בֶּהָרֵי, ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι, or בְּעָרֵי, ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, which was confused by the Greek translator with בְּעַמֵּי, ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι. Perhaps וַאֲשֶׁר בְּעַמֵּי הַכַּרְמֶל may mean, *and those who are included in the nations of Carmel.* The Vulg., however, has *et ad gentes quae sunt in Carmelo;* Syr. *and to the inhabitants of Carmel.* In his anxiety to prove that *the Jewish population* everywhere is uppermost in the writer's mind, Volkmar explains the phrase as equivalent to καὶ (τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραήλ) τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, and objects against Fritzsche that עם is λαός, and גוי ἔθνος. There are, however, more than a hundred passages in the LXX. in which עם is rendered ἔθνος. Wolff defends the Gk. text on the ground that the woods, caves, and winding valleys of Carmel were the natural asylum of refugees from the Assyrian and Syrian invasions. These refugees formed a number of petty independent com-

the higher Galilee, and the great plain of Esdrelom,

9 And to all that were in Samaria and the cities thereof, and beyond Jordan unto Jerusalem, and Betane, and Chellus, and Kades, and the river of Egypt, and Taphnes, and Ramesse, and all the land of Gesem,

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munities, according to their several nations. "Galaad" or Gilead, the hill-country east of Jordan, is mentioned out of its place, in order to couple the two highlands together: cf. ch. xv. 5; 1 Macc. v. 9. But A. Scholz acutely suggests that "Carmel," in the archaic style affected by the author, stands for Palestine (Jer. ii. 7; l. 19), just as "Gilead" is the country E. of Jordan. Thus the whole country according to its two divisions is first mentioned; and then the route of the envoys is given from north to south.

the great plain of Esdrelom.] Ch. vii. 3. Called Esdrelon, chh. iii. 9; iv. 6. Volkmar prefers Ἐσδραήλων, as a gen. plur. of Ἐσδράηλα, throughout the book. Heb. עֵמֶק יִזְרְעֶאל, "the valley of Jezreel." So the Syr. See 1 Macc. xii. 49; Joseph. 'Antiq.' xii. 8, 5.

9. *Samaria and the cities thereof.*] Samaria here denotes the district so called, as in ch. iv. 4; the Σαμαρεῖτις of 1 Macc. x. 30; xi. 28. Cf. "the cities of Samaria," 2 Kings xxiii. 19. This use of the term is far from being "a clear proof that the author wrote before the Babylonian exile," as Wolff asserts. It merely proves knowledge of Biblical phraseology (cf. also 2 Kings xvii. 26; Jer. xxxi. 5).

beyond Jordan.] The Greek πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, and the Heb. עבר הירדן, generally and properly designates the land east of the Jordan, the N. T. Peraea; sometimes, as here, the opposite. Movers, 'Untersuch. über d. Bibl. Chron.' p. 240, argues that עבר or בעבר means both *diesseits* and *jenseits*. Sometimes the ambiguity is removed by the addition of a phrase signifying *westward*, as in Josh. v. 1, xii. 7; Deut. xi. 30; 1 Chron. xxvi. 30; or *eastward*, as in Josh. i. 15, xii. 1, xiii. 32. In Gen. l. 10, 11; 1 Sam. xxxi. 7; Josh. ix. 1; 1 Kings v. 4, it means the western side, though no determinative is added. Here the Syr. has the same expression ܠܥܒܪ ܝܘܪܕܢܢ, and the Vulg. *trans flumen Jordanem.*

Betane.] Greek Βετάνη. Cod. ii. Βαιτάνη; x. Βατάνη. Syr. *Batnon*, or Betanon, *i.e.* the Βηθανὶν of Euseb. Onomast., in the hill-country near Hebron. Wolff, who thinks that the writer now passes over to the country east of Jordan, identifies Betane with Bashan. But his "nachexilisch בָּתָן" is dubious; the Aramaic forms being בותניים, בתנייא, and בותנן; *vid.* Levy, 'Chald. Wört.' The place intended is perhaps בֵּית־עֲנוֹת, *Beth-anoth*, Josh. xv. 59, the present *Beit 'Anûn*, about five miles north of Hebron. But A. Scholz says *Betania trans Jordanem* here marks the E. border, as Halhul the W., and Kadesh the S.

Chellus.] Χελούς. So Codd. ii. iii.; vulgo, Χελλούς; x. Χεσλούς. According to Fritzsche, חַלְחוּל, *Halhûl*, Josh. xv. 58; but Lipsius says, certainly not Halhul, but Allus (or Elusa) in Idumea, the *Chalutsah* of the Talmud, the present *El-Khulasa*. So Mühlau, after Reland and Robinson. This is clearly right, as the order of enumeration proceeds from north to south. The Syriac has ܟܠܘܢ, *Kalôn.*

Kades.] Καδής. Kedesh in Judah, Josh. xv. 23. So Syr.; or Kadesh-Barnea, in the desert of Zin, on the borders of Edom, or in the desert of Paran (Lipsius). Wolff's method of restoring Gilead for Chellus, and Kerek-Moab for Kades, is marvellous, but not convincing.

the river of Egypt.] Not the Nile (Fritzsche and Volkmar), but the *Wady-el-Arish*, or Rhinokolura, the dividing line between Canaan and Egypt. Heb. נַחַל־מִצְרַיִם, rendered as here ποταμὸς Αἰγύπτου in 1 Kings viii. 65. More correctly ἕως χειμάρρου Αἰγύπτου, 2 Chron. vii. 8. Cod. x. has τοὺς χειμάρρους here. There is no reference in what follows to "the two divisions of Egypt in the Roman time," as Volkmar supposes.

Taphnes, and Ramesse, and all the land of Gesem.] *I.e.* the Delta. The words depend immediately upon *he sent unto* (*v.* 7). So the Syr. Fritzsche understands τοὺς κατοικοῦντας again.

Taphnes is *Tahpanhes*, Jer. xliii. 7, 8, 9; or *Tĕhaphnĕhes*, Ezek. xxx. 18; of which the ruins, at *Tel Defennu*, were recently excavated by Mr. Flinders Petrie. The LXX. call the place Τάφναι, as here, and Τάφνη. It is the Δάφναι αἱ Πηλούσιαι of Hdt. ii. 30, or Δάφνη, a fortified border city near Pelusium. Syr. *Tahphis*. Ramesse — Ῥαμεσσῆ — the Raamses of Exod. i. 11, and the Rameses of Gen. xlvii. 11; Exod. xii. 37. (So Syr. here.) In Gen. xlvi. 28 the LXX. has γῆ Ῥαμεσσῆ for Heb. אֶרֶץ גֹּשֶׁן, *the land of Goshen*; cf. Gen. xlvi. 11, where the Heb. has *land of Rameses*. Rameses was apparently the capital of Goshen, here called Gesem. (Syr. Goshen.)

10 Until ye come beyond Tanis and Memphis, and to all the inhabitants of Egypt, until ye come to the borders of Ethiopia.

11 But all the inhabitants of the land made light of the commandment of Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians, neither went they with him to the battle; for they were not afraid of him: yea, he was before them as one man, and they sent away his ambassadors from them without effect, and with disgrace.

12 Therefore Nabuchodonosor was very angry with all this country, and sware by his throne and kingdom, that he would surely be avenged upon all those coasts of Cilicia, and Damas-

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10. *Until ye come.*] Greek *ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν* =the common Heb. עַד בֹּאֲךָ.

beyond Tanis and Memphis.] Greek *ἐπάνω Τάνεως κ. Μέμφεως*=Heb. לְמַעְלָה לְצֹעַן וּלְמֹף, *above Zoan and Moph.* Syr. *so far as to Zoan and to* (ܠܡܨܪܝܢ) *Memphis.* Zoan, the well-known city on the east bank of the Tanitic Nile: see Isa. xix. 11. Memphis, the Egyptian *Men-nefer*, "fair haven," called by the Hebrews Moph and Noph, lay on the west bank of the Nile, south of Old Cairo: cf. Isa. xix. 13.

the borders of Ethiopia.] *I.e.* Cush or Meroë, south of Egypt, the Assyrian *Kûšu* and *Meluḫḫu.* Wolff devotes ten pages of elaborate argument to prove that in the 7th century B.C. the power of Assyria still extended to Egypt; so that the author of Judith is not wrong in making Nebuch. demand contingents from that quarter. Much of what Wolff adduces is out of date; but we now know from the Assyrian annals of Esarhaddon (681–668 B.C.) and Assurbanapla, his son (668–626 B.C.), that each of these kings conquered Egypt, and expelled Tirhakah the Ethiopian from that country. Our author, however, speaks of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who was not an Assyrian king, but who, as a fragmentary inscription proves, invaded Egypt in 568 B.C. (see Schrader, 'Keilinschr.,' p. 364). Such vague and inaccurate knowledge of these matters, as the Book of Judith indicates, hardly requires more than an acquaintance with the O. T. for its adequate explanation (see Jer. xliii. 8 *sqq.*).

11. *all the inhabitants of the land.*] So the Syr. and Codd. 19, 58, 23, al. Fritzsche edits the hyperbolical, *all the inhabitants of all the land.* Cf. ch. ii. 1. The "land" in question is defined in *vv.* 7–10. Cf. *v.* 12: "all this country." The term is collective. Volkmar finds "exaggeration" in this statement of general defiance on the part of the western countries; because, as a matter of fact, it does not fit in with the history of Trajan's "Parthian" war.

before them.] *I.e.* in their sight, in their judgment. The Greek *ἐναντίον αὐτῶν* = Heb. לפניהם or לעיניהם. Cf. ch. v. 21; viii. 22; x. 14.

as one man.] So Codd. iii. x. 19, 23, 52, et mult. libr., Syr., and Old Lat.; vulgo, *ἴσος.* Heb. כְּאִישׁ אֶחָד, which means *as one man and no more;* as a mere individual, not "Ein gewöhnlicher Mann," *unus de multis*, as Fritzsche explains the phrase.

and they sent away . . . with disgrace.] The verb is *ἀνέστρεψαν*, *sent back, caused to turn back;* Heb. וַיָּשִׁיבוּ. Codd. iii. x. 19, 58, al. correct into *ἀπέστρ.* Lit. *and they turned back his messengers empty in dishonour before their face* (Codd. iii. 64, al. *from their face*). "Empty" is Heb. רֵיקָם, *vacuis manibus, re infecta* (Gen. xxxi. 42; Ruth i. 21; Deut. xvi. 16; 2 Sam. i. 22). They did not give the presents which were the usual tokens of submission (2 Kings xviii. 31). "In dishonour, &c." בִּכְלִמָּה (בְּקָלוֹן) מִלִּפְנֵיהֶם. Cf. the treatment of David's ambassadors by Hanun the Ammonite (2 Sam x. 4). The league of Egypt and the western powers against the common enemy Assyria is based on the historical records of the O. T. See 2 Kings xviii. 21, xix. 9; Isa. xxx. 2, xxxi. 1; Jer. xxxvii. 5; Ezek. xvii. 15.

12. *that he would surely be avenged upon.*] The common Greek text is *εἰ μὴν ἐκδικήσειν*, which Bleek on Heb. vi. 14 explains as a mixture of the Greek formula of swearing *ἦ μὴν* with the Hebrew *εἰ μή* (אִם לֹא). Fritzsche edits *ἦ μὴν*, after Codd. 23, 44, 71, al., with the remark "sed suspicor scribendum esse *εἰ μή.*" Probably the true text is: *εἰ μὴ ἐκδικήσει*, which accords with Heb. idiom.

all those coasts of Cilicia.] Here and again, ch. ii. 25, the term "coasts" denotes not the land bordering on Cilicia, but the territory (*fines*) of Cilicia, *i.e.* Cilicia itself (Lipsius).

Damascus.] So Codd. x. 44, 64, al., Syr., and doubtless the Heb. Fritzsche edits *Δαμασκηνῆς*, *Damascené*, because the whole territory is denoted, and not the city only (Strab. xvi. 2).

cus, and Syria, and that he would slay with the sword all the inhabitants of the land of Moab, and the children of Ammon, and all Judea, and all that were in Egypt, till ye come to the borders of the two seas.

13 Then he marched in battle array with his power against king Arphaxad in the seventeenth year, and he prevailed in his battle: for he overthrew all the power of Arphaxad, and all his horsemen, and all his chariots,

14 And became lord of his cities, and came unto Ecbatane, and took the towers, and spoiled the streets thereof, and turned the beauty thereof into shame.

15 He took also Arphaxad in the mountains of Ragau, and smote him

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Syria.] The term is here used, says Fritzsche, in the wider sense of the land which stretches from Taurus and Amanus, between the Mediterranean and Euphrates, to the Arabian Desert and the border of Egypt. Was the Heb. ארם דמשק, *Aram of Damascus?* (2 Sam. viii. 5.) The Syr. has ܒܝܣܢ, *Baisbân*, that is, the Arab. *Baisân*, Heb. *Beth-shean*, the Greek *Scythopolis*, as in ch. iii. 10, 2 Macc. xii. 29, and so prob. here. The name also denotes the district of Bashan. The Old Lat. *Scythiae* prob. means *Scythopolis*, Σκυθῶν πόλις.

the inhabitants of the land of Moab.] Syr.: *the wise men of Moab.* Cf. Dan. ii. 12. The Moabites lived south of the Arnon. They are mentioned again, ch. v. 2, 22; vi. 1; vii. 8. Wolff argues that as these passages—taken along with Zephan. ii. 8–10; Jer. ix. 25, 26; xxv. 15–26; xxvii. 1–3—shew that the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites were at the time independent states, and as Josephus ('Ant.' x. 9. 7) expressly asserts that Nebuchadnezzar was the first to reduce them to subjection, from which time (604 B.C.) onwards they were subject to the Babylonians, Persians, and under John Hyrcanus to the Jews (Jos. 'Ant.' xiii. 13. 5, &c.), it follows that the events related in Judith must be referred to the age before the Exile (!). Ammon was north of Moab, east of Jordan, and south of the Jabbok. See ch. v. 2, 5; vii. 17, 18; vi. 5.

all Judea.] In the wider sense of the Jewish land, *Palestine.*

the two seas.] According to Movers and Wolff, the two arms of the upper Nile, the Astaboras and Astapus, which surround the island of Meroe (Strabo, xvii. 1), *i.e.* Ethiopia. Cf. *v.* 10: "the borders of Ethiopia." Great rivers are called seas in Heb. and Arab. Cf. Isa. xxi. 1; Jer. li. 36; Ezek. xxxii. 2. Volkmar thinks of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf (?); others propose the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, where Arabia marches with Egypt (Lipsius). The Vulg. omits the proper names of this verse, and concludes the chapter here, passing over the destruction of Arphaxad and the feasting that followed.

13. *Then he marched in battle array, &c.*] *And he drew up in line*, to give battle. Syr. *and he made ready his army.* "Power" is an old English term for *army*, and the Greek term (δύναμις) is so rendered in *v.* 16. "The English power is near, led on by Malcolm" ('Macbeth,' v. 2, 1). The Heb. חַיִל and the Lat. *vis* are similarly used. Καὶ παρετάξατο ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ = וַיַּעֲרֹךְ מִלְחָמָה בְּחֵילוֹ.

in the seventeenth year.] Cf. note on *v.* 1. Nabuchodonosor reduces the Medes in his seventeenth year, and is thus left free to attack the Jews in the eighteenth (Jer. xxxii. 1; ch. ii. 1).

14. *spoiled.*] The Greek is ἐπρονόμευσε, ch. ii. 23, 26; xv. 6. Some MSS. correct προενόμευσε. The word is late, and denotes *to forage, plunder, ravage.*

thereof.] Greek αὐτῆς, *of her*, i.e. the city. The *name* Ecbatana is a neut. plur.

turned the beauty thereof into shame.] Fritzsche edits: καὶ τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς ἔθηκεν εἰς ὄνειδος αὐτῆς. Codd. 44, 71, al., Old Lat. καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὴν εἰς ὀνειδισμόν, *and he made it* (the city) *a reproach*; cf. Ps. xliv. 13, 14. The Syr. has: *and all their beauty they made into a reproach.*

15. *He took also.*] *I.e.* took him prisoner when he was a fugitive. The "mountains of Ragau" are the range of Elburz, running from east to west in the north of Rhagiana.

smote him through with his darts.] Greek κατηκόντισεν (shot him down) ἐν ταῖς ζιβύναις αὐτοῦ. The ζιβύνη (also ζηβύνη and ζηβήνη) or σιβύνη (also σιβυνης ὁ.; cf. σιγύνης, Hdt. v. 9) was *a hunting spear*, and gen. *a spear* or *pike* (Diod. xviii. 27). Σιβύνιον (Polyb. vi. 23. 9). In Jer. vi. 23 it renders Heb. כִּידוֹן *jaculum.* It was a kind of smaller spear, which soldiers carried slung from the shoulders (1 Sam. xvii. 6, 7, 45), *in use among the Babylonians and Persians* (Jer. vi. 23; l. 42), prob. furnished with a pennon, like the spear of the Uhlans (Gesen. 'Thes.' *s. v.*). In Isa. ii. 4, ζιβύνη renders Heb. חֲנִית *hasta*, δόρυ.

through with his darts, and destroyed him utterly that day.

16 So he returned afterward to Nineve, both he and all his company of sundry nations, being a very great multitude of men of war, and there he took his ease, and banqueted, both he and his army, an hundred and twenty days.

CHAPTER II.

4 *Holofernes is appointed general,* 11 *and charged to spare none that will not yield.* 15 *His army and provision.* 23 *The places which he won and wasted as he went.*

AND in the eighteenth year, the two and twentieth day of the first month, there was talk in the house of Nabuchodonosor king of the

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It is improbable that the author of Judith is here giving the true details of the defeat and death of Phraortes, the second king of the Medes, when assailing the Assyrians of Nineveh (Hdt. i. 102). Wolff holds that such is the case; and adds that the cruelty of Nebuchadnezzar accounts for the cherished revenge of Cyaxares, who in 607 B.C. had the satisfaction of witnessing the fall of Kineladan's house and empire. Lipsius may be right in supposing a reminiscence of Darius' victory at Rhagae over Xatrida, who pretended to descent from Cyaxares, the Arbaces of Ctesias.

that day.] The Greek is ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, or ταύτης (Codd. x. 19, 108; Syr., Old Lat.): *until that* (*this*) *day*. Fritzsche explains: "From the day of the battle until that day on which he thrust him through, he was destroying him and his power utterly." This is artificial, and the reading "unto this day," implying that the Medes had never since recovered from that fatal overthrow, is certainly preferable, though not so strongly supported by Greek MSS. as the other. Moreover, the phrase is common in O. T. histories, whereas it would not be easy to find a parallel to the alternative reading. Volkmar's "bis auf jene Zeit (in der Nebukadnezar-Trajanus selbst fiel)" contains an arbitrary extension of the statement of the text.

16. *So he returned afterward.*] Lit. *and he returned with them.* A.V. seems to confuse μετ' αὐτῶν with μετὰ ταῦτα. The reference of the pronoun αὐτῶν is not very clear; but the prisoners and booty, usually mentioned in such narratives, appear to be meant. Codd. 19, 108, Syr., Old Lat. omit *with them.*

all his company of sundry nations.] The Greek is πᾶς ὁ σύμμικτος αὐτοῦ, *all his mixed multitude*, i.e. his foreign auxiliaries of different nations: Heb. כָּל־הָעֶרֶב, Jer. xxv. 20–24; 1 Kings x. 15. Targ. *auxilia*. Cf. ὁ ἐπίμικτος, ch. ii. 20; Ezek. xxx. 5; Exod. xii. 38; also Hdt. vii. 55, ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων, of the motley army of Xerxes. The phrase is anything but a suitable description of Roman legions, *pace* Volkmar. Before this phrase Codd. 19, 108 insert καὶ πᾶσα ἡ παράταξις αὐτοῦ, *and all his* (regular?) *army*.

being a very great multitude, &c.] This clause is in apposition to the preceding: cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 33; 2 Sam. xvii. 8; ch. vii. 2–7, xv. 3. The Syr. and Codd. 23, 44, 71, 74, 106 make it co-ordinate: *and a very great multitude.* This distinguishes the regular troops from the mixed multitude, as Wolff desires.

an hundred and twenty days.] Ahasuerus gave a feast of 180 days: Esth. i. 3, 4. As Fritzsche remarks, the length of this relaxation is not surprising after such an arduous campaign. Volkmar compares the shows given by Trajan during 123 days, after his *Dacian* campaign (Dio Cass. 68, 15).

CHAPTER II.

1. *in the eighteenth year.*] It appears from ch. i. 1, 13, 16 that this reading is correct. Moreover, there may be here a reminiscence of the historical Nebuchadnezzar, who destroyed Jerusalem in his eighteenth year, according to the true chronology (587 B.C. 2 Kings xxv. 8, Jer. lii. 12, must be corrected by Jer. lii. 29: cf. Joseph. 'Ant.' x. 8. 5; 'contra Apion,' i. 21. Lipsius). The Vulg. has *anno tertiodecimo*; because it passes over ch. i. 13–16, and thinks of i. 1, 5; while Cod. 58 and the Syr. read: "And in the twenty and eighth year." The Heb. words for *ten* and *twenty* might easily be confused with each other, in a badly written or faded MS.: עשרה, *ten*; עשרים, *twenty*. This applies to the next variant also. The Gk. numeral signs ιη'—κβ' also might easily, by an error of transposition, be turned into κη'—ιβ', as Volkmar suggests.

the two and twentieth day of the first month.] This also may be a correct reminiscence of the real Nebuchadnezzar (see note on i. 13). But Cod. 58 and the Syr., *the twelfth.* The first month was Nisan, beginning March 15. The "return of the year" was anciently "the time when kings went forth to battle:" 2 Sam. xi. 1. The specification of the month by a numeral rather than by its name is an imitation of the ancient

Assyrians, that he should, as he said, avenge himself on all the earth.

2 So he called unto him all his officers, and all his nobles, and communicated with them his secret counsel, and [a]concluded the afflicting of the whole earth out of his own mouth.

[a] 1 Sam. 20. 7. & 25. 17.

3 Then they decreed to destroy all flesh, that did not obey the commandment of his mouth.

4 And when he had ended his counsel, Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians called Holofernes the chief captain of his army, which was [1]next unto him, and said unto him,

[1] Gr. second man.

5 Thus saith the great king, the lord of the whole earth, Behold, thou

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Heb. style. Volkmar strangely assumes that though the writer here in Jewish fashion reckons Nisan (March) as the first month, he has reckoned the years of the king's reign in Roman fashion from January.

there was talk.] A good rendering of the Greek ἐγένετο λόγος (Heb. הָיָה דָּבָר).

all the earth.] Rather, *land* (i. 11, 12). So also in *v.* 2.

2. *So he called unto him.*] Gk. καὶ συνεκάλεσε. The Heb. may have been simply *and he called unto all*, &c. (2 Chron. xxiv. 6). So the Syriac.

his officers.] τοὺς θεράποντας αὐτοῦ, *his attendants.* The Heb. was probably עֲבָדָיו, *his servants.*

nobles.] μεγιστᾶνας. Mark vi. 21. Heb. שָׂרָיו, *his princes.*

communicated with them his secret counsel.] Lit. *placed with them the mystery of his counsel.* It is difficult to guess what Hebrew this represents. Fritzsche's references are irrelevant. The Syriac has, "and revealed to them the secret of his heart." The original may have been ויגל להם סוד עצתו: *and revealed to them the secret of his plan.* Cf. Amos iii. 7; and Job xv. 8 (Theod.). סוד = μυστήριον; or, וישם אתם ס״, *and determined with them his secret counsel.*

concluded the afflicting of the whole earth out of his own mouth.] The Gk., συνετέλεσε πᾶσαν κακίαν τῆς γῆς, is to be compared with 2 Sam. xx. 5 and xxv. 17: συντετέλεσται ἡ κακία παρ' αὐτοῦ, "Evil is determined on by him;" συντετέλεσται ἡ κακία εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, "Evil is determined against our master." Fritzsche asks: "Legitne interpres male ויכלה pro ויגלה?" Volkmar also wrongly renders "Er stellte dar die Bosheit der Erde." But the Heb. probably was ויכל רעה על־כל־הארץ מפיו, *and determined evil against all the land out of his mouth*, i.e. by his royal decree then uttered.

3. *Then they.*] Emphatic, καὶ αὐτοὶ; the royal counsellors. The Syriac connects this with the last clause of *v.* 2 thus: "And it came to pass when he had finished speaking evil against all the land, that *they also* accepted to destroy," &c. Heb. וחמה יועצים.

all flesh.] A Heb. expression: see Gen. vi. 12, 13, 17, 19.

that did not obey, &c.] οἱ οὐκ ἠκολούθησαν; a construction according to the sense, as in Gen. vi. 13. The Syriac renders, "Those who did not *hearken to* the word of the king's mouth," which looks as if the Heb. must have been אשר לא־שמעו בקול פי המלך:.

4. *And when he had ended his counsel.*] Lit. *and it came to pass when he had concluded* (*v.* 2), &c.

Holofernes.] This name is merely a debased form of *Orophernes*, a standing title of the princes of Cappadocia, like Antiochus and Seleucus in Syria. It occurs both in the Persian and in the Seleucid period. The British Museum possesses two silver coins inscribed ΟΡΟΦΕΡΝΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, *of Orophernes king victorious* (158 B.C.). These facts militate strongly against allegorizing interpretations of the name Holophernes. See Polyb. iii. 5. 2; App. Syr. 47; Aelian, ii. 41; Justin, xxxv. 1. Huet long ago compared the Persian Tissaphernes, Pharnaces, Intaphernes, Pharnabazus, &c. Cf. also the names of two Median princes conquered by Esarhaddon, Sidir-parna and E-parna. The Syr. gives ܐܠܦܪܢܐ, *Alparnâ* (?).

chief captain of his army.] ἀρχιστράτηγον τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ. Heb. שַׂר צְבָאוֹ, *captain of his host* (Judg. iv. 2).

which was next unto him.] δεύτερον ὄντα (five cursives improve this into δευτερεύοντα) μετ' αὐτόν. Heb. מִשְׁנֵהוּ, *his second:* see 1 Chron. xvi. 5; and cf. 2 Chron. xxviii. 7. 2 Kings iv. 13 shews that the commander-in-chief was really next to the king in rank and power.

5. *Thus saith the great king, &c.*] Cf. Ezra i. 2: "Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth." 2 Kings xviii. 19, "Thus saith the great king, the king of

shalt go forth from my presence, and take with thee men that trust in their own strength, of footmen an hundred and twenty thousand; and the number of horses with their riders twelve thousand.

6 And thou shalt go against all the west country, because they disobeyed my commandment.

7 And thou shalt declare unto them, that they prepare for me [1]earth and water: for I will go forth in my wrath against them, and will cover the whole face of the earth with the feet of mine army, and I will give them for a spoil unto them:

8 So that their slain shall fill their valleys and brooks, and the river shall be filled with their dead, till it overflow:

9 And I will lead them captives to the utmost parts of all the earth.

[1] After the manner of the kings of Persia, to whom earth and water was wont to be given, to acknowledge that they were lords of land and sea, *Herodotus.*

Assyria." "The Great King" was the common style of the Persian sovereigns (see Xenoph. Anab. *passim*), as of the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs before them; e.g. *Aššur-ab-iddina šarru rabû šarru dannu šar kiššâti*, "Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, the king of multitudes." Cf. also Dan. ii. 37; iv. 22. Even Nickes admits that the speech which follows is an ideal composition due to the author of the book.

thou shalt go forth from my presence.] Gen. xli. 46. Heb. "Thou shalt go out *from before me*." Hence eight cursives give πρὸ instead of ἐκ, and Vet. Lat. has *ante*. Both prepositions are contained in the Heb. מלפני.

men that trust in their own strength.] Cf. Ps. xlix. 6. A. V. "They that trust in their wealth" (LXX. δυνάμει).

of footmen an hundred and twenty thousand.] In proportion to the cavalry, as ten to one. Scholz and Nickes allege these "exact numbers" to be proofs of the historical character of the work (!). The number of footmen is the same as in 1 Macc. xv. 13; a suggestive coincidence.

twelve thousand.] The common Gk. text is μυριάδων δεκαδύο, which makes them equal to the cavalry. *V.* 15 shews that the right reading is χιλιάδας δεκαδύο, "twelve thousand." So Codd. ii. ex corr., iii. 52, 64, al., Syr., and Old Lat.

6. *thou shalt go against.*] Heb. ויצאת לקראת, *and thou shalt go forth to meet* . . . (So Gk. literally.) Cf. note on chap. i. 6.

my commandment.] Gk. *the word of my mouth.* Such would be the Heb. also.

7. *that they prepare for me earth and water.*] In token of entire surrender; the customary formula of the Persian kings in demanding submission. See Hdt. vi. 48, 49. Plut. 'Themist.' 6; Polyb. ix. 38; Liv. xxxv. 17. The author thus attributes a Persian custom to the Assyrians. Wolff assumes that he is right; but the cuneiform inscriptions mention no such formula. "For me" is not in the ordinary Greek text, but Codd. 58, 64, al., the Syriac, and Old Lat. have it. The sense requires it, and the phrase in Hdt. is construed with a dative.

Verses 7–9 are omitted by the Vulgate, and *vv.* 10–13 are represented by "Thine eye shall not spare any kingdom; and every fenced city thou shalt reduce for me." But I doubt whether A. Scholz is right in calling the passage a later amplification, as the phraseology is mostly Hebraic in cast.

will cover the whole face of the earth, &c.] Gen. ii. 6: πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. Exod. viii. 6, καὶ ἐκάλυψε τὴν γῆν Αἰγύπτου. In Ex. x. 15, the phrase is used of the locusts. Cf. *v.* 19; v. 10; vii. 18.

I will give them for a spoil.] Chap. iv. 12; Ezek. xxv. 7; Isa. xlii. 24.

unto them.] *I.e.* unto my army. Some MSS. omit it, but it is characteristically Hebrew, which is careless of pronominal ambiguity.

8. *So that their slain shall fill their valleys and brooks.*] "Their slain" is οἱ τραυματίαι αὐτῶν. Heb. חלליהם. Cf. ch. vi. 6 *infra*. The high-flown style of the speech is thoroughly consistent with Oriental grandiloquence. "Valleys and brooks" should be *ravines and wâdys* (or *watercourses, gullies*). Gk. φάραγγας. . . χειμάρρους. Heb. perhaps as Ezek. xxxv. 8: "And I will fill his mountains with his slain; in thy hills and in thy valleys, and in all thy rivers shall they fall that are slain with the sword."

and the river shall be filled with their dead, till it overflow.] Gk. καὶ ποταμὸς ἐπικλύζων τοῖς νεκροῖς αὐτῶν πληρωθήσεται. Cf. Isa. lxvi. 12. The word is collective. Heb. prob. ונחל שֹׁטף פגריהם ימלא:.

9. *And I will lead them captives.*] Gk. as Heb. *I will lead their captivity.* Cf. 2 Chron. vi. 36, xxviii. 5; Isa. xx. 4.

to the utmost parts of all the earth.] *To the ends of all the earth.* Cf. Isa. xl. 28; xlv. 22. Heb. either קצות הארץ or אפסי הא״

10 Thou therefore shalt go forth, and take beforehand for me all their coasts: and if they will yield themselves unto thee, thou shalt reserve them for me till the day of their punishment.

11 But concerning them that rebel, let not thine eye spare them; but put them to the slaughter, and spoil them wheresoever thou goest.

12 For as I live, and by the power of my kingdom, whatsoever I have spoken, that will I do by mine hand.

13 And take thou heed that thou transgress none of the commandments of thy lord, but accomplish them fully, as I have commanded thee, and defer not to do them.

14 Then Holofernes went forth from the presence of his lord, and called all the governors and captains, and the officers of the army of Assur;

15 And he mustered the chosen

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10. *Thou therefore shalt go forth, and take beforehand for me.*] iv. 4; vii. 1, 15.
"Take beforehand" — προκαταλήψῃ — would be simply לְכֹד, "take," as in Judg. i. 12. iii. 28. Old Lat. *praeoccupabis*. The word does not occur in the LXX.

all their coasts.] *All their border*, i.e. their entire territory: כל־גבולם, Judg. i. 18.

and if they will yield.] Gk. *and they will yield.* So Heb. ἐκδώσουσι is rare in LXX. Heb. probably ויצאו לך, *and they will come forth to thee*, or ונתנו נפשם, *and they will give themselves up*, 2 K. xviii. 30, 31; or rather ונתנו יד· לך, *and they will give thee a hand*, 2 Chron. xxx. 8.

thou shalt reserve them for me.] διατηρέω; שמר, *servavit*, Gen. xvii. 9, 10.

till the day of their punishment.] εἰς ἡμέραν ἐλεγμοῦ αὐτῶν, 2 K. xix. 3; ἡμέρα θλίψεως καὶ ἐλεγμοῦ. Heb. תּוֹכֵחָה, *poena, castigatio*, Hos. v. 9: ביום תוכחה, *in the day of p.*

11. *But concerning them that rebel, let not thine eye spare them.*] Rather, *But* (*upon*) *those that disobey thine eye shall not spare.* In Num. xx. 10, המורים, "ye rebels," is rendered by LXX. οἱ ἀπειθεῖς. Perhaps the phrase used here was לא שמעו. For the phrase "thine eye shall not spare," see Ezek. xx. 17; Gen. xlv. 20; Deut. vii. 16.

but put them to the slaughter.] Lit. *to give them to, &c.* Cf. Ezek. *l. c.* Perhaps משחתם or מתתם לשחת ולבז בכל־הארץ, Jer. xvii. 3; Ezek. xxv. 7.

wheresoever thou goest.] Gk. ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ σου, *in all thy land.* Welte suspects a translator's mistake; and Fritzsche explains: "the land conquered by thee." But σοῦ is rightly omitted by Codd. 19, 108, 58, 44, al., Syr. and Old Lat. It is "*the* land" of *vv.* 1, 2, 6, that is meant.

12. *as I live.*] ζῶν ἐγώ, cf. Num. xiv. 21. חַי אָנִי, which the LXX. expands into ζῶ ἐγὼ καὶ ζῶν τὸ ὄνομά μου. Cf. chap. xi. 7; xii. 4. The participle with the first pers. pron. as here is not found elsewhere. Codd. x. 19, 44, 71, al. read ζῶ.

whatsoever I have spoken, that will I do.] Gk. *I have spoken, and I will do* (*all*, 58, Old Lat.) *this with mine hand.* So Heb.: cf. Isa. xlvi. 11, אף דברתי וגו'; Isa. xxxvii. 32, יעשה כל־זאת. Syr. "Because (as) I live and my kingdom, what things I have spoken, I will do them all with my hand."

13. *And take thou heed, &c.*] Lit. *and thou also shalt not transgress any one of the words.* Heb. וגם אתה לא תעבר כל־דברי אדניך.

but accomplish them fully.] ἐπιτελῶν ἐπιτελέσεις. Heb. כלה תכלה; the Greek participle representing the Heb. adverbial infinitive, as usual in the LXX.

defer not to do them.] Lit. *Thou shalt not prolong* (*protract*) *to do them.* Heb. ולא תאריך לעשות. The Gk. closely follows the Heb. idiom of the *complementary* verb.

14. *and called all the governors and captains, and the officers.*] Rather, *and called all the princes, and the generals and overseers* or inferior commanders. The δυνάσται may represent אדיר as in Nah. iii. 18, or גבור as in 1 Chron. xxviii. 1, or נדיב as in 1 Sam. ii. 8, or גדול as in Prov. xxv. 6: the στρατηγοὶ either סגנים, as Neh. ii. 16, Ezek. xxiii. 6; or שרים, 1 Chron. xi. 6. The ἐπιστάται are prob. פקידים, 2 Kings xxiv. 39; Jer. lii. 22. But Codd. x. 19, 108, τοὺς σατράπας. Cf. 2 Chron. ix. 14.

Assur.] The native name of the country (Assyria), its original capital, and its god, as appears from the inscriptions. The people styled themselves "sons of Assur."

15. *And he mustered the chosen men for the*

mén for the battle, as his lord had commanded him, unto an hundred and twenty thousand, and twelve thousand archers on horseback;

16 And he ranged them, as a great army is ordered for the war.

17 And he took camels and asses for their carriages, a very great number; and sheep and oxen and goats without number for their provision:

18 And plenty of victual for every man of the army, and very much gold and silver out of the king's house.

19 Then he went forth and all his power to go before king Nabuchodonosor in the voyage, and to cover all the face of the earth westward with their chariots, and horsemen, and their chosen footmen.

20 A great number also of sundry

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battle.] ἠρίθμησεν, *be counted:* either מָנָה (so Syr.), 2 Sam. xxiv. 1; or the commoner, ספר, 1 Chr. xxi. 2, xxiii. 3; or פקד, 1 Chr. xxi. 6. "The chosen men" is ἐκλεκτοὺς. Cf. Judg. xx. 16 and 1 Sam. xxvi. 2. Codd. 19, 58, 64, al. read ἐπιλέκτους, as in *v.* 19, and ch. iii. 7.

for the battle.] The Greek is εἰς παράταξιν. למלחמה; Judg. xx. 14. So Syr.

archers on horseback.] ἱππεῖς τοξόται. פרשים מורים בַקשת; cf. 1 Chr. x. 3, 1 Sam. xxxi. 3; or דרכי קשת, 2 Chr. xiv. 7; or נשקי קשת, id. xvii. 17. Syr. *horsemen shooting with the bow.* Wolff finds in this detail a mark of historical truth, because the Assyrian horse were armed with bows. On the other hand, Volkmar is equally confident that the *equites Mauri* of Trajan's lieutenant Lusius Quietus, whom he identifies with Holofernes, are indicated by the phrase of the text.

16. *a great army.*] πλῆθος πολέμου — המון חילים, Dan. xi. 10.

17. *And he took camels and asses.*] The Gk. text adds: *and mules.* Some cursives and the Syriac and Old Lat. (cod. Corb.) omit.

for their carriages.] Gk. εἰς τὴν ἀπαρτίαν αὐτῶν, *for their baggage.* The curious ἀπαρτία recurs in ch. iii. 11; vii. 18. It means ἀποσκευὴ (Suidas, Hesychius); *i.e.* household *utensils, goods.* So Old Lat. here, *ad utensilia eorum.* The word originally meant *completion;* cf. ἀπαρτίζω, *to get ready,* and ἀπαρτισμὸς (Luke xiv. 28). In later usage, it signifies a public auction (from ἀπαίρειν). Pollux, x. 18, remarks that it is an *Ionic* word, and is used of *the light utensils* (τῶν κούφων σκευῶν) which one can hang at one's side, and = τὰ ἔπιπλα; i.e. *moveables* as opposed to *fixtures* (Thucyd. iii. 68). The LXX. therefore is right in sometimes using it for *baggage.* "ἀπαρτία. Sarcina," says Trommius, "qua se instruunt οἱ ἀπαίροντες proficiscentes." In Exod. xl. 36, Num. x. 12, the term renders מַסָּע; in Num. xxxi. 17, טף; and in Deut. xx. 14, שלל. The Syriac has "to carry *their provisions,*" ܠܙܘܕܝܗܘܢ, Acts xiv. 16. Heb. perhaps למשא; Num. iv. 19, 24.

sheep and oxen and goats.] Such accompaniments necessitated slow marching. Cf. 2 Kings iii. 9.

"Provision"—παρασκευή—is rare in LXX. (Exod. xxxv. 23; xxxix. 43 = עֲבֹדָה; and 2 Macc. xv. 21, are *all* the reff. in Tromm.) Fritzsche is hardly right in suggesting עבדה here. Cf. the Syriac ܠܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ, *for the food.* Perhaps לְאָכְלָה, Gen. i. 29; or לְמַאֲכָל, 2 Chron. xi. 11; Ps. xliv. 12. Fritzsche renders "zur Ausrüstung der Soldaten an Fleisch."

without number.] ὧν οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμὸς = אֵין מִסְפָּר. The expression occurs again, *v.* 20; ch. v. 10. It is a common hyperbole in Heb., and also in Assyrian *la mani, la niba.*

18. *And plenty of victual for every man of the army.*] καὶ ἐπισιτισμὸν παντὶ ἀνδρὶ εἰς πλῆθος. Ἐπισιτ. is the regular word in LXX. for צֵדָה, *cibus,* as in Gen. xlv. 21. εἰς πλῆθος is לָרֹב. Cod. x. omits ἐξ οἴκου βασιλ. πολ. σφόδρ., but its genuineness is proved by its Heb. cast.

19. *to go before king Nabuchodonosor.*] Heb. לְקַדֵּם פְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ. (Codd. 44, 74, 76, al. read πρὸ προσώπου τοῦ βασ.)

chariots, and horsemen, and their chosen footmen.] Exod. xiv. 6, 7, 9, 18, 23; Josh. xi. 4; Judg. iv. 3; 1 Sam. xiii. 5; 2 Kings ii. 12, xiii. 7, xviii. 24. The "their" (αὐτῶν) refers to "power." It is wanting in Codd. 44, 74, 76, al. So Syriac: "and cover the face of all the land of the west with chariots and with chosen footmen."

20. *A great number also of sundry countries.*] Rather, *and great was the mixed multitude, like locusts, that went forth with them;* Gk. καὶ πολὺς ὁ ἐπίμικτος ὡς ἀκρὶς

countries came with them like locusts, and like the sand of the earth: for the multitude was without number.

21 And they went forth of Nineve three days' journey toward the plain of Bectileth, and pitched from Bectileth near the mountain which is at the left hand of the upper Cilicia.

22 Then he took all his army, his footmen, and horsemen, and chariots, and went from thence into the hill country;

23 And destroyed Phud and Lud,

συνεξῆλθον αὐτοῖς. The two similes are common in Heb.: see Judg. vii. 12, "And the Midianites . . . lay along in the plain like locusts for multitude; and their camels were without number, as the sand by the seaside for multitude." Cf. also Gen. xxii. 17, xxxii. 12; Josh. xi. 4; 1 Sam. xiii. 5; Nah. iii. 15.

For *ἐπίμικτος* see ch. i. 16. The Syr. here uses the same word as for "the mixed multitude" of Num. xi. 4 (ܚܠܛܐ).

like the sand of the earth.] Cf. Gen. xiii. 16; xxviii. 14. More usual is כחול הים, *as the sand of the sea.* The Syr. has ܚܠܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ, *the sand of the earth.* The Lat. rendering, *instar arenae maris*, has misled Fritzsche into stating "Für τῆς γῆς, Syr. . . . *maris.*"

21. *And they went forth of Nineve three days' journey.*] So Syr., Cod. 58, &c. Fritzsche edits ἀπῆλθον . . . ὁδὸν, comparing 2 Sam. iv. 8, וילכו דרך הערבה, *and they went the way of the Arabah.* The desert between Egypt and Palestine was a journey of three days, according to Hdt. iii. 5 (about 60 miles); according to Ex. xv. 22 *seq.*, the Israelites took three days in marching from *Ain Mûsa* to *Howarah* (Marah), a distance of 36 miles = 12 miles a day.

toward the plain.] ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τοῦ πεδίου. על־פני; as in Gen. xviii. 16. So the Syriac.

Bectileth.] Fritzsche edits Βαικτιλαὶθ; al. Βεκτι(ηε)λα(ε)θ. Syriac ܒܝܬ ܩܛܝܠܬ = Bêth-kṭîlath, apparently "House of slaughter." Grotius conjectured *Bactaialle*, south of Antioch (Ptol. v. 15, 16), which is perhaps right; though if this place lay in Cassiotis, where Ptolemy fixes it, it was some twenty miles distant from "Nineveh" (Hierapolis: *vid. infra*). Lipsius observes that this was more than a three days' march; a day's march, at most, not exceeding five geogr. miles (Xen. 'Anab.' i. 2, 5; ii. 2, 6). The Roman and Parthian *mansiones*, or stations, were 2½ to 3½ miles apart.

The Βαιτουλι(εί)α of Codd. x. 19, 108, and Old Lat. *Betbulia* and *Bitbilat*, rest on erroneous identification. Fritzsche thinks the three days' journey points to some place in N. Mesopotamia, in the fruitful Anthemusia or Mygdonia. But this does not agree with what follows: "And pitched from (Syr. and Old Lat. *over against*) Bectileth near the mountain, which is on the left hand (*i.e.* north) of the Upper Cilicia," *i.e.* near the Taurus: ויחן מבקטילת אצל ההר אשר משמאל לארץ תובל העליונה. As Upper (*i.e.* Eastern) Cilicia is reached so quickly, "Nineveh" may mean *Ninus vetus*, or Bambyce (*Membij*), which, as Hierapolis, became of new importance under the Seleucids (Lipsius).

From the Vulgate *Melothi* (*v.* 23) Grotius conjectured Melita or Melitene, the Assyrian *Melidi*, a fruitful plateau lying west of the Northern Euphrates, and watered by the rivers *Tokma Su* and *Sultan Su.* Melita (*Malatieh*) was its chief city; and through this plain ran one of the two great commercial and military roads uniting Lesser Asia with Nineveh and Babylon. It is perhaps not an insuperable objection that "this place was at least 300 English miles from Nineveh" (Bissell). The *Beka'a* between the two chains of Lebanon would be as remote from Nineveh, and the writer of a romance like Judith might imagine that the great army marched 100 miles a day, however impossible such a feat may be. Possibly, however, the original reading was *thirty days.* Volkmar, who makes Antioch = Nineveh, and Bectileth ("the House of Slaughter") a symbolical name for Nisibis, conjectures *thirteen.* At the same time, he supposes Bectileth to stand for *Beth Kered*, a hypothetical Hebrew equivalent of Corduëne — Kurdistan. But if, as he argues, Nineveh = Antioch, even thirteen days would be insufficient for this long march of more than 100 miles. Vulg. *cumque pertransisset fines Assyriorum, venit ad magnos montes Ange qui sunt a sinistro Ciliciae.* Syriac: "And encamped over against B., near to the mount of Agânê." Cod. 58 has ὄρους Ἀγγίου οὗ ἐστιν ἀριστερὰ κ.τ.λ. Old Lat. *Agge;* Cod. Corb. *Ange.* The Syr. word means *crateres* (John ii. 7), and is used by Barhebraeus of the Sicilian volcanic *craters.* Fritzsche conjectures ἀγκή; Volkmar ἀγχοῦ or ἄγχι; Wolff, the modern *Akjeh Dagh*, a spur of the Taurus south-west of *Malatieh;* Lipsius, some peak of the Amanus.

23. *And destroyed.*] καὶ διέκοψε. Heb. פָּרַץ, 1 Chron. xiv. 11. The Heb. original means "broke forth upon," rather than "broke through" the enemy's line (διακόπτω,

and spoiled all the children of Rasses, and the children of Ismael, which were toward the wilderness at the south of the land of the Chellians.

Xen. 'Anab.' i. 8, 10). Syriac ܚܪܒܘ "they destroyed;" Vet. Lat. *concidit*. Fritzsche is wrong in rendering פרץ "he scattered," *zerstreute*. Volkmar's comment on this and the following verse is vitiated in great part by his false assumption that ch. i. 6 refers to the allies of Arphaxad, and that these verses describe their chastisement by Nebuchadnezzar—Trajan.

Phud and Lud.] These two names (Heb. לוּד and פּוּט) occur together in Jer. xlvi. 9; Ezek. xxx. 5, xxvii. 10. In the two former passages *Cush* and *Phut* and *Lud* are among the auxiliaries of the Egyptian army; in the last, "They of Persia and of Lud and of Phut" are mercenaries in the Tyrian forces. Persia, Cush, and Phut recur together in Ezek. xxxviii. 5. Lud may be the *Rudu* of the Egyptian monuments, *i.e.* the Lydian mercenaries of Egypt; see Gen. x. 6, 13. Phut is here, at all events, probably another nation of Asia Minor, which supplied hired troops to Egypt and other ancient states. In Isa. lxvi. 19, Phut and Lud are named along with Tarshish, Tubal, and Javan, all *western* peoples. Knobel and Fritzsche identify it with Libya; and Fritzsche thinks mercenaries may be meant here. But we have already seen reason to hold that the writer really means to represent Holofernes as invading Asia Minor. Wolff is perhaps right in making Phud = the Colchians, who are said to have been an Egyptian colony, Hdt. ii. 103 (cf. the hieroglyphic Punt, the Coptic Phōt, Pōt, and the city Poti, at the mouth of the Phasis); and Lud = the Lydians. Lipsius, however, observes that, the Taurus being the "Völkerscheide," it is necessary to seek Lud south of it, in Upper Mesopotamia. (Vulg. "Now he stormed the most famous city of Melothi," *i.e.* either Melitene, or Mallos in Cilicia.)

all the children of Rasses.] Gk. πάντας υἱοὺς Ῥασσεῖς. Cod. x. has Ῥαασσεῖς. Syriac, ܠܛܝܪܣ ܘܠܪܥܡܣܣ "Tiras (Gen. x. 2) and Rameses" (Exod. i. 11). Old Lat. *Thiras et Rasis*. The variation *may* be due to an accidental duplication of the syllable -ρας. The Vulg. and Cod. Corb. of Old Lat. give only Tharsis, *i.e.* Tarsus (Heb. תַּרְשִׁישׁ) in Cilicia; which may be the true reading, as Tarsus was important under the Seleucids, and Tarsus and Mallos (Melothi) are named together in 2 Macc. iv. 30. Otherwise, *Rasses* may be Ῥῶσος or Ῥῶσσος, a mountain chain and town, S. of Amanus, on the gulf of Issus; or Ῥασσεῖς = *Rosh* of Ezek. xxxviii. 2, 3; xxxix. 1 (Heb. רֹאשׁ), where Gog is called "the prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal." In this case also a people of Asia Minor, in the neighbourhood of Cilicia, will be meant; for Meshech is the Assyr. *Muski*, and Gk. Μόσχοι, probably somewhere in Little Armenia, N. of Melitene, N.E. of Tubal, *i.e.* the Assyr. *Tabali* and Gk. Τιβάρηνοι, in the country afterwards called Cappadocia. See Schrader, 'Keilinschr. und das alte Test.' pp. 82–84. "Phud and Lud and all the children of Rasses" must mean the peoples of Cilicia and the further west: i. 7 (Scholz). Lipsius thinks of desert tribes about Rasseina or Ressaina, i.e. *Ras-el-Ain* or Resen, at the head-waters of the Chaboras, and on one of the chief caravan routes through Mesopotamia. He interprets the obscure geographical data of *vv.* 23–25 as follows: Holofernes marches from the nomad Arabs in Southern Mesopotamia in a south-easterly direction through the Syrian desert, presumably on the famous caravan route from Palmyra to Petra, and through the rocky fastnesses of the Nabataeans, until he reaches the sea in the neighbourhood of Abrona on the Aelanitic gulf (Num. xxxiii. 34), if "the sea" (*v.* 24) be not simply the Mediterranean at Rhinocolura, on the borders of Arabia Petraea and Egypt (i. 12). The "high cities" are the famous rock towns of the Nabataeans; the "river," or rather torrent, of "Arbonai" is one of the wadys in populous and well-watered Arabia Petraea, if it be not "the torrent of Egypt" (Wady-el-Arish). Thence Holofernes marches to the borders of Palestine, and arrives (*v.* 26) at the nomad Midianites, south and south-east of Palestine (instead of which Chellus and Kades in Edom were named, ch. i. 9, and Moab and Ammon, ch. i. 12); whence he proceeds north to the plain of Damascus (*v.* 27).

at the south of the land of the Chellians.] Gk. πρὸς νότον τῆς Χελεών. Codd. ii. 108, 58, 19, and the Syriac, read Χαλδαίων. Syriac, "And the sons of Ishmael who dwell in the wilderness which is on the south, and all the land of the Chaldeans." Vulg. *et filios Ishmael qui erant contra faciem deserti et ad austrum terrae Cellon*. Old Lat. *et filios Ismael qui inhabitant contra faciem deserti ad austrum Cheleonis terrae Chaldaeorum*. The MSS. give Χελλαίων, Χελαίων, Χελλέων, Χελέων, Χέλλων. Fritzsche thinks Chaldeans a doubtful correction. Volkmar considers it original; and Lipsius, his critic, holds it to be substantially right as a determination of the locality. Wolff suggests Χάλος (Xen. 'Anab.' i. 4, 9), the later Chalcidice and Chalonitis, on the north borders of the Syro-

24 Then he went over Euphrates, and went through Mesopotamia, and destroyed all the high cities that were upon the river Arbonai, till ye come to the sea.

25 And he took the borders of Cilicia, and killed all that resisted him, and came to the borders of Japheth, which were toward the south, over against Arabia.

26 He compassed also all the children of Madian, and burned up their

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Arabian Desert; so Scholz. Bissell is hardly right in referring to the Chellus of ch. i. 9. We might compare Cholle, between the Euphrates and Palmyra.

24. *Then he went over Euphrates.*] Holofernes is represented as retracing his steps and crossing the Euphrates again, in order to ravage Mesopotamia, although it was friendly territory (ch. i. 6). After this he once more returns to Cilicia (*v.* 25). These incredible marches to and fro between east and west demonstrate the unhistorical nature of the narrative.

destroyed.] *διέσκαψε*. Codd. iii. x. 19, 64, al. *κατέσκαψε* = הֵרַם, 1 Kings xviii. 30; or נָתַץ, Judg. viii. 9. Trommius gives no instauce of *διέσκ.* in LXX.

the high cities.] עָרִים בְּצֻרוֹת, as in Neh. ix. 25. So ch. iii. 6.

the river Arbonai.] Fritzsche, *τοῦ χειμάῤῥου* 'Αβρωνᾶ. Codd. 64, al. have *'Αρβωναΐ*; x. 58, *Χεβρὼν*; 19, 108, *Χευρὼν*; Old Lat. *Beccon;* Vg. and Vet. Lat. (cod. Corb.) *Mambre*. Syr. *Jabbok* (!). Movers suggested בְּעֵבֶר הַנָּהָר, "on the other side of the river;" and that the translator mistook עֵבֶר for a proper name. Grotius makes Arbonai = Chaboras or Aborras, Abōras, the *Hâbûr*. But the Gk. *χειμάῤῥους* is rather the Heb. נחל, *wady*, than נהר, *river;* and the Chaboras is a river. Wolff thinks that the term belongs properly to *Mambre*, a name preserved in the Vulg., but not in the Gk. text. He refers to Procop. 'De bell. Pers.' ii. 5, and 'De aedif. Just.' ii. 8, for Mambri, a fortress built by Diocletian five Roman miles south of Zenobia, which may have stood on a watercourse of the same name. "The sea" might then mean the Euphrates, if not the Persian Gulf: *vid.* note on ch. i. 12. Scholz objects that this name does not suit the rushing mountain stream which the Euphrates is, until it reaches Babylon (cf. Jer. li. 35). But neither is the Euphrates a *nabal*. Abrona (Num. xxxiii. 34) may have been the name of some unknown wady, but hardly, as Scholz supposes, a synonym of Euphrates.

25. *the borders of Cilicia.*] *I.e.* the territories, *fines*, of Cilicia, between the Taurus and the Amanus. Wolff, however, argues, with some show of probability, that "the borders of Cilicia" means the districts of Northern Syria then included in Cilicia. Cf. the Vulgate: *Et occupavit terminos ejus (Mesopotamiae) a Cilicia usque ad fines Japhet.* Cilicia thus extended to the Euphrates. Possibly the verse is out of its place, and should follow *v.* 21. But perhaps the writer is only recapitulating from *v.* 23: "*So* he took the borders of Cilicia," &c. The "borders of Japheth" may assign the limit of the march through Mesopotamia; and the expression "over against Arabia" may denote the countries E. of the Persian Gulf, in the direction of India, which certainly lie "over against," or rather *in front* of, that is, E. of Arabia (Num. iii. 38; xxi. 11). Envoys were sent to Persia, *i.e.* the east, as opposed to Cilicia, the west; and distance is not an objection. As the envoys were repulsed, Holofernes must needs march thither also. Ahasuerus ruled "from India to Ethiopia" (Esth. i. 1; viii. 9), and our author seems to ascribe the same enormous territories to Nabuchodonosor (Scholz).

killed.] *κατέκοψε* = וַיַּךְ (Gen. xiv. 5, 7), "smote."

all that resisted him.] Gk. *π. τοὺς ἀντιστάντας αὐτῷ* of Deut. ix. 2 (מתיצבים לפניו), or Num. xxii. 23 (נִצָּב).

the borders of Japheth.] The Syriac omits. Movers thinks *Nabataeans* (*Ναβαταίων*) may have been the original. The Vulg. has: *usque ad fines Japhet, qui sunt ad austrum* (*i.e.* to the south of Cilicia), and omits "over against Arabia." (Lipsius transfers this phrase to the beginning of the verse, so as to connect it with "the sea" of *v.* 24.) Wolff identifies "Japheth" with the plateau of *Saphâ*, which extends in a northerly direction from the *Jebel Haurân*. As this range may be said to part the Syrian from the Arabian Desert, the description "the borders of Japhet *towards the South over against Arabia*" suits the locality. The later Jews, however, regarded the ranges of Amanus on the west and Taurus on the north as dividing the posterity of Shem from that of Japhet (Joseph. 'Ant.' i. 6. 1, quoted by Lipsius). Volkmar therefore supposes Chalcidice in Upper Syria to be the place intended here.

26. *He compassed also all the children of Madian.*] *And he went round.* *καὶ ἐκύκλωσε*, וַיָּסָב; Judg. xi. 18. Vulg. *abduxitque*, which presupposes וישב. On the north and east sides the mountains are so precipitous that

tabernacles, and spoiled their sheep-cotes.

27 Then he went down into the plain of Damascus in the time of wheat harvest, and burnt up all their fields, and destroyed their flocks and herds, also he spoiled their cities, and utterly wasted their countries, and smote all their young men with the edge of the sword.

28 Therefore the fear and dread of him fell upon all the inhabitants of the sea coasts, which were in Sidon and Tyrus, and them that dwelt in Sur and Ocina, and all that dwelt in Jemnaan; and they that dwelt in

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their plateaus can only be approached by an army from the south (Wolff). For *Madian*, i.e. Midian, cf. Acts vii. 29. Scholz says the name is here archaic for the Arabs in general. Μαδιάμ is the reading edited by Fritzsche from Codd. ii., iii., x., &c. The verbs are plural in Cod. 58, Syr., and Old Lat.

their tabernacles.] *I.e.* tents. Cf. Ps. lxxxiii. 6; Judg. vi. 5; 2 Kings xiii. 5.

spoiled their sheepcotes.] Zephaniah ii. 6, גְּדֵרֹת צֹאנָם. Cf. 1 Chron. iv. 41; v. 19–22. The chief seats of the Midianites were on the E. and N. terraces of the Jebel Haurân. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 25–28; Judg. viii. 4–12 (Nobah = Kenath, at N. extremity of Jebel Haurân; Num. xxxii. 42; 1 Chron. ii. 33). Anciently their tribes extended from the frontiers of Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula to Mesopotamia: see Exod. ii. 15 *sq.*; Num. xxii. 4.

27. *in the time of wheat harvest.*] ἐν ἡμέραις θερισμοῦ πυρῶν. Heb. בִּימֵי קְצִיר חִטִּים; Gen. xxx. 14; Judg. xv. 1. The time would be about the beginning of June. Volkmar *imagines* the 19th year to be indicated by the statement, so as to suit his idea of four successive years of war, representing the 16th to the 19th of the Emperor Trajan. In reality, the Jewish romancer has allowed far too little time (cf. *v.* 1) for the expeditions of this chapter.

destroyed.] ἔδωκεν εἰς ἀφανισμόν. Cf. 2 Chron. xxix. 8, וַיִּתְּנֵם לְשַׁמָּה; Ezek. xv. 8, וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ שְׁמָמָה.

their flocks and herds.] τὰ ποίμνια καὶ τὰ βουκόλια; 2 Sam. xii. 2, צֹאן וּבָקָר; 1 Sam. xxx. 20, "הצ" והב". Cf. ch. iii. 3.

also he spoiled their cities.] *And their cities he spoiled.* ἐσκύλευσε, not ἐπρονόμευσε, as in *vv.* 23, 26. Cf. 2 Chron. xiv. 14; Heb. בזז.

utterly wasted.] ἐξελίκμησε, only here and Wisd. v. 23, καὶ ὡς λαῖλαψ ἐκλικμήσει αὐτούς. In both places the Syr. renders ܕܪܐ, *ventilavit*, "winnowed." Here the meaning is "made empty" by ravaging. "Countries" should be *plains*.

smote . . . sword.] A common Heb. phrase: ויך לפי חרב. Cf. Num. xxi. 24.

28. *Therefore the fear and dread of him.*] Gen. ix. 2; Deut. xi. 25. This verse better begins ch. iii., as Fritzsche edits. Vulg. omits the proper names.

which were in Sidon . . . Tyrus, . . . Jemnaan.] Rather, *to wit, those who were in Sidon*, &c. The whole is a further definition of "the inhabitants of the sea coasts."

Sur.] Codd. 19, 108, Σοὺδ; x. Τοὺρ; Syr. ܣܘܪ. Fritzsche says that it should certainly be Dor (Δωρᾶ, 1 Macc. xv. 11); Heb. דּוֹר, a seaport in the neighbourhood of Carmel. It is more probably an accidental repetition of the preceding Tyre, Heb. צור, *Çôr*, now called by the Arabs *Soor* (so Ewald).

Ocina.] Accho-Ptolemaïs, a haven N. of Dor; Judg. i. 31. Perhaps Heb. was עַכּוֹ. Codd. ii., iii., &c., read Ὀκεινά; 19, 108, τοὺς Κιvvαίους; Syr. and Old Lat. omit; 58, ἐπέκεινα. Wolff strangely identifies Ocina with Χνᾶ (*i.e.* Canaan), according to Hecataeus and others the oldest name of Phoenicia; and then argues that Χνᾶ or Ὀχνᾶ here denotes the coast from Jamnia to Caesarea: and this, in order to fix the place south of Dor. But a town is wanted, not a strip of coastland.

Jemnaan.] Jamnia, *i.e.* יַבְנֶה, 2 Chron. xxvi. 6; a Philistine coast town. Cf. 1 Macc. iv. 15; v. 58. Philo (Opp. ii. 5, 75) describes it as populous, mostly Jewish, and possessing an Academy and Sanhedrin. Volkmar *fancies* that Jamnia is made more prominent in this sentence than any other town; that, in fact, the other names have no particular significance, but that Jamnia is mentioned as the residence of the Sanhedrin, and centre of the Jewish revolt against Trajan. With this artificial construction here he connects an equally forced interpretation of ch. iv. 6, 8, assuming that the expression "in those days" implies a contrast with former days, when the Sanhedrin was not at Jerusalem but at Jamnia. Jamnia is here mentioned as still a *heathen*, therefore not a *Jewish*, town (cf. *v.* 28 with ch. iii. 8). The Book of Judith is, therefore, older than A.D. 70, when the Sanhedrin removed to Jamnia after the fall of Jerusalem; older also than Philo Judaeus.

Azotus and Ascalon feared him greatly.

CHAPTER III.

1 *They of the sea coasts intreat for peace.* 7 *Holofernes is received there:* 8 *yet he destroyeth their gods, that they might worship only Nabuchodonosor.* 9 *He cometh near to Judea.*

SO they sent ambassadors unto him to treat of peace, saying,

2 Behold, we the servants of Nabuchodonosor the great king lie before thee; use us as shall be good in thy sight.

3 Behold, our houses, and all our places, and all our fields of wheat, and flocks, and herds, and all the lodges of our tents, lie before thy face; use them as it pleaseth thee.

4 Behold, even our cities and the inhabitants thereof are thy servants; come and deal with them as seemeth good unto thee.

Azotus.] The Gk. form of Ashdod, אשדוד; the Assyr. *Asdudu*, the modern *Esdûd*. Mentioned along with Jabneh, 2 Chr. xxvi. 6. See Acts viii. 40.

Ascalon.] Another Philistine town: אשקלון; Assyr. *Isqalûna* or *Isqallûna*. See Josh. xiii. 3. Codd. x. 58 add καὶ ἐν Γάζῃ, "and in Gaza." So Syr. ܘܒܥܙܐ; and Old Lat. *et Gaza*. Heb. עַזָּה. Gaza was probably written by the author of Judith, as suiting the period he professes to write of (see Jer. xxv. 15 *sqq.*, xxvii. 2 *sq.*,—passages which he seems to have had in his mind here and elsewhere. Cf. ch. xi. 6 with Jer. xxvii. 6). Later editors omitted it, because after its destruction by Alexander the Great the town lay in ruins: see Acts viii. 26; Strabo xvi. 2. It will be noticed that all the names in this verse are given in the order of their occurrence, from north to south, except the supposed Dor, which should *follow* Accho.

CHAPTER III.

1. *to treat of peace.*] λόγοις εἰρηνικοῖς, *with peaceful words;* בְּדִבְרֵי שָׁלוֹם. So Syriac. Cf. ch. vii. 24; Deut. ii. 26; 1 Macc. v. 48.

Vulg. Tunc miserunt legatos suos universarum urbium ac provinciarum reges ac principes, *Syriae scilicet Mesopotamiae et Syriae Sobal et Libyae atque Ciliciae.* An explanatory addition. "Syriae Sobal," *i.e.* Aram-Zobah, 1 Chron. xix. 6; Psalm lx. title. The term *Libyae* is a difficulty. Volkmar, who much misprizes the Vulg., remarks: "Hieronymus phantasirt aus Früherem und Doppel-Lesarten: Syria (Sur. ii. 28), Sobal (Sod, Soud, *ibid.*) et Syria (i. 12) Mesopotamiae! (ii. 23), Libya (Phud) atque Cilicia! (i. 7)." But Libya, if not a misreading of the Heb. for *Lebanon* (i. 7), points to Egypt (i. 9). See on *v.* 9 *infra*. According to Vulg., iii. 15, Holofernes stays in *Idumea* thirty days (*v.* 10), and then goes up against Bethulia (vii. 1). If the attack was thus made from the side of Edom, *Jerusalem* must have been the point assailed, as the Midrashim actually state, and as the name Betylua (*Beth 'eloah*, "house of God") might imply. Yet in *v.* 3, the Vulg., like the Greek text, makes the attack come from the north. Thus two different conceptions appear to have been amalgamated in the present form of the story. From ch. i. 12, ii. 3, it is clear that the original idea was that all the countries that had disobeyed the Great King were successively reduced by Holofernes; *i.e.* Egypt to the borders of Ethiopia, Edom, Moab, and Ammon. The presence of Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites in his army implies their previous reduction (cf. iii. 6). Thus Libya = Egypt, and the meaning is that before making his attack on Israel, Holofernes had reduced all the other countries, and gathered their forces for this last grand purpose. Neither the LXX. nor the Vulg. gives the original text perfectly, but from a comparison of both we gather that the original assertion was that H. marched by the coast to Egypt, and returned by Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Scythopolis, to the plain of Esdraelon (Scholz).

2. *lie before thee.*] παρακείμεθα; 2 Macc. ix. 25. Here the word denotes absolute submission. The Syr. has "Lo we are standing before thee" (ܗܐ ܩܝܡܝܢ).

use us as shall be good in thy sight.] See Gen. xvi. 6; xix. 8. The Heb. was probably עשה לנו כטוב בעיניך, *do unto us according to the good in thine eyes.* Cf. also *vv.* 3 and 4.

3. *our houses.*] αἱ ἐπαύλεις ἡμῶν, "farmsteads." Heb. חֲצֵרִים; Josh. xiii. 23, 28. A. V. "villages."

all our fields of wheat.] πᾶν πεδίον πυρῶν, כָּל־שְׂדֵה חִטִּים, "every field of wheat." Cf. ch. iv. 5. Syr. *all our fields and the valleys of our corn.*

lodges.] μάνδραι, "folds," as in ch. i. 26.

4. *servants.*] δοῦλοι. In Heb. עֶבֶד, as παῖς in *v.* 2 (1 Chr. ii. 35; and LXX. *passim*).

deal with them.] ἀπάντησον αὐταῖς. The German "begegne ihnen" is used in the same

5 So the men came to Holofernes, and declared unto him after this manner.

6 Then came he down toward the sea coast, both he and his army, and set garrisons in the high cities, and took out of them chosen men for aid.

7 So they and all the country round about received them with garlands, with dances, and with timbrels.

8 Yet he did cast down their frontiers, and cut down their groves: for he had decreed to destroy all the gods of the land, that all nations should worship Nabuchodonosor only, and

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two senses of "meeting with" and "treating," "using" well or ill.

It is a late use of the Gk. ἀπαντᾶν: 2 Macc. vii. 39; 3 Macc. iii. 20. [The new ed. of Liddell and Scott does not register it. See Polyb. xviii. 17. 3.]

as seemeth good unto thee.] ὡς ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου. A more literal rendering of the Heb. phrase of *vv.* 2 and 3. Cf. 2 Kings xviii. 14. Vulg. *Veni nobis pacificus dominus, et utere servitio nostro sicut placuerit tibi.*

5. *after this manner.*] κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα. Heb. כַּדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה, "according to these words."

Instead of "the men," Syriac and Old Lat. have "the messengers" as in *v.* 1.

6. *Then came he down toward.*] *And he came down upon;* וירד על; על = אל in late style. Cod. 58, παρά. Old Lat. *juxta.* From Damascus, Holofernes marches to the coast of the Mediterranean, and passes through the districts of Sidon, Tyre, Dora, Accho, Jamnia, Ashdod, and Ascalon (ch. ii. 28). The people surrender (ch. iii. 1); but he destroys all their temples. In the whole account (ch. i.–iii.) there is nothing to carry us beyond the Maccabean time (Lipsius).

the sea coast.] ἡ παραλία. Heb. חֶבֶל הַיָּם; 1 Macc. xi. 8. So Syr. Cf. Zeph. ii. 5, 6; ch. i. 7.

set garrisons.] ἐφρούρησε, a verb not given in Trommius. But φρουρά—φρουραί= נְצִיבִין (2 Sam. viii. 6, 15); καὶ ἔθετο Δαβὶδ φρουρὰν ἐν Συρίᾳ κ.τ.λ. (וישם).

for aid.] εἰς συμμαχίαν. Perhaps לְעֵזֶר; or עוזרי המלחמה = συμμάχους, Cod. 58. The verb is only quoted twice, *e.g.* 1 Chr. xii. 21; the noun once, in Trommius.

7. *all the country round about.*] πᾶσα ἡ περίχωρος αὐτῶν. Cod. x. αὐτῆς, which may be right. ? וכל גבולה מסביב. Fritzsche says הַכִּכָּר; cf. Gen. xiii. 10.

with garlands, with dances, and with timbrels.] בעטרות במחלות ובתפים. So Jephthah's daughter came forth to meet her father "with timbrels and with dances," Judg. xi. 34. Cf. Exod. xv. 20; Ps. cl. 4 (sing.). "Ut in re laeta," says Grotius.

8. *Yet he did cast down their frontiers.*] καὶ κατέσκαψε πάντα τὰ ὅρια αὐτῶν. It is pretty clear that τὰ ὅρια is a mistaken rendering of הַבָּמוֹת, "the high places," the usual word for which in the LXX. is τὰ ὑψηλά. Cf. ch. iv. 1. κατασκάπτω = נתץ is used of overthrowing of altars (Deut. xii. 3; Judg. ii. 2). The Syr. has ܗܝܟܠܝܗܘܢ, "their temples." Cf. Lipsius' suggestion of ἱερὰ for ὅρια. Besides, "high places" and "groves" are commonly associated in O.T.: *e.g.* 2 Kings xvii. 10, 11; xviii. 4; xxi. 3; xxiii. 15.

cut down their groves.] καὶ τὰ ἄλση αὐτῶν ἐξέκοψε. "Groves" is an incorrect rendering in the LXX. for אֲשֵׁרִים or אֲשֵׁרוֹת; *e.g.* 2 Chr. xiv. 3, xxxi. 1, xxxiv. 4; and in 1 Sam. vii. 3, xii. 10, for הָעַשְׁתָּרוֹת. "Cut down their Asherahs" would be correct. The Asherah was a rootless but not branchless trunk of pine or other evergreen tree, planted in the earth as the symbol of the goddess Ashtoreth, who was worshipped by all the Semitic races. Fritzsche: "Astarten, Astartenbilder." Syriac: ܢܟܠܬܗܘܢ, "their idols;" a term which renders אשרה in 2 Kings xiii. 6. See Movers' 'Phönizier,' i. 561 *sqq.*, and Schlottmann in Riehm's 'Handwörterbuch Bibl. Alt.' *s. v.* Astarte.

for he had decreed.] Good MSS. read: "for it was given to him;" *i.e.* by Nabuchodonosor. Syr. "For he had given [entrusted to H.] in secret, to destroy," &c. So Cod. 58, ἐν μυστηρίῳ. Vulg. *praeceperat enim illi Nabuchodonosor rex.*

to destroy all the gods of the land.] Comp. 2 Kings xviii. 33 *seq.*; xix. 12, 13: Isa. xxxvii. 19.

The ancient Assyrians were wont to carry off foreign idols as trophies. Esarhaddon records his restoration of some gods to their original owners, after he had inscribed them with the mighty name of Assur.

all tongues and tribes.] Comp. Dan. iii. 4, iv. 1, v. 19; Rev. v. 9, vii. 9.

that all tongues and tribes should call upon him as god.

9 Also he came over against [1]Esdraelon, near unto [1]Judea, over against the [1]great strait of Judea.

10 And he pitched between Geba

[1] Or, *Esdrelom.*

[1] Or, *Dotea, Dothan,* Junius. Gen. 37. 17.

[1] Gr. *great saw.*

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should call upon him as god.] ἐπικαλέσωνται αὐτὸν εἰς θεόν, "might invoke him for a god;" especially in oaths. Cf. 1 Chr. xvii. 13, 22, for the construction.

For the general sense, cf. Isa. xiv. 13, 14; Ezek. xxviii. 2, 9, where the prince of Tyre is represented as saying, "I am a god;" Ezek. xxxi. 11, where Nebuchadnezzar is called *'el goyim*, "the god of the nations;" also 2 Macc. ix. 12, Dan. xi. 36 *sq.*, vii. 25, the impious pride of Antiochus; Acts xii. 22, of Herod; of Antichrist, 2 Thess. ii. 4, "who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God," and "sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God;" and lastly, of the beast, Rev. xiii. 7, 8.

The worship of the Roman emperors was Oriental. The Pharaoh was called *nutar āa*, "great god." See Renouf, 'Hibbert Lectures,' 1879, pp. 162 *seq.* But the command to pay divine honours to Nabuchodonosor does not hint at the cultus of the Caesars, as Volkmar assumes. The surnames of the Seleucids, Antiochus II., IV., and VI., Θεὸς, Θεὸς ἐπιφανὴς, ἐπιφανὴς Διόνυσος, are more in point.

9. Instead of this verse the Vulgate has: *Pertransiens autem Syriam Sobal et omnem Apameam omnemque Mesopotamiam venit ad Idumaeos in terram Gabaa* (read *Gebal*). This suggests that the original text contained more than either the Greek or the Latin version has preserved, in which case the Vulgate may record other operations preliminary to the invasion of Judea. "Sobal" is Zobah. Apamea was a town and district on the Orontes, N. of Hamath, so named by Seleucus Nicator in honour of his wife (301–281 B.C.). If "Apamea" stood in the original text, our book must be later than the time of this king. The march through the land E. of Jordan *ad Idumaeos*, subduing Ammon and Moab on the way, seems implied by ch. v. 2, 5; vi. 2, 5; vii. 8, &c.

Also he came . . . Judea.] Gk. καὶ ἦλθε κατὰ πρόσωπον Ἐσδρηλὼν πλησίον τῆς Δωταίας. Dotaea is clearly a Grecized form of the Heb. דֹּתָן; דֹּתַיְנָה, Gen. xxxvii. 17. Dothayin is a dual. 2 Kings vi. 13, דֹּתָן. (The contraction of the ending *-ayin* into *-an* is common in Aramaic.) Instead of attacking Judea from the west, as an historical conqueror would have done, Holofernes marches back to the north.

LXX. Δωθαΐ(ει)μ. So in ch. iv. 6; vii. 3, 18; viii. 3. Syr. there ܕܘܬܝܡ, as it should be read. Here ܕܘܬܢ. The place still bears the same name and lies 4 or 5 miles S. of *Jenîn*, not far from the plain of Esdraelon. Syr.: *and he came to Jezreel which is beside Dothan.* For the plain of Jezreel as an immemorial battle-ground, cf. the annals of Tutmes III. (1600 B.C.), and Wiedemann's 'Aegypt. Gesch.' p. 628; Judg. iv. 6; 1 Sam. xxix. 1; 1 Kings xx. 26; 2 Kings xxiii. 29; 1 Macc. xii. 49. Volkmar wrongly asserts (1) that the name is pointed by the Masorets יִזְרְאֵל (*sic*); (2) that LXX. writes Ἰεσραέλ, and that this represents the original pronunciation (see Hos. i. 4, 5, 11, Ἰεζραέλ. The Complut. LXX. gives Ἰεζραήλ, Ἰεσδραήλ); (3) that Ἐσδράηλα (ων), the form in Judith, belongs exclusively to the time after Josephus; and (4) that the Heb. in Judith was אזדרעאל (?). Cf the Syr., the Vulg., and Eusebius' Ἰεζραιέλ.

over against the great strait of Judea.] ἥ ἐστιν ἀπέναντι τοῦ πρίονος τοῦ μεγάλου τῆς Ἰουδαίας. Πρίων, "a saw," must be understood of a *sierra* or sawlike (serrated) mountain ridge (Grotius). Reland may have been right in suggesting that the Greek translator of Judith mistook מִישׁוֹר, *plain*, for מַשּׂוֹר, *saw* (Isa. x. 15). The objection is, that the Plain of Esdraelon was not called מִישׁוֹר, *plain*, but עֵמֶק, *valley*. According to Scholz, the plain itself is "the great saw," as it cuts the mountain range in two.

The Old Lat. took Prionos as a proper name. Should Δωταίας be read at the end also instead of Ἰουδαίας? Cf. ch. iv. 6: κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ πλησίον Δωθαΐμ. Wolff, who holds that "Chaldee" was the original language of *Judith*, argues that the term here was מסרא, *saw;* and that the locality is found in *El-Meisera* or *Masbara*, and the pass of *Arkub Massalubeah*, where the Jabbok enters the *Ghor*, E. of Jordan. But "the saw" is "of *Judea*," and so lay west of the river.

10. *Geba and Scythopolis.*] Gk. Γαιβαὶ; Cod. iii. Ταιβὰν, an obvious mistake; Codd. 19, 108, Γεβὰλ; 58, 23, Γαβαί. Syriac ܓܒܥ. Vet. Lat. *Gabe;* Vulg. *Gabaa.* The term may be a corruption of Gilboa, גִּלְבֹּעַ; a ridge of mountains and town (Rob. 'Pal.' iii. 388); now *Jelbôn*, about 6 miles S.W. of *Beisân.* But there was a Geba (*Jeba*) about 6 miles due S. of Dothan, on the road between Samaria and *Jenîn.* Wolff thinks of a corruption of Ragaba (Argob) E. of Jordan.

and Scythopolis, and there he tarried a whole month, that he might gather together all the carriages of his army.

CHAPTER IV.

2 The Jews are afraid of Holofernes, 5 and fortify the hills. 6 They of Bethulia take charge of the passages. 9 All Israel fall to fasting and prayer.

NOW the children of Israel, that dwelt in Judea, heard all that Holofernes the chief captain of Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians had done to the nations, and after what manner he had spoiled all their temples, and brought them to nought.

2 Therefore they were exceedingly afraid of him, and were troubled for Jerusalem, and for the temple of the Lord their God:

3 For they were newly returned from the captivity, and all the people [1]of Judea were lately gathered together: and the vessels, and the altar, and the house, were sanctified after the profanation.

[1] Or, *out of Judea.*

Scholz with some MSS. reads *Gebal*, "a purposely obscure designation of the hill-country of Judah."

"Scythopolis," or Σκυθῶν πόλεως, is the ancient בֵּית שְׁאָן or Bethshan, *i.e.* "house of rest" (Josh. xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27). LXX. Βαιθσάν ἥ ἐστι Σκυθῶν πόλις. According to Reland and Gesenius, the place was so called, not from the Scythian occupation (Herod. i. 105), but as the first city of the district of *Succoth*: Ps. lx. 6. Volkmar explains Σκυτῶν πόλις "Schuchhausen;" but שׁאן is not סאון. The Talmud writes בּיסן = Arab. بيسان (pres. name). Cf. note on ch. i. 12. The remains are on an elevated spot near a ford of the Jordan. Syr. ܒܝܣܢ. Cf. 2 Macc. xii. 29.

and there he tarried a whole month.] καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ μῆνα ἡμερῶν, ויהי שם חרש ימים. Syr. ܝܪܚ ܝܘܡܬܐ: cf. Gen. xxix. 14; or 2 Kings xv. 30. Volkmar *assumes* that his barbarian general was ravaging the country all this time, in the manner prescribed in ch. ii. 8 *sqq.*, and that this was the real occasion of the public mourning recorded in ch. iv. 9 *sqq.*; but that the writer omits mention of these sufferings, as unsuitable to a festival piece.

carriages.] *Baggage:* see ch. ii. 17. Old Lat. *ad colligendum omnem exercitum virtutis suae.*

CHAPTER IV.

1. *the children of Israel, that dwelt in Judea.*] Comp. 2 Chron. xxxi. 5, 6, "The children of Israel and Judah, that dwelt in the cities of Judah," under Hezekiah; xi. 3, "All Israel in Judah and Benjamin;" xxi. 2, "Jehoshaphat, king of Israel;" xxviii. 19, 23, "Ahaz, king of Israel."

all that Holofernes . . . had done to the nations.] 2 Kings xix. 11. Cod. 58 and Old Lat. have ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι. So Syr. ܒܥܡ̈ܡܐ, *among the peoples.*

he had spoiled all their temples.] Codd. 19, 108, *their idols*, εἴδωλα. Syr. "their gods." Heb. probably אלהיהם.

2. *Therefore they were exceedingly afraid of him.*] καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα σφόδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ. וייראו מאד מאד מפניו; cf. Gen. vii. 19, "the waters prevailed exceedingly," where the Heb. repeats the adverb. Codd. x. 19, 58, al., Vet. Lat., Syr., give σφόδρα once only.

were troubled for Jerusalem.] ἐταράχθησαν = נבהלו (Ps. xlvii. 5); "for J." = על ירושלם (Syr.). Comp. 2 Macc. xi. 2, 3.

3. *For they were newly returned.*] Rather, *Because they had just come up from the captivity*, ὅτι προσφάτως ἦσαν ἀναβεβηκότες ἐκ κ.τ.λ. They *went up* from the plains of Babylonia to the highlands of Palestine.

all the people of Judea were lately gathered together.] Rather, *had been gathered together* (συνελέλεκτο). The whole verse is omitted by Vulgate. The margin, "out of Judea," is the reading of Codd. 58, 52, 64, &c. The people had gathered together for the Dedication of the Temple, says Fritzsche. But is not the reference rather to the "gathering" of the people out of the various places of their exile? *Vid.* Isa. xi. 12; Ps. cxlvii. 2, cvii. 3; Jer. xxix. 14, xxxi. 10; Mic. ii. 12. Cf. ch. v. 19, "They are come up from the places where they were scattered."

were sanctified.] *Had been consecrated.* Volkmar does violence to the narrative when he insists that the terms ναός, οἶκος, do *not* mean *temple*, *house*, in this passage, but a mere *tent*. His reference to ch. ix. 8 is irrelevant: see note there. More appositely he adds: "Hardly was the army of Antiochus Epiphanes expelled from Jerusalem, and the Altar of Burnt Offering restored by Judas

4 Therefore they sent into all the coasts of Samaria, and the villages, and to Bethoron, and Belmen, and Jericho, and to Choba, and Esora, and to the valley of Salem:

5 And possessed themselves beforehand of all the tops of the high moun-

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Maccabeus and his followers, and the Sanctuary consecrated afresh after its profanation, when they were once more imperilled by the threats of Nicanor." The author of Judith has an eye to this parallel. What is here said, in fact, applies very well to the history of the Temple in the Hasmonean time. But it does not agree with the stronger expression of ch. v. 18, which implies not merely profanation but demolition.

after the profanation.] ἐκ τῆς βεβηλώσεως. מִטֻּמְאָתָם. So in 2 Sam. xi. 4; comp. קֹדֶשׁ מִן, Lev. xvi. 19.

βεβηλόω renders חִלֵּל many times, *e.g.* Exod. xxxi. 13. In Lev. xxi. 4, βεβήλωσις occurs. Syriac: "and the vessels and the altar had lately been hallowed from the uncleanness" (cognate words with Heb. טמאה and קדש). Perhaps ܗܝܟܠܐ, *temple*, has dropped out, owing to likeness to ܗܫܐ, *lately*.

The first Return was in 536, under Zerubbabel and Joshua. The rebuilding of the Temple was completed under Darius, 516 B.C. There is a lacuna of about 60 years between first six chaps. of Ezra and what follows. The second colony under Artaxerxes Longimanus was conducted by Ezra, 458 B.C. (Ez. vii.–x.). Nehemiah was sent as governor, 445 B.C. (Neh. i.–vii.). Ezra promulgated the Law, and bound the people to observe it (Neh. vii.–x.). Nehemiah paid special attention to the walls of the city. The Festival of Dedication of the new wall is recorded in Neh. xii. The history closes with his second visit to Jerusalem, 432 B.C. The language of our text certainly seems to point to a period immediately subsequent to 516 B.C. Comp. also the account of the purification of the Temple by Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc. iv. 36 *sqq.*).

4. *all the coasts.*] πᾶν ὅριον, "every border." Syr. omits "every." "Samaria"—*i.e.* the territory of the Northern Kingdom—was at the time referred to inhabited by a mixed body of foreign colonists, who were on anything but friendly terms with the restored community of Jerusalem (see Neh. iv. 1, 2; vi.; Ezra iv. 1–10); another mark of the fictitious character of this narrative. Volkmar urges that this feature of the Samaritans making common cause with the Jews against the enemy of religion suits the Roman period and that only. But John Hyrcanus took Sichem, destroyed the Samaritan Temple, and captured Samaria itself after a bloody resistance, about 108 B.C. He appears to have annexed the whole territory, which under Alexander Jannæus still belonged to the Hasmonæans. See Joseph. 'Ant.' xiii. 9 *sqq.*; xiii. 15. 4.

and the (some) villages.] καὶ κώμας. So Fritzsche, from Codd. iii. 243, &c.; εἰς τὰς κώμας, 58. Vulgo, Κωνὰς (prop. name); κωνά, Codd. ii. 44, al.; κωλὰ, x.; κεῖλά, 19, 108. Old Lat. *et castella et vicos et.*

and to Bethoron.] Syriac connects with preceding: "and to the villages of Bethhoron" (ܚܘܪܘܢ). Fritzsche says the καὶ after κώμας is "certainly genuine" (only four MSS. omit it: 23, 44, 71, 106). According to this, the proper names specify some of the κῶμαι.

Bethoron.] *Beit-ûr*, N.W. of Jerusalem, Josh. x. 11; 1 Chron. vii. 24; 1 Macc. ix. 50.

Belmen.] *Bel-main.* βελμαὶν; so Cod. iii. βαιλμαὶν, ii. 'Αβελμαὶν, Codd. x. 19, 108. So also in ch. vii. 3, viii. 3, xv. 4. Here 58 has εἰς 'Αβελμεελεὶν — Syriac Abel-meholah, ܐܒܠ ܡܚܘܠܐ. The place must have been near Dothan, ch. vii. 3: see notes there and at ch. viii. 3. Old Lat. Abelmam. Abelmeholah (*Esh-shuk*) is about 15 miles E. of Dothan, and about 12 S. of Bethshan. In Judg. vii. 22, 2 Chron. xvi. 4, Abelmaim = Abel-beth-maachah, near Paneas (2 Sam. xx. 15), *Abil-el-kamh.* According to Wolff, both Abel-Meholah and Abel-Maïn were named in the original text. He identifies the latter with Aenon (John iii. 23).

Choba.] Χωβά. Cod. x., Χαβά; Syr. "the Kikkar" or circle of the Jordan. There was a Hobah N. of Damascus, Gen. xiv. 15, which cannot be meant here, though mentioned in ch. xv. 4, 5 (Χωβαί, Syr. ܚܘܒܐ). The place is not identified.

Esora.] Αἰσωρά, but Codd. 19, 108, 'Ασσαρὼν [הַשָּׁרוֹן]; cf. Σαρών, Acts ix. 35; εἰς Βεθουήλ, 58; 'Αρασουσία, x.; Syr. Bethhoron; Old Lat. Belon, Belur, Bethura. Grotius and Fritzsche think חָצוֹר, 'Ασώρ. Gesenius, Βαιθωρὰν—*i.e.* Beth-Hauran, comparing the Syriac. Wolff, Bethsur; Josh. xv. 58.

the valley of Salem.] τὸν αὐλῶνα Σαλήμ. Movers thinks = the Sharon. Fritzsche says Salumias (?). Wolff says, the plateau of *Muchna* near *Nablûs*, in the north of which there is a place still called *Salim* and a tribe *Beni Salim.* Through this plain runs the great north road to Jerusalem. Syr. "the plain of Gal'am," ܓܠܥܡ. Old Lat. *et Aulona* (!) *et Artosia et Selem in porticum*

tains, and fortified the villages that were in them, and laid up victuals for the provision of war: for their fields were of late reaped.

6 Also Joacim the high priest, which was in those days in Jerusalem, wrote to them that dwelt in Bethulia, and Betomestham, which is

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Hierusalem. The Vulgate gives for the whole verse: Et miserunt in omnem Samariam per *circuitum* [? the kikkar] usque Jericho.

5. *fortified.*] Heb. probably וַיְחַזְּקוּ: 2 Chron. xi. 11, 12; xxvii. 4.

their fields were of late reaped.] קְצוּרִים שְׂדֹתֵיהֶם; Gk. "because their plains had just been reaped." Instead of "and laid up victuals . . . of war," Syr. has "and raised them as for war." Cf. 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

6. *Joacim the high priest.*] Cod. 58, Ἠλιακείμ here and in *v.* 8; so Syr. here and *vv.* 8, 14. Vulg. Eliachim; so Vet. Lat. (cod. Corb.), here and in *v.* 14. See Neh. xii. 26, "Joiakim the son of Joshua the son of Jozadak;" also Neh. xii. 10, "And Joshua begat Joiakim," whose fourth descendant was High Priest in the time of Alexander the Great. This agrees with the statement of *v.* 3. Pseudo-Philo states that Jeshua, the father of Joiakim, wrote Judith's history, and decreed the annual commemoration of her deliverance ('Sepher Jedidiah ha-Alkesandri,' ap. Meor Enaim, iii. 32, fol. 105, 2). Bissell's note is irrelevant. Joacim (Bar. i. 7; 1 Esdr. v. 5; Susan.) is the same name as Joiakim or Jehoiakim; Heb. יְהוֹיָקִים, contracted יוֹיָקִים; that is, "Yahu establisheth." Eliakim, Heb. אֶלְיָקִים, is in meaning synonymous: "El establisheth." Cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4, 2 Kings xxiii. 34; cf. also the two forms of the name of the last king of Hamath in the Assyrian inscriptions. Sargon calls him Ya-u-bi-h-di (יְהוֹפִּחְדִי) in one inscription, and I-lu-u-bi-h-di (אִלֻפִּחְדִי) in another.

which was in those days in Jerusalem.] The author evidently means to give a careful assignment of the date, and, as we have seen, he is consistent with his own statement in *v.* 3, though not with real history. Joacim *was* High Priest after 516 B.C. There is therefore no need to allegorize the names.

Bethulia.] Gk. Βετυλούα. *Betylûa.* 58, Βατυλωά. See ch. vi. 10, viii. 11, xii. 7, xiii. 10. Cod. x. here has Βαιτουλία, but in other places Βαιτουλουά. Old Lat., Vulg., Bethulia; Syr. ܒܝܬ ܦܠܘ, Bêth-Pallû. The fate of the whole country depends on the place, ch. viii. 21 *sq.*, and its situation is minutely described; yet it has not been identified, and is not known to be mentioned anywhere but in this book, which, as Scholz observes, is a strange fact, considering that the most insignificant villages of Palestine are embalmed in history. Fritzsche, however, says that to assume it to be a mere fiction "belongs to the gross fictions of the learned."

L. Pellicanus thought the original name was בְּתוּלְיָה, which he explained "domus parturientis dominum, vel pro domino gravia perferentis, vel etiam virgo domini." Neither of these meanings is possible; and his Heb. word *Bethûlyah* is formed against the laws of the language, in spite of what Volkmar alleges to the contrary. For *Bethul* is not the same as *Bethulath*; and if it were, local names are not compounded with the Divine Jah. Josh. xv. 28, 2 Chron. iii. 1, are exceptions which prove the rule. There may be an allusion to Isaiah's *bethulath bath Çiyon*, "virgin daughter of Sion;" in which case Bethulia is Jerusalem, as the Midrashim represent. (At ch. vii. 1 Pellicanus suggests Beth-El, "house of God.") The *Beth-El-Jah* of Grotius is also impossible. Movers conjectured בֵּית עֲלִיָּה, *domus ascensionis*, from its local position; a not improbable suggestion, assuming that the name is not symbolical. Hitzig thought of ביתר, Bitter, Βιθθήρ, famous in Barcocheba's revolt, about which the Talmud gives so many fabulous details. Volkmar inclines to this view, and says that perhaps the remains of *Sânûr* may represent this "Bethar," and the "Betheloa" of Judith. He finally accepts Welte's Bethulia = בֵּית אֱלוֹהַּ, *domus Dei.* It is at least curious that Bethul (Josh. xix. 4) or Bethuel (1 Chr. iv. 30) was a *Simeonite* city. Cf. note on ch. viii. 1. Βαιτυλούα strongly resembles βαίτυλος and βαιτύλιον, words denoting sacred (meteoric) stones, and connected by modern scholars with the Heb. בֵּית־אֵל, Bethel. As "house of Iahweh" (Hos. viii. 1) means Iahweh's land, *i.e.* Canaan, "house of Eloah" may perhaps have the same sense here. Zunz thought בְּנֵי חול (Yom. Maaseroth, c. 2, § 2) might have been corrupted into בֵּית חול. Lieut. Conder suggests the modern *Mithilia* (Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Stat., July 1881); others *Sânûr*, a rocky hill with ruins, which Wolff identifies with Betomestham. Schultz found Bethulia in *Beit Ilfa* on Mt. Gilboa ('Z. D. M. G.' iii. 1, S. 48 ff.); and Wolff suggests that the Syriac Beth-pallu is a transposition of Beth-Ulpha: but is not initial *Olaph* required?

Betomestham.] Βε(αι)τομε(α)σθαίμ. Syriac,

over against ¹Esdraelon toward the ¹open country, near to Dothaim,

¹ Or, *Esdrelom.*
¹ Or, *plain.*

7 Charging them to keep the passages of the hill country: for by them there was an entrance into Judea, and it was easy to stop them that would come up, because the passage was strait, ¹for two men at the most.

¹ Or, *two against all.*

8 And the children of Israel did as Joacim the high priest had commanded them, with the ¹ancients of all the people of Israel, which dwelt at Jerusalem.

¹ Or, *governors.*

9 Then every man of Israel cried to God with great fervency, and with great vehemency did they humble their souls:

ܒܝܬ ܡܣܡܐ; cf. xv. 4. Cod. 58, βαιτομασθαίμ. Near Betylua, but also unknown. ? "house of double barriers:" סתם, *clausit.* Scholz's בית חמסתים is impossible Hebrew. With the enigmatical Bethulia and Betomestham of this book, we may perhaps compare the Beth-sura (*Beth-zur*, "house of the Rock" = house of God?) and Beth-zacharias of 1 Macc. vi. 31 *sq.*, 49 *sq.* Cf. Josh. xv. 58; 2 Chron. xi. 7; 1 Macc. xiv. 33. Lysias besieged Bethsura, B.C. 162, after the Purification of the Temple in 165.

which is over against Esdraelon.] ἀπέναντι, gen. = לִפְנֵי (Exod. xiv. 2). Syriac: "which (are) above The Saw, which is before Jezreel" (ܡܣܪܐ, *serra*). So Old Lat. and Cod. 58, ἐπάνω τοῦ πριόνος ἀπεν. Ἐσρηδών. See ch. iii. 9.

toward the open country.] *Before the plain.* Syr. "and before the great plain." "Before" means "to the east of;" scil. the plain of Dothan. Old Lat. and Cod. 58 also read "the great plain."

7. *to keep the passages.*] διακατασχεῖν τὰς ἀναβάσεις. Verb here only in LXX. "Passage" is מַעֲלֶה, *ascent, pass;* Num. xxxiv. 4, and usually. Syriac, "seize ye the ascent of the mountain." Cf. ch. vi. 7; vii. 1, 7; xiv. 11: 1 Macc. iii. 16.

by them there was an entrance.] *Through them was the entrance:* δι' αὐτῶν ἦν ἡ εἴσοδος. The reading of Cod. x., ἦν ὁδὸς εἰς, may represent the Heb. כִּי שָׁם מְבוֹא יְהוּדָה. The place described would seem to be the narrow pass leading up from *Jenîn*, the ancient Ginæa (which Ewald identified with Bethulia) on the south side of the plain of Esdraelon, in a S.W. direction to Samaria. Above this pass lie the ruins of *Sânûr* (Bethulia, according to Grimm).

them that would come up.] προσβαίνοντας. Cod. 58, τοὺς ἀναβ. Heb. doubtless אֶת־הָעֹלִים; so the Syriac. In Josh. xv. 7, πρόσβασις = מַעֲלֶה (προσβ. is not given in Tromm.). ἦν εὐχερῶς = ἔχει εὐχερῶς: cf. ch. vii. 10, οὐ γάρ ἐστι εὐχερὲς προσβῆναι, κ.τ.λ. Trommius gives εὐχερὲς once (Prov. xiv. 6 = נָקֵל). διακωλ. Tromm. gives no instance of this compound. See 1 Sam. xxv. 26, מָנַע מִן, and id. 33.

for two men at the most.] ἐπ' ἄνδρας τοὺς πάντας δύο, *for two men in all.* Cf. 2 Kings vi. 1; Isa. xlix. 20. Syriac: "because the ascent (ܡܣܩܬܐ) was small, even for two men together." Heb. prob. כי צר המעלה לשנים יחדיו.

8. *the high priest.*] ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ μέγας, הכהן הגדול.

with the ancients of all the people of Israel.] καὶ ἡ γερουσία παντὸς δήμου Ἰσραήλ, "and the Sanhedrin of all the people of Israel;" Heb. וזקני כל עם ישראל. Syr. ܣܒܐ, *senes.* The γερουσία, or Senatus of elders, ch. xi. 14, xv. 8; answering to what the Jews call the סַנְהֶדְרִין. The seventy-one or seventy (Rabbi Judah; cited in Talm. 'Bab. Sanhedr.' i. 6) members (σύνεδροι) of the Great Sanhedrin dwelt at Jerusalem ('Sanhedr.' x. 3). They are the πρεσβύτεροι of N. T. "Ancients" in Old English = advisers, counsellors; *e.g.* Iago was Othello's "ancient."

which dwelt at Jerusalem.] As the Great Sanhedrin had to do: ἐκάθηντο = ישבו, *sat.*

9. *cried to God.*] Cf. 2 Macc. xi. 6; Exod. xiv. 10; ויצעקו אל יהוה כל איש ישראל. So Syr., omitting איש.

with great fervency . . . vehemency.] Both ἐν ἐκτενίᾳ μεγάλῃ. Jon. iii. 8, ἐκτενῶς = בְּחָזְקָה. Here perhaps the Heb. was "בְּחָזְ׳ מְאֹד. Syriac, "with all their heart," בכל־לבם. Instead of the second ἐκτενίᾳ, Codd. 19, 58, and Old Lat. give νηστείᾳ. Cf. Ps. xxxv. 13, "I humbled my soul with fasting." Syriac also, "and humbled their soul *with a great fast.*" Heb. perhaps וַיְעַנּוּ בַּצּוֹם נַפְשָׁם. ταπεινοῦν ψυχὴν has a special reference to fasting. *Sackcloth* is mentioned in *v.* 10, as in the Ps. Vulg. *et humiliaverunt animas suas in jejuniis et orationibus.*

10 Both they, and their wives, and their children, and their cattle, and every stranger and hireling, and their servants bought with money, put sackcloth upon their loins.

11 Thus every man and woman, and the little children, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, fell before the temple, and cast ashes upon their heads, and spread out their sackcloth before the face of the Lord: also they put sackcloth about the altar,

12 And cried to the God of Israel all with one consent earnestly, that he would not give their children for a prey, and their wives for a spoil, and the cities of their inheritance to destruction, and the sanctuary to profanation and reproach, and for the nations to rejoice at.

13 So God heard their prayers,

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10. *children.*] *νήπια.* טַפָּם, Jer. xliii. 6; or עֹלְלֵיהֶם, 2 Kings viii. 12, "babes." The Syriac suggests ילדיהם. Vulg. omits: but cf. 2 Chr. xx. 13; Joel ii. 16; Jonah iv. 11.

their cattle.] Cf. Jonah iii. 7, 8. The king of Nineveh's decree: "Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste anything; let them not feed nor drink water. But let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God." Syriac, Vulg., and Vet. Lat. (c. Reg. Germ. 4 Corb.) omit.

every stranger and hireling.] *πᾶς πάροικος καὶ μισθωτός.* Exod. xii. 45, Heb. תּוֹשָׁב וְשָׂכִיר.

servants bought with money.] *καὶ ἀργυρώνητος αὐτῶν.* Heb. וּמִקְנַת כַּסְפָּם, Gen. xvii. 23. Old Lat. *emptitiis.*

put sackcloth upon their loins.] Gen. xxxvii. 34; 1 Kings xx. 31.

11. *Thus every man.*] *καὶ πᾶς ἀνὴρ Ἰσραὴλ, and every man of Israel.* So Syriac.

the little children.] *τὰ παιδία*, simply *the children.* Syriac, *and woman and boy* (*talyā*). Heb. נער, *παῖς.*

and the inhabitants of Jerusalem.] Fritzsche omits *and*, with Codd. ii. 58, 74, 108, 248. Old Lat. and Syr. render, "who dwelt in Jerusalem," referring to the men, women, and children.

fell before the temple.] In Heb., as in the Syr. vers.: נפלו על־פניהם לפני היכל יהוה.

cast ashes upon their heads.] *ἐσποδώσαντο τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν* (2 Sam. xiii. 19); Ezek. xxvii. 30, ויעלו עפר על־ראשיהם. Trommius gives only this instance of the verb *σποδόω.* The Syriac omits the clause.

and spread out their sackcloth before the face of the Lord.] To exhibit the depth of their sorrow to the Divine eye. Cf. (2 Kings xix. 14) the way in which Hezekiah spread Sennacherib's letter before the Lord. Heb. וַיַּטּוּ את־שקיהם (cf. 2 Sam. xxi. 10). Cod. 58, Old Lat., "before the face of the temple of the Lord." Churton suggests that they spread the sackcloth to sit upon it, like Rizpah on the rock. Syriac and Vulg. omit. The latter gives the whole verse thus: "And the priests invested themselves with haircloths, and the babes they cast down before the face of the temple of the Lord, and the altar of the Lord they covered with haircloth."

12. *all with one consent.*] *ὁμοθυμαδόν.* Old Lat. *unianimes.* Syriac, ܐܝܟ ܚܕ, "as one (man)," *i.e.* together. Heb. פֶּה אֶחָד, *one mouth.*

earnestly.] *ἐκτενῶς.* Jon. iii. 8, בְּחָזְקָה; *v.* 9 *supra.*

their children.] *νήπια*; cf. *v.* 10. The Syriac has: "That he might not give their children and their wives to captivity, and their cities to destruction."

the sanctuary.] *τὰ ἅγια.* הקדש, Num. viii. 19 (so Syr. here); or המקדש, Lev. xx. 3.

and for the nations to rejoice at.] *ἐπίχαρμα τοῖς ἔθνεσι.* Codd. 58, 71, 74, &c., supply *καί.* But the words constitute an apposition to what precedes: "a thing for the heathen to rejoice over." See Exod. xxxii. 25; 'Herc. Fur.' 459. Heb. לְשִׁמְצָה בגוים, "for a whispering among the nations." Cf. Ecclus. xviii. 31; xlii. 11, "laughing-stock." Also *ἐχθροῖς ἐπιχαρτὰ πέπονθα* ('Prom. Vinct.' 158).

13. *God.*] Gk. *the Lord* (*κύριος, i.e.* יהוה). So Syriac.

their prayers.] Gk. *their voice* (*τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν*). Syr. omits. Vulg. omits the whole verse, giving instead: "Then Eliachim, the high priest of the Lord, went about all Israel, and spake unto them, saying; Know ye that the Lord will hearken unto your prayers if ye stedfastly continue in fastings and prayers in the sight of the Lord. Be ye mindful of Moses, the servant of the Lord, which overthrew Amalek, who trusted in his own valour, and in his own strength, and in his own army, and in his shields, and in his chariots and in his horsemen; not by fighting

and looked upon their afflictions: for the people fasted many days in all Judea and Jerusalem before the sanctuary of the Lord Almighty.

14 And Joacim the high priest, and all the priests that stood before the Lord, and they which ministered unto the Lord, had their loins girt with sackcloth, and offered the daily burnt offerings, with the vows and free gifts of the people,

15 And had ashes on their mitres, and cried unto the Lord with all their power, that he would look upon all the house of Israel graciously.

CHAPTER V.

5 Achior telleth Holofernes what the Jews are, 8 and what their God had done for them; 21 and adviseth not to meddle with them. 22 All that heard him were offended at him.

THEN was it declared to Holofernes, the chief captain of the army of Assur, that the children of Israel had prepared for war, and had shut up the passages of the hill country, and had fortified [1]all the tops of the high hills, and had laid impediments in the champaign countries:

[1] Gr. *all the top.*

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with sword, but by praying with holy prayers (Ex. xvii. 8 *seq.*). So shall all the enemies of Israel be, if ye persevere in this work that ye have begun." The idioms here point to a Chaldee original—e.g. *manentes permanseritis . . . in virtute sua et in potentia sua*; while the expansion is in the manner of the Midrash.

looked upon their afflictions.] Gk. εἰσεῖδεν, *looked unto or into their affliction.* Once only in LXX., as variant for ἐπεῖδεν in Ex. ii. 25 (וַיַּרְא). In N. T. not at all (Fr.). Syr. ܚܙܐ=וירא; cf. Ps. cvi. 44.

for the people fasted.] καὶ ἦν ὁ λαὸς νηστεύων, *and the people were fasting.* So Syr. (plur.).

before the sanctuary of the Lord Almighty.] Syr. "And fell down before the house of the sanctuary of the mighty Lord." Cod. x. has ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔπεσον κατὰ κ.τ.λ. The Old Lat. agrees with the Syr. Heb. יהוה צבאות = κύριος παντοκράτωρ in LXX., *e.g.* 2 Sam. v. 10; 1 Chr. xi. 9.

14. *that stood before the Lord.*] As attendants. Cf. 2 Kings iii. 14; v. 16.

and they which ministered unto the Lord.] *I.e.* the Levites, or inferior ministers (1 Chr. xvi. 4, 37; 2 Chr. xxiii. 6), משרתים.

the daily burnt offerings.] τὴν ὁλοκαύτωσιν τοῦ ἐνδελεχισμοῦ, עֹלַת תָּמִיד (Num. xxviii. 6; Ezra iii. 5).

with the vows and free gifts.] *And the vows and the voluntary gifts.* Cf. Lev. vii. 16, נֶדֶר־נְדָבָה; Num. xxix. 39, plural. Was the Heb. here נִדְרֵי הָעָם וְנִדְבֹתֵיהֶם?

15. *their mitres.*] τὰς κιδάρεις. Ex. xxviii. 40, מִגְבָּעוֹת, "bonnets;" xxviii. 4, 37, מִצְנֶפֶת. (Volkmar gives κιθάρεις, "Harfen," without authority. Grotius quotes Plut. 'Conviv.' iv. ὁ ἱερεὺς μιτροφόρος—of the Jewish priests.) The former were strictly the mitres of the common priests; the latter was that of the high priest. Cf. Esth. vi. 8. For the only fast ordained in Mosaic law, see Lev. xvi. 29: "In the seventh month on the tenth day of the month, ye shall afflict your souls"—the great day of atonement. Fasts multiplied after the return. Cf. 1 Macc. iii. 44–48, and Esth. iv. 1–3; Apocr. Esth. xiv. 1, 2.

with all their power.] Vulg. *ex toto corde suo.* Heb. בְּכָל־מְאֹדָם, Deut. vi. 5 (where also בכל־לבבך).

that he would look upon all the house of Israel graciously.] εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἐπισκέψασθαι, *to visit for good,* פָּקַד, Ps. viii. 5; Luke i. 7, 8. (Syr. uses same word here as there, ܢܣܥܘܪ.) Vulg. *ut visitaret populum suum Israel.* Cf. also Jer. xliv. 29, εἰς πονηρά, and chap. xiii. 20, ἐν ἀγαθοῖς, "to visit thee with good things."

CHAPTER V.

1. *that.*] Gk. διότι = ὅτι, acc. to later usage. Arist. 'Eth.' vi. 8. 5.

had prepared for war.] Vulg., *praepararent se ad resistendum.* Syr., "assembled themselves for war," which may be original.

all the tops of the high hills.] Rather, every top of a high mountain (2 Kings i. 9, רֹאשׁ הָהָר). The Vulg. has only *ac montium itinera conclusissent*, for the last three clauses of the verse.

had laid impediments in the champaign countries.] Gk. ἔθηκαν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις σκάνδαλα. Syr., and laid *ambushes* in the fields (ܟܡܝܢܐ). Old Lat. *et posuerunt in campis offendicula.* The Heb. may have been מִכְשׁוֹל; cf. Lev. xix. 14. מוֹקֵשׁ, "snare," is

2 Wherewith he was very angry, and called all the princes of Moab, and the captains of Ammon, and all the governors of the sea coast,

3 And he said unto them, Tell me now, ye sons of Chanaan, who this people is, that dwelleth in the hill country, and what are the cities that they inhabit, and what is the multitude of their army, and wherein is their power and strength, and what king is set over them, or captain of their army;

4 And why have they determined not to come and meet me, more than all the inhabitants of the west.

5 [a]Then said Achior, the captain of all the sons of Ammon, Let my lord now hear a word from the mouth of thy servant, and I will de-

[a] ch. 6. 5. & 11. 9.

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so rendered Josh. xxiii. 13, and elsewhere; Ps. cxl. 5, "gins." In *v.* 20 *infra*, it is used metaphorically in a moral sense, as in Judg. ii. 3; so ch. xii. 2, and often in N.T. Prop. the *stick* of a trap, on which the bait is placed; the trap-spring; also called *πάσσαλος* and *ρόπτρον* (Lid. and Sc. *s. v.*) Pitfalls in the plains would greatly embarrass an enemy's movements (cf. Gen. xiv. 8 *seq.*). Corn. à Lap.: "fossas occultas, murices, et palos acutos, in quae transeuntes incaute Assyrii corruerent." *Murices* (Curt. iv. 13) were "caltrops" with sharp points in every direction, which they used to bury in the ground in order to lame horses.

2. *Wherewith he was very angry.*] Lit., and he was greatly enraged with anger. Syr., "and the wrath of Holofernes was kindled greatly." ויחר אף ה" מאד.

the princes . . . the captains.] *τοὺς ἄρχοντας . . . τοὺς στρατηγούς.* שָׂרִים . . . סְגָנִים, Ezek. xxiii. 6, 12, 23.

governors.] Satraps; Persian provincial governors. Syr., "heads of the cities which were by the sea." Old Lat. *Et omnes magistratus maritimae regionis.*

3. *now.*] *δή*. Heb. נָא, a precative particle. Fritzsche says it occurs fourteen times in Judith. It is wanting here in the Syriac, Old Lat., Vulgate, Codd. x. 58.

ye sons of Chanaan.] This address is only suitable to the people of the coast, esp. Phoenicia, not of Moab and Ammon.

who this people is.] Who is this people? A direct question. An Assyrian commander of the times when Judah was really brought into contact with that power, would hardly have put such questions as these. The questions are not, however, to be regarded as implying anger or scorn.

the hill-country.] *I.e.* Palestine proper. The country W. of the Jordan is summed up in "this fair hill-country and the Lebanon" (Deut. iii. 25).

and what king is set over them, or captain of their army.] Gk. *καὶ τίς ἀνέστηκεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς ἡγούμενος στρατιᾶς αὐτῶν.* "And who is set up over them as a king commanding their army?" Syr., "And who is the prince [ܪܒܐ] that standeth [ܩܐܡ] over them?" In his reply Achior omits to notice this part of the question. Wolff strangely remarks that this would not have been so, if he could have answered, This people has no king; it is governed by a High Priest. Wolff adds that Achior confines his answer to facts which the Assyrian could not have known, omitting things generally known, *e.g.* the fact that the reigning king of Israel (*sic*), Josiah, was a minor; and he suggests that this last question may be a sneer at the king as a mere boy. Not satisfied with this, Wolff even thinks it very likely that Achior's original reply did contain some reference to the king, which a Jewish editor of the Maccabean time has eliminated from the text! All this is highly artificial, and runs counter to the indications of the text itself. No mention of a king is put into the mouth of Achior, for the simple reason that the time after the Return is intended, as *v.* 19 conclusively shews. Cf. also ch. viii. 18–20.

4. *have they determined.*] *κατενωτίσαντο.* Prop. this verb means "to carry on the back." In later usage, it is "to put behind one's back," "reject." [Tromm. does not give the word.] Fritzsche explains, "to put behind," "scorn" (*hintansetzen, verachten*). Codd. 64, 243, 248, Co. Ald. read *κατεγνώσαντο*, "they esteemed lightly," also a late usage; Polyb. v. 27. 6. Vulg.: *Et quare . . . isti contempserunt nos, et non exierunt obviam nobis.* Syr.: "and why have they not been willing (*i.e.* why have they refused) to come to meet me?" מדוע לא אבו לבוא.

the west.] So Syriac and Old Lat. Vulg., the East: *in Oriente.*

5. *Achior.*] The Gk. *'Αχιώρ* occurs in Num. xxxiv. 27, as a transliteration of the Heb. אֲחִיהוּד, Ahihud, prince of Asher (LXX. read ר for ד.) It is commonly assumed that in Judith *'Αχιώρ* represents a hypothetical Heb. אֲחִיאוֹר, as if "brother of light," or "friend of light." Comp. the Syriac ܐܚܝܘܪ. But such a metaphor seems far-

clare unto thee the truth concerning this people, which dwelleth near thee, and inhabiteth the hill countries: and there shall no lie come out of the mouth of thy servant.

6 This people are descended of the Chaldeans:

[b] Gen. xi. 31.

7 [b]And they sojourned heretofore in Mesopotamia, because they would not follow the gods of their fathers, which were in the land of Chaldea.

8 For they [1]left the way of their ancestors, and worshipped the God of heaven, the God whom they knew: so they cast them out from the face of their gods, and they fled into

[1] Or, *went out of.*

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fetched; and Ahihud may be intended to signify "brother of Judah" or "of the Jews." (Cf. ch. xiv. 10.) The Midrash ('Bet ha-Midr.' ii. 12) introduces Achior thus: "And a king who had been subdued under his hand in battle, answered and said unto him: Forbear, O king, from the Eternal God, the God of Israel!"

which dwelleth near thee, and inhabiteth the hill countries.] Literally, "which inhabiteth this hill country, dwelling near thee." Syr. "which dwelleth near thee in this mountain." Old Lat. *qui inhabitat juxta montana ista.*

no lie.] Achior insists on the truth of what he has to tell, because he knows it will be unpleasant information. His speech is obviously an abstract of O. T. history. Cf. Acts vii.

6. *descended of the Chaldeans.*] εἰσὶν ἀπόγονοι Χαλδαίων: cf. 2 Sam. xxi. 18. Heb. יְלִידֵי כַשְׂדִּים or מִמִּשְׁפַּחַת: cf. Syr. ܡܢ ܟܠܕܝܐ, and Old Lat. (and Vulgate) *ex progenie Chaldaeorum.*

Abraham migrated from "Ur of the Chaldees," which was not in Mesopotamia (Knobel, Fritzsche). Ur is the *Uru* of the cuneiform inscriptions, the present ruins of *Mugheir*, or rather *Muqayyar*, on the right side of the Euphrates in South Babylonia, the *Mât Kaldu* (?) of the inscriptions. See Schrader, 'K. A. T.' p. 129 *seqq.*; Gen. xi. 26, 31.

7. *they sojourned.*] Gk. παρῴκησαν, Heb. גּוּר; cf. *v.* 8. Abraham's stay in Mesopotamia at Charran was a sojourning (Gen. xi. 31 *seq.*; xii. 1–4). The same expression fitly describes Israel's temporary settlement in Egypt, *v.* 10 (Gen. xlvi. 6 *seq.*; Ps. cv. 23). The *permanent* settlement in Canaan is called κατοικεῖν (*vv.* 9 and 16) and κατοικίζεσθαι (*v.* 19); Heb. יָשַׁב.

they would not follow.] Gk. οὐκ ἐβουλήθησαν ἀκολουθῆσαι; Heb. לֹא אָבוּ לָלֶכֶת אַחֲרֵי. Cf. 1 Kings xviii. 18; Hos. ii. 7, xi. 10. "To go or walk after" a god, means to serve him. Vulg. *noluerunt sequi deos;* O. L. *noluerunt obedire diis.*

the gods of their fathers.] At Ur there was a great temple of Sin, the Moon-god. Inscriptions of the old Babylonian kings Ur-Ba'u, Dun-gi, Kudur-mabuk, &c., and finally of Nabunâ'id (Nabonidus), the last king of Babylon, have been found on the spot. Hommel fixes the date of Ur-Ba'u and his son Dun-gi, at circ. 2870 B.C. Cf. Josh. xxiv. 2, 14, "Your fathers . . . served other gods."

which were in the land of Chaldea.] Οἳ ἐγένοντο. The relative refers to "fathers;" see Josh. *l. c.* But Cod. 58 adds, ἔνδοξοι, "honoured." So Syr. ܕܗܘܘ ܡܝܩܪܝܢ, "which they were honouring in the land of the Chaldees;" and O. L. *qui fuerunt in terra Chaldaeorum honorificè.* The relative then refers to their gods. Cf. Josh. xxiv. 14.

8. *For (and) they left the way of their ancestors.*] καὶ ἐξέβησαν. Heb. prob. ויסורו מדרך. Cod. 58, ἐξένευσαν = סור in Judg. iv. 18. (Tromm. gives ἐκβαίνω only for עָלָה, "to go up.") Syr. "but turned aside from *the gods* of their fathers." O. L. *sed declinaverunt de via parentum suorum.* Vulg., *deserentes itaque caeremonias patrum suorum.* Cf. the use of the word "way" in Acts ix. 2; xix. 9, 23; xxii. 4. Here it denotes a mode of worship or peculiar cultus. Cf. 2 Kings xvi. 3, "the way of the kings of Israel," *i.e.* the cultus of the Baals.

the God of heaven.] See Tobit x. 12: and cf. Judg. vi. 19; xi. 17. The expression is common in the later books of the O. T., *e.g.* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23; Ezra i. 2, v. 11, 12; Dan. ii. 37, 44. It means the god who is enthroned in heaven (cf. Ps. ii. 4; Dan. ii. 28, iv. 37). Cf. the very ancient title of Anu, Zi-anna, "spirit of heaven," by which he is invoked at the end of the Sumerian exorcisms.

There is not much verisimilitude in this speech of *the Ammonite* Achior. Mesha the Moabite, a really historical personage, boasts of the victories which he had won by help of Chemosh over Israel and Jehovah.

the God whom they knew.] Perhaps "found out," "came to know" (Thucyd. i. 132); or "acknowledged," "recognised" (1 Cor. xvi. 18). Heb. prob. ידע (Ezek. xi. 10, 12). The Gk. ἐπέγνω is also used for הִכִּיר. So Syriac. O. L. *et adoraverunt Deum caeli, Deum quem cognoverunt.*

so they cast them out from the face of their gods.] The subject changes to the Chal-

Mesopotamia, and sojourned there many days.

[c Gen. 12. 1.] 9 Then [c] their God commanded them to depart from the place where they sojourned, and to go into the land of Chanaan: where they dwelt, and were increased with gold and silver, and with very much cattle.

[d Gen. 46. 6.] [e Exod. 1. 7.] 10 But when a famine covered all the land of Chanaan, [d] they went down into Egypt, and sojourned there, while they were nourished, [e] and became there a great multitude, so that one could not number their nation.

[f Exod. 1. 8–14.] 11 [f] Therefore the king of Egypt rose up against them, and dealt subtilly with them, and brought them low with labouring in brick, and made them slaves.

[g Exod. 2. 23.] [h Exod. 7, & 8, & 9, & 10, & 12.] [i Exod. 12. 31, 33.] 12 [g] Then they cried unto their God, and [h] he smote all the land of Egypt with incurable plagues: so the [i] Egyptians cast them out of their sight.

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dæans. Heb. ויגרשום מלפני אלהיהם. Syr. "and he caused them to go forth," *i.e.* God.

"From the face of their gods" = out of the land, which was conceived as the dwelling of the gods. Traces of this local conception of Deity are found in the O. T., *e.g.* 2 Kings xvii. 18, 20, 23. "The Lord removed Israel out of his sight (from before his face)." הסיר מעל פניו is explained by "Israel was carried away out of his own land." Cf. *vv.* 12 and 16.

The Jewish tradition tells of a persecution in consequence of which Abraham fled to Charran. See Josephus, 'Antiq.' i. 6. 5. The Talmud relates that Nimrod cast him into a fiery furnace for refusing to worship his idols.

9. *from the place where they sojourned.*] Gk. ἐκ τῆς παροικίας αὐτῶν. παροικία = παροίκησις, the act of sojourning in a foreign land. Here it is the *place* of sojourning, the land of the πάροικος. In Gen. xii. 1, Mesopotamia is spoken of rather as the permanent home of Abraham's family. Cf. Deut. xxvi. 5: "A wandering Aramean was my father" (Heb.).

The Heb. was prob. מֵאֶרֶץ מְגוּרֵיהֶם, Gen. xxxvi. 7, or מִבֵּית מ׳׳; cf. the Syr. "from the house of their inheritance." Cf. also Ps. cxix. 54: בְּבֵית מְגוּרָי.

were increased.] The Syriac gives the meaning: "grew rich in . . ." The Vulg. omits this half of the verse. Cf. Gen. xiii. 2: "And Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold."

10. *But when a famine covered . . . Egypt.*] Lit.: And they went down into Egypt, for a famine had covered the face of the land of Canaan. (Gen. xliii. 15.) The Heb. of the second clause prob. was כִּי הָרָעָב הָיָה עַל כָּל־פְּנֵי אֶרֶץ כ׳׳, Gen. xli. 56.

while they were nourished.] Gk. μεχρὶς οὗ διετράφησαν. Gen. vii. 3; l. 20, 21. The A. V. is right. Dereser's "until they found sustenance again" is wrong. Grotius, reading διεστράφησαν with Cod. 248, Co. Ald., explained "donec male tractari coepere;" De Wette, "until they returned," which would rather be ἀνέστρεψαν, Josh. vii. 3. Syr. "and they dwelt there, and were nourished," ܘܐܬܬܪܣܝܘ.

so that one could not number.] Gk. καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμὸς τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν. Cf. Syriac: "and there was not a number to their tribes." For the fact, see Exod. i. 7. Vulg.: descenderunt in Aegyptum, illicque *per quadringentos annos* sic multiplicati sunt, ut dinumerari eorum non posset exercitus. Cf. Exod. xii. 40.

11. *dealt subtilly with them . . . in brick.*] Gk. καὶ κατεσοφίσαντο αὐτοὺς ἐν πόνῳ καὶ πλίνθῳ καὶ ἐταπείνωσαν αὐτούς: "And they (*i.e.* the Egyptians; or indefinitely, people) overreached them with (or through, by) toil, and with brick(-making), and brought them low." The first verb occurs in three other passages of Scripture, viz. ch. x. 19; Exod. i. 10; and Acts vii. 19. The Syriac prob. comes nearest to the Hebrew: "And the Egyptians arose against them, and *dealt* wisely with them (ܘܐܬܚܟܡܘ; cf. נִתְחַכְּמָה לוֹ, Exod. i. 10), and made them serve in clay and bricks, and brought the people low, and made them slaves." So Cod. 58, Old Lat. Cf. בְּחֹמֶר וּבִלְבֵנִים, Exod. i. 14. The Vulg. also has *in luto* [Codd. x. 58, πηλῷ] *et latere.*

12. *with incurable plagues.*] See Exod. vii. *seq.* Gk. ἐν αἷς οὐκ ἦν ἴασις, "in which there was no healing:" Heb. וְאֵין לָהֶם מַרְפֵּא, Jer. xiv. 19; Syr., "to which there was not healing." Vulg. only *plagis variis.* There may be a reference to the powerlessness of the magicians, whose arts availed not to avert the more terrible plagues from their own persons (Exod. ix. 11).

cast them out of their sight.] *I.e.* drove them out of the country. See on *v.* 8 *supra.* Cf. Exod. xii. 39: "They were thrust out of Egypt" (the same Heb. verb as in Gen. iii. 24).

13 And [k]God dried the Red sea before them,

14 And [l]brought them [1]to mount Sina, and [m]Cades-Barne, and cast forth all that dwelt in the wilderness.

15 [n]So they dwelt in the land of the Amorites, and they destroyed by their strength all them of Esebon, and [o]passing over Jordan they possessed all the hill country.

16 [p]And they cast forth before them the Chanaanite, the Pherezite, the Jebusite, and the Sychemite, and

[k] Exod. 14. 21. [l] Exod. 19. 1. [1] Gr. *into the way of the wilderness of Sina.* [m] Numb. 20. 1. [n] Numb. 21. 24, 25. [o] Josh. 3. 16. [p] Josh. 12. 8.

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13. The Vulgate here, probably following the Chaldee Midrash, interpolates three verses, describing the Israelite passage of the Red Sea, and the overwhelming of the Egyptians by the waters.

14. *And brought them to mount Sina.*] Gk. καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς ὁδὸν τοῦ Σινᾶ. Syr. "and made them come into the way of Mount Sinai." Some MSS. have ὄρος for ὁδόν.

Cades-Barne.] Κάδης Βαρνῆ, *i.e.* Kadesh-Barnea, or simply Kadesh (so Syriac). See Deut. i. 2; Num. xxxii. 8; Josh. x. 41.

and cast forth all that dwelt in the wilderness.] *I.e.* God cast them forth before Israel. So Codd. 52, 64, 248; Co. Ald., Syr., Vet. Lat. Fritzsche edits, "and *they* cast forth."

The Vulgate omits from Cades-Barne to the end of *v.* 15. After bringing Israel into the *deserta Sina montis . . . in quibus nunquam homo habitare potuit, vel filius hominis requievit*, it tells of the sweetening of the bitter waters of Marah, and of the supply of bread from heaven during forty years. It continues: "Wherever they advanced without bow and arrow, and without shield and sword, their God fought for them victoriously. And there was none that triumphed over that people, save when it departed from the worship of the Lord its God. But whensoever they worshipped another, besides their own very God, they were given over to spoiling, and to the sword, and to reproach. But whensoever they repented that they had departed from the worship of their God, the God of heaven gave them valour for resistance." Cf. *vv.* 17, 18. The whole passage presents evident traces of the Chaldee original. The statement that the Israelites advanced *unarmed* to the conquest of Canaan is mere Haggada. Yet it contains the true thought that their material weapons were as nothing compared with the spiritual and moral forces which were arrayed on their side—the stern purity and strenuous faith and manly vigour acquired by their long discipline in the desert, which assured them of victory over the effeminate races of Canaan. Cornelius à Lapide quotes S. Jerome, Epist. xiii.: "Nostris peccatis barbari fortes sunt, nostris vitiis Romanus fugatur exercitus"—a profound truth, applicable not only to the falling empire of his day, but to all political and social systems in all ages of the world.

15. *the Amorites.*] The name prob. means Highlanders: cf. the rare Heb. אָמִיר, *cacumen arboris* (Isa. xvii. 6, 9).

of Esebon.] Cod. 58 adds καὶ Βασανίτας, "and the Bashanites." See Num. xxi. 33–35.

Codd. 19, 108 read καὶ πάντας (om. 108) τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας, "and all the Gibeonites." The Syriac has: "and the sons of Heshbon they destroyed by their might." Cf. Num. xxi. 26 *seq.* Heshbon was the Amorite capital. Bissell strangely says: "The chief city *of the children of Ammon* was Heshbon." Cf. 2 Sam. xi. 1; xii. 27.

they possessed all the hill country.] ἐκληρονόμησαν. Heb. יָרַשׁ, "to take possession of." The hill-country of Judah and Ephraim (see Josh. xi. 16), not Gilead and Bashan (Churton), for they took possession of it after passing over (διαβάντες) the Jordan.

16. *before them.*] ἐκ προσώπου αὐτῶν, Codd. 19, 23, 44, 58, al. ἀπὸ πρ., which is prob. right. Cf. 2 Kings xvii. 18, מֵעַל פָּנָיו, which is so rendered by the LXX. Cf. *vv.* 8, 12 *supra*.

The list of the nations of Canaan which follows may be compared with that in Gen. xv. 19–21; and that in Exod. iii. 8, 17, which recurs, with a different order of names, in Josh. xi. 3, xii. 8.

The Vulgate gives the six nations mentioned in Exod. and Josh., but in a different order.

The Sychemite (καὶ τὸν Συχὲμ) of our list does not appear in either of the ancient ones. Perhaps the author remembered "Shechem the son of Hamor *the Hivite*" (Gen. xxxiv. 2; cf. xxxiii. 18), and substituted Shechemite for *Hivite*, which appears in the Vulgate and Syriac. This is intelligible, as another reference to the revenge of Simeon, from whom Judith and Ozias are made to descend: ch. vi. 15; ix. 2. The mention of the Sichemite undoubtedly gains point, if it be supposed that Hyrcanus had recently taken Sichem, when the book was written. Cf. note on ch. iv. 4.

The Gergesites or Girgashites are mentioned in the list of Gen. xv., but not in those

all the Gergesites, and they dwelt in that country many days.

17 And whilst they sinned not before their God, they prospered, because the God that hateth iniquity was with them.

18 But [q]when they departed from the way which he appointed them, they were destroyed in many battles very sore, [r]and were led captives into a land that was not their's, and the temple of their God was cast to the ground, and their cities were taken by the enemies.

19 But [s]now are they returned to their God, and are come up from the

[q] Judg. 2. 11. & 3. 7, 8.
[r] 2 Kings 25. 9, 10, 11.
[s] Ezra 1. 1, 3.

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of Exod. and Josh. Cf. also Gen. x. 16; Josh. xxiv. 11.

in that country.] Gr. ἐν αὐτῇ, "in it;" Heb. בָּהּ, a construction κατὰ σύνεσιν. So the Syriac, ܒܗ.

17. *And whilst they sinned not before their God.*] ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ αὐτῶν. Judg. iii. 12; 2 Kings viii. 18, xii. 2. Heb. בְּעֵינֵי, "in the eyes of."

they prospered.] Gk. ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἀγαθά. So the Syriac: "with them were good things." Vulg. *erant cum illis bona.* Cf. Sirach vi. 10.

because the God that hateth iniquity was with them.] Gk. ὅτι θεὸς μισῶν ἀδικίαν μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστιν, "because a god hating iniquity is with them." Their conditional prosperity is thus explained by the peculiar character of their god.

Cod. 58 reads: ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῶν μισῶν ἀδικίαν ἐστιν. The Vulgate gives the same sense: *Deus enim illorum odit iniquitatem.* The Syriac varies the sense again: "because God is he that hateth iniquity." Cf. Ps. v. 4, 5.

18. *he appointed them.*] διέθετο αὐτοῖς. This verb usually renders the Heb. כָּרַת, "to conclude (properly, cut) a covenant." Perhaps צִוָּה, "he commanded," was the word here, as in Josh. vii. 11. The Syr. has ܦܩܕ, i.e. *mandavit.* Cf. Ps. cv. 8, 9. Or, perhaps, נָתַן, "he gave:" cf. Vulg. *quam dederat illis Deus;* and Hos. xi. 8.

they were destroyed.] ἐξωλοθρεύθησαν. Fritzsche remarks that the word is used *relatively*, for that the destruction was not total. Cf. 2 Kings xiii. 7, ἀπώλεσεν: and Ps. lxxviii. 34, "when he slew them, then they sought him."

very sore.] ἐπὶ πολὺ σφόδρα. Rather, "for a very long while." ἐπὶ πολὺ occurs thus, Wisd. xviii. 20; Thucyd. v. 16. Cf. also Isa. lv. 7: ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀφήσει, as rendering of יַרְבֶּה לִסְלוֹחַ, "He will multiply to pardon." This would give the sense of "often." In chap. x. 7 the phrase ἐπὶ πολὺ σφόδρα recurs, in the sense of "very greatly;" cf. A. V. "very sore," a rendering preferred here by De Wette and others.

The Syriac omits the phrase; the Vulgate has *exterminati sunt praeliis a multis nationibus.*

and were led captives.] It is quite obvious that the Babylonian exile (588 B.C.), and the return under Zerubbabel and Jeshua (536 B.C.), and again under Ezra (458 B.C.), are referred to in *vv.* 18, 19. Consequently the plot of the story is not prior but subsequent to those events. Corn. à Lapide notes that the *total* captivity of the Jews was that effected by Nebuchadnezzar, from which they returned by the edict of Cyrus; whereas that which happened under Manasseh was only partial, as was also that of the Ten Tribes in the time of Hezekiah.

the temple of their God was cast to the ground.] ἐγενήθη εἰς ἔδαφος. "Factum est in pavimentum," C. à L.; "solo aequatum," Vatablus. This clause and the next are omitted by the Vulgate, perhaps because S. Jerome perceived the contradiction involved in connecting a story of the *post-exilic* age with Nebuchadnezzar. Old Lat. *devenit templum dei illorum ad solum;* and *templum dei ipsorum factum est in planitie.* Cf. ch. xvi. 5. The Syriac has: ܗܘܐ ܠܡܕܘܫܐ, "became for a trampling." This suggests that the Heb. was הָיָה לְמִרְמָס, which is so rendered by the Peshito at Isa. v. 5. Cf. Mic. vii. 10. It is obviously a forced construction to refer these words to a supposed desecration and partial destruction of the Temple by Manasseh. The phrase denotes that trampling under foot which would follow on *levelling with the ground*, not mere desecration, as Nickes and other Romish expositors maintain. The Jews feared that their temple would be treated as others had been: ch. iv. 1; ix. 8. Bellarmine and Serrarius consider the words an interpolation, ostensibly because they are not in the Vulg., really because they contradict the hypothesis of the early date of this "history."

19. *they . . . are come up.*] This phrase is properly used of going up from the lowlands of Babylonia to Jerusalem. Cf. Ezra i. 3, 5. The Vulgate wrongly connects it with the "hill country:" *et ascenderunt montana haec omnia.*

from the places where they were scattered.]

places where they were scattered, and have possessed Jerusalem, where their sanctuary is, and [1]are seated in the hill country; for it was desolate.

[1] Or, *have their dwellings.*

20 Now therefore, my lord and governor, if there be any error in this people, and they sin against their God, let us consider that this shall be their ruin, and let us go up, and we shall overcome them.

21 But if there be no iniquity in their nation, let my lord now pass by, lest their Lord defend them, and their God be for them, and we become a reproach before all the world.

22 And when Achior had finished

ἐκ τῆς διασπορᾶς οὗ διεσπάρησαν ἐκεῖ. Διασπορά is here the *land* or *place* of their dispersion (Fritzsche). It was a common designation of the Jews scattered abroad in foreign lands; cf. John vii. 35. So the Syriac: "they were gathered from the places where they were scattered." The redundant οὗ . . . ἐκεῖ no doubt represents the Heb. אֲשֶׁר—שָׁם. Cf. ch. viii. 22; Rev. xii. 14.

for it was desolate.] ὅτι ἦν ἔρημος. The Syriac renders: "And dwelt in the mountain which had been wasted." Vulg. omits. I do not see the point of Fritzsche and Bissell's note: "Sie brauchten also nicht derselben sich wie Jerusalem's weiter zu bemächtigen." The restored exiles settled in the hill-country because it was depopulated, and they wished to repeople it.

20. *Now therefore.*] καὶ νῦν. וְעַתָּה, the usual Heb. mode of drawing a conclusion.

my lord and governor.] The Greek δέσποτα κύριε recurs in ch. xi. 10. The compound expression is perhaps more humbly submissive than either term by itself would be. But the Syriac has only "my lord;" the Vulg. *mi domine;* and δέσποτα is wanting in Codd. 44, 58, 108, al., and Vet. Lat. The Heb. was prob. אֲדוֹנִי, "my lord." As Fritzsche points out, δέσποτα κύριε sometimes renders the divine title אֲדֹנָי יְהוִֹה; *e.g.* Gen. xv. 2: cf. Isa. i. 24.

if there be.] εἰ μέν ἐστιν. This is the one sole occurrence of the particle μὲν in the whole book. The Heb. may have been אם יש חטא; cf. Syriac ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܣܟܠܘܬܐ.

error.] Gr. ἀγνόημα, an unwitting offence; Gen. xliii. 12, מִשְׁגֶּה, "a mistake." Volkmar paraphrases "Kein Abfall vom Gesetz (Keine ἀνομία)." The cognate ἀγνοία is used for אָשָׁם, "guilt" (Gen. xxvi. 10; cf. 2 Chron. xxviii. 13); and פֶּשַׁע, "revolt," "offence" (Ps. xxiv. 7); and for שְׁגָגָה, "a sin of ignorance," "an error" (Lev. v. 18). Cf. Tobit iii. 3. "The Hebrew notion of sin is that of blunder or dereliction, and the word is associated with others that indicate error, folly, or want of skill and insight (1 Sam. xxvi. 21). This idea has various applications, but, in particular, a man is at fault when he fails to fulfil his engagements, or to obey a binding command; and in Hebrew idiom the failure is a 'sin,' whether it be wilful failure, or be due to forgetfulness, or even be altogether involuntary" (Robertson Smith, 'Prophets of Israel,' p. 102).

let us consider that this shall be their ruin.] So the Syriac renders. The Vulgate omits. Gr. καὶ ἐπισκεψόμεθα ὅ, τι ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς σκάνδαλον τοῦτο, "then we will see to it, what this offence in them is." Cf. the use of דָּרַשׁ in 2 Chron. xxiv. 6, where the LXX. has διὰ τί οὐκ ἐπεσκέψω. But this Gk. verb most frequently renders פָּקַד. Dereser, therefore, translates: "Then we will punish this offence in them, whatever it be." But the Heb. may have been simply וְנִרְאֶה, "let us see." The καὶ introducing the apodosis is a common Heb. construction.

overcome them.] ἐκπολεμήσομεν αὐτους, "fight with them," "attack them." Heb. וְנִלְחַמְנוּ בָם: Exod. i. 10; Judg. ix. 52. So Syriac: "and let us go up and fight with them;" which is probably the meaning.

21. *lest their Lord defend them, and their God be for them.*] Rather, Lest their Lord and their God defend them. The word "defend," Gk. ὑπερασπίσῃ, "to hold a shield over," "to shield," is the Heb. גָּנַן: cf. 2 Kings xix. 34; xx. 6, וְגַנּוֹתִי עַל־הָעִיר. It recurs in ch. vi. 5.

Cod. x. omits ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν καὶ. So Vulg. and Syr.

and we become.] καὶ ἐσόμεθα. Barbarous Gk., but very good Hebrew. פֶּן יָגֵן עֲלֵיהֶם אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וְהָיִינוּ.

The idea that national reverses betokened the anger of the national deity was common to all the Semitic races. But Achior's recognition of the *supremacy* of the God of Israel is as unhistorical as his intimate knowledge of Biblical history.

22. *And when Achior had finished.*] Rather, "And it came to pass when A. had finished." One or two MSS. omit ἐγένετο.

these sayings, all the people standing round about the tent murmured, and the chief men of Holofernes, and all that dwelt by the sea side, and in Moab, spake that he should kill him.

23 For, *say they*, we will not be afraid of the face of the children of Israel: for, lo, it is a people that have no strength nor power [1]for a strong battle.

24 Now therefore, lord Holofernes, we will go up, and they shall be a prey to be devoured of all thine army.

[1] Gr. *against a mighty army.*

CHAPTER VI.

3 *Holofernes despiseth God.* 7 *He threateneth Achior, and sendeth him away.* 14 *The Bethulians receive and hear him.* 18 *They fall to prayer, and comfort Achior.*

AND when the tumult of men that were about the council was ceased, Holofernes the chief captain of the army of Assur said unto Achior and all the Moabites before all the company of other nations,

2 And who art thou, Achior, and the hirelings of Ephraim, that thou

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murmured.] Gr. *καὶ ἐγόγγυσε*. The *καὶ* is used as in *v.* 20. Hebrew syntax *coordinates* clauses which Western speech prefers to *subordinate*. Some MSS. omit *καὶ*, and so the Syriac. Cf. ch. vi. 1.

spake that he should kill him.] Or, proposed to cut him to pieces; cf. ch. vi. 2, for the construction. Gk. *εἶπαν . . . συγκόψαι αὐτόν*. In Xen. 'Symp.' viii. 6, and elsewhere, *συγκόπτω* means "to thrash soundly." In the LXX. of Gen. xxxiv. 30, it renders הִכָּה, "to smite." The Syr. has "to cut him off," ܠܡܦܣܩܘܬܗ; the Vulg. *cogitabant interficere eum.* The Heb. may have been וַיֹּאמְרוּ לְהַכּוֹתוֹ.

23. *of the face.*] Fritzsche edits *ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ*. But the expression of the A. V. is almost certainly original, as representing the ordinary Heb. construction with verbs of *fearing* (יָרֵא מִפְּנֵי): Jer. i. 8. It is preserved in Codd. 58, 52, al., and Old Lat., *ἀπὸ προσώπου*. The word פְּנֵי, "face," may have been omitted in some MSS., before the similar בְּנֵי, "sons."

for, lo, it is a people that have no strength.] A mendacious assertion, if the reference be to the times of the Judæan monarchy; but perfectly suitable as a description of the feeble colony of restored exiles, whom the Persian sovereigns allowed to rebuild Jerusalem. Cf. the gibes of Sanballat and Tobiah (Neh. iv. 2, 3). The Vulgate puts the case even more strongly: *homines inermes, et sine virtute, et sine peritia artis pugnae.* But this at least would not be true of Nehemiah's gallant warrior-builders (Neh. iv. 13 *seq.*). Cf. 2 Kings xviii. 20: "I have counsel and strength for the war." The Syr. here has: "for it is a people in which is no strength for war." (The margin is incorrect.)

24. *a prey to be devoured.*] Literally, for food. The Gk. phrase *εἰς κατάβρωμα* recurs, ch. x. 12. Cf. Num. xiv. 9, *ὅτι κατάβρωμα ἡμῖν ἐστιν* = Heb. כִּי לַחְמֵנוּ הֵם; Ps. xiv. 4. The word "food" has fallen out of the Syriac text. The Vulgate omits this verse, and concludes the chapter thus: "That, therefore, Achior may own that he is deceiving us, let us go up into the mountains: and when their mighty men have been taken prisoners, then let him be stricken through with the sword along with them: that every nation may know that Nebuchadnezzar is god of the earth, and besides him there is none other." Cf. Isa. xiv. 13, 14; xlvii. 8.

CHAPTER VI.

1. *the council.*] *ἡ συνεδρία*. So Codd. iii., x. Common text, *συνεδρεία*. The word recurs in *v.* 17 and ch. xi. 9. Cf. Xen. 'Mem.' iv. 2, 3 (a circle of friends; "friends in council"). *τὸ συνέδριον* is a more usual expression. The readings constantly fluctuate between *-ία* and *-εία* (L. and S. *s. v.*).

and (to) all the Moabites.] Syr. omits. The "sons of Moab" seems to denote the peoples east of the Jordan as distinct from those of the west, who are included in the term rendered "other nations." See next note. The Moabites are made so prominent because of their traditional hostility to Israel. Cf. v. 22, 23, and Num. xxii.–xxv.; Deut. xxiii. 3, 4; Judges iii. 12 *seq.*; 2 Kings xiii. 20, xxiv. 2; Ps. lxxxiii. 6; Zeph. ii. 8 *seq.*

all the company of other nations.] *ἐναντίον παντὸς τοῦ δήμου ἀλλοφύλων*, "before all the people of (*the*: Codd. 19, 108, &c.) aliens." לִפְנֵי כָּל־מִשְׁפְּחוֹת בְּנֵי נֵכָר. Cf. Isa. lxi. 5; Num. i. 20, 22. The LXX. renders the Heb. *Pĕlishtîm*, Philistines, by Ἀλλόφυλοι (Judg. iii. 3; 1 Sam. xiii. 3; 1 Macc. iii. 41). We may therefore understand here the peoples of the coast. The Syriac has only "before all the people." Vulgate: "Now it came to pass, when they had ceased to speak, Holofernes being exceedingly angry, said unto Achior."

2. *and the hirelings of Ephraim.*] *καὶ οἱ μισθωτοὶ τοῦ Ἐφραίμ*. This phrase occurs

hast prophesied among us as to-day, and hast said, that we should not make war with the people of Israel, because their God will defend them? and who is God but Nabuchodonosor?

3 He will send his power, and will destroy them from the face of the earth, and their God shall not deliver them: but we his servants will destroy them as one man; for they are not able to sustain the power of our horses.

4 For with them we will tread them under foot, and their mountains shall be drunken with their blood, and their fields shall be filled with their dead bodies, and their footsteps shall not be able to stand before us, for

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Isa. xxviii. 1, 3, for Heb. *drunkards of Ephraim*—a confusion of שִׁכּוֹר, *ebrius*, with שָׂכִיר, *mercenarius*. Perhaps, therefore, the Heb. term here was *drunkards*. If the reading Ephraim is sound, we must assume that the usual designation of the northern kingdom is applied somewhat infelicitously to Judah; so that Achior and his followers are contemptuously called Jewish hirelings (or drunkards). But the Ammonites were not more friendly to the restored community of Jerusalem than the Moabites (cf. Neh. iv. 3, 7). In *v.* 5 Achior is addressed as "an hireling of *Ammon*," and Codd. 19, 108 read so here. The Syriac has: "Who art thou, Achior, and all the sons of Moab and the hirelings of Ammon?" Cf. Cod. 58, καὶ τί σὺ Ἀχιὼρ καὶ πάντες οἱ υἱοὶ Μωὰβ καὶ οἱ μισθωτοί σου υἱῶν Ἀμμών. Similarly Vet. Lat. Ephraim, therefore, is probably an error of transcription. The Vulgate omits.

thou hast prophesied.] An ironical expression: "hast played the prophet." Cf. 2 Chron. xi. 2 *seq.*; xiii. 4 *seq.*; xv. 1 *seq.*

as to-day.] καθὼς σήμερον. Heb. כַּיּוֹם.

make war with the people.] τὸ γένος . . . πολεμῆσαι. The usual late construction; = to make war upon, besiege. Polyb. xi. 19. 3. Classical, ἐπί τινα, πρός τινα. Instead of τὸ γένος Ἰσραήλ, the common expression would be υἱοὺς Ἰσραήλ. But the Vulg. has *gens Israel*, and the Syr. "the people of Israel" (wrongly rendered in Walton "cum *filiis* Israel").

and who is God but Nabuchodonosor?] The Gk. has the article, ὁ Θεός, so that the sense is: And who is *the true* god, &c. The Heb. הָאֱלֹהִים: cf. 1 Kings xviii. 39. "Jehovah is the true God!" (Heb.) The Syriac adds, "the King of all the earth." So Cod. 58, and Vet. Lat. (codd. Reg. and Germ.).

3. *his power.*] τὸ κράτος αὐτοῦ = δύναμις. Heb. חַיִל (so Syr.).

and their God shall not deliver them.] Cf. 2 Kings xviii. 32–35; xix. 12, 13 (the similar language of Sennacherib's envoys to Hezekiah). Cf. also 1 Macc. vii. 34; 2 Macc. xv. 32.

will destroy them as one man.] Gk. πατάξομεν, "will smite." See Num. xiv. 15: "If thou kill this people as one man." Fritzsche says the idea is, "so powerless will they be." But the phrase seems to convey rather the notion of *total extermination*. Nero is said to have wished that the people of Rome had but one neck, that he might behead them all at one stroke. Vulg. *cum percusserimus eos omnes sicut hominem unum.*

for they are not able to sustain the power of our horses.] The Syriac has: "and they will not stand before *the neighing* of our horses," ܨܗܠܐ; cf. Jer. v. 8; Vet. Lat. foaming (*spumam*), or force (*vim*); Jer. viii. 16, מִצְהֲלָה. This word, or a cognate form, may have stood in the Heb. text. The prophets of the O. T. often allude to horses as the strength of invading armies. Cf. Isa. v. 28; Hab. i. 8.

4. *For with them we will tread them under foot.*] This is the reading of Codd. 52, 64, al. (καταπατήσομεν). The common text has κατακαύσομεν, "we will burn them up," which is unsuitable. Fritzsche adopts κατακλύσομεν, "we will dash over, or deluge, or overwhelm them:" cf. Wisdom x. 4, 19; Heb. שָׁטַף, Dan. xi. 26. So Codd. 19, 55, 44, al. The Syriac uses a general expression: "because we will destroy them" (ܢܘܒܕ), and omits "with them." So Codd. x., 58, Vet. Lat. (*delebimus*).

their mountains shall be drunken with their blood.] This figure is used in Isa. xxxiv. 7: "Their land shall be drunk (A.V. soaked) with blood," וְרִוְּתָה אַרְצָם מִדָּם: cf. Jer. xlvi. 10; Deut. xxxii. 42.

The Syriac seems to have read τὰ ὅρια, "their borders," instead of τὰ ὄρη.

and their footsteps shall not be able to stand before us.] καὶ οὐκ ἀντιστήσεται τὸ ἴχνος τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῶν. וְלֹא תַעֲמֹד כַּף רַגְלָם לְפָנֵינוּ. Cf. Josh. i. 3; Judg. ii. 14, "The sole of their foot shall not stand fast before us," *i.e.* they shall run away. Or, perhaps עקבי רגליהם, "the heels of their feet." The Syr. has ܥܩܒܬܐ. Cf. עִקְּבוֹת,

they shall utterly perish, saith king Nabuchodonosor, lord of all the earth: for he said, None of my words shall be in vain.

5 And thou, Achior, an hireling of Ammon, which hast spoken these words in the day of thine iniquity, shalt see my face no more from this day, until I take vengeance of this nation that came out of Egypt.

6 And then shall the sword of mine army, and the multitude of them that serve me, pass through thy sides, and thou shalt fall among their slain, when I return.

7 Now therefore my servants shall bring thee back into the hill country, and shall set thee in one of the cities of the passages:

8 And thou shalt not perish, till thou be destroyed with them.

9 And if thou persuade thyself in

Ps. lxxvii. 19, τὰ ἴχνη σου. Fritzsche explains the phrase as poetically said for "they will withstand us *with no footstep*, not at all." Wahl: "So little will they sustain our onset, that not even their footprints will remain;" *i.e.* They will take to flight in such haste when they descry us, that you would not believe that they had ever stood in our way. Churton suggests that the phrase may express contempt for a people who fought on foot, without chariots or horses. The sense may be: The traces of their feet shall not remain before us; we will sweep away every vestige of them from the face of the earth. The words which follow, "For (rather, but: ἀλλὰ) they shall utterly perish," favour this interpretation. Bissell renders: "And not by one step shall they withstand us," which does not represent the Greek.

"Utterly perish" is ἀπωλείᾳ ἀπολοῦνται, an imitation of Heb. אָבֹד יֹאבֵדוּ. So Syriac.

for he said, None of my words shall be in vain.] This is the reading of Codd. 64, 243, 248, &c. (μου for αὐτοῦ). Fritzsche edits: εἶπε γάρ, οὐ ματαιωθήσεται τὰ ῥήματα τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ (Codd. x. 19, 108 read τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ); *i.e.* For he spake; the words of his sayings (or mouth) will not be annulled. The Syr. has: "Said N. the lord of all the earth, whose words shall not return backward." The Heb. may have been ולא ישובו אליו דברי פיו ריקם; cf. Isa. lv. 11.

5. *And thou.*] Rather, But thou; σὺ δέ. Syr. ܐܢܬ ܕܝܢ.

an hireling of Ammon.] See on *v.* 2 *supra*. "Ammonite hireling!" a term of abuse, implying that Achior's good offices had been bought by those whose cause he had so earnestly pleaded.

this nation that came out of Egypt.] Gk. τὸ γένος τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. The Syriac supplies the verb: "the people *that came up* from Egypt." So Cod. 58, τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων, and Vet. Lat. It is not necessary to insist on rendering γένος, "race" (Bissell), for it probably represents the Heb. עַם, "people" (so Syriac). Holofernes means to call the Jews a nation of *slaves;* and, perhaps, as Wolff suggests, to controvert their Chaldean descent (ch. v. 6).

6. *the sword.*] Gk. ὁ σίδηρος. Trommius gives three passages of Job in which the Heb. חֶרֶב, "sword," is so rendered by the LXX. The Syriac has ܣܝܦܐ, "sword."

the multitude.] ὁ λαός, the reading of the MSS., is probably a corruption of ἡ λόγχη, "the spear;" Vet. Lat. *lancea*. Syriac ܪܘܡܚܐ, *lancea;* the Heb. רמח, Neh. iv. 13. Fritzsche edits ὁ χαλκός in the same sense.

pass through.] διελεύσεται. Cod. 58, εἰσελεύσεται. So Syriac. The Heb. עָבַר might be rendered by either. Cf. Ps. cxxiii. 4, 5, and Luke ii. 35 (Syr.).

when I return.] Whenever I return, namely, from the expedition against the Jews. Holofernes threatens what he will do when he returns victorious. Cf. Judg. viii. 7, 9; 1 Kings xxii. 27, 28.

7. *Now therefore.*] Simply, καί, "and."

shall bring thee back.] ἀποκαταστήσουσί σε. Fritzsche says this term is here used inexactly for the simple idea of *placing* or *carrying* away (*hinstellen*, *fortbringen*); cf. *v.* 10 and 2 Macc. xv. 20. But may there not be a covert insinuation that Achior has already been in the enemy's camp? The Syriac, however, has: "And my servants shall lead thee to-day, and leave thee in one of the cities of Israel."

in one of the cities of the passages.] τῶν ἀναβάσεων, *i.e.* in or near one of the ascents or passes leading up into the hill-country; and accordingly one of the nearest cities of the enemy. Cf. ch. iv. 8 *supra*. Others explain less suitably, one of the cities to which you have to ascend, *i.e.* situated on the hills.

8. *And thou shalt not perish, &c.*] Holofernes spares him that he may be brought to realise fully the folly of his words, when destruction falls upon his assumed friends.

9. *And if thou persuade thyself in thy mind.*]

thy mind that they shall not be taken, let not thy countenance fall: I have spoken it, and none of my words shal be in vain.

10 Then Holofernes commanded his servants, that waited in his tent, to take Achior, and bring him to Bethulia, and deliver him into the hands of the children of Israel.

11 So his servants took him, and brought him out of the camp into the plain, and they went from the midst of the plain into the hill country, and came unto the fountains that were under Bethulia.

12 And when the men of the city saw them, they took up their weapons, and went out of the city to the top of the hill: and every man that used a sling kept them from coming up by casting of stones against them.

13 Nevertheless having gotten privily under the hill, they bound Achior, and cast him down, and left him at the foot of the hill, and returned to their lord.

Lit.: And if, indeed, thou hopest in thine heart. Syr.: "*Because* thou hast thought (or hoped) in thine heart." So Cod. 58, ἐπεί.

let not thy countenance fall.] *I.e.* Be not discouraged; despair not. Cf. Gen. iv. 5, 6; 1 Sam. xvii. 32. The Gk. is συμπίπτειν, and the word refers to the change of facial expression. The Syr. has: "and thy face shall not look upon good things." But the Gk. is preferable. Holofernes is so sure of victory, that he interprets Achior's visible dismay in the same sense. So the Vulgate, for it adds: *et pallor qui faciem tuam obtinet abscedat a te, si verba mea haec putas impleri non posse.*

shall be in vain.] Gk. διαπεσεῖται, "shall fall to the earth." Heb. נָפַל, "to fall." A figure derived from the falling of dead things to the ground. Cf. 2 Kings x. 10. So Syriac.

10. *that waited in his tent.*] οἱ ἦσαν παρεστηκότες. Heb. העומדים, "who were standing (by)." So Syr. Not "stood around" (Bissell). Cf. 2 Kings v. 16.

to Bethulia.] εἰς Βετυλούα. Cod. 58, Βατυλωα; 44, ἐν Βαιτηλουα; 64, 243, Co. Ald. Βετουλουα; 74, ἐν Βαιτυλουα; 106, εἰς Βαιτηλουα; 108, Βαιτουλιαν. Cf. note on ch. iv. 6 *supra*.

11. *So his servants took him.*] Syriac, "And a man took him."

the plain.] τῆς πεδινῆς, the level ground. *Supra*, τὸ πεδίον. Syr. omits. Wolff says the plain is the *Wâdy Baisân*, which the Assyrians entered from the Ghôr, after crossing the Jordan. The "fountains under Bethulia" he identifies with *Ain Jâlud*, the ancient fountain of Jezreel (1 Sam. xxix. 1), S.S.E. of which are the ruins of *Beit Ilfa*. Cf. chap. iv. 7.

went.] ἀπῆραν. Heb. וַיִּסְעוּ, Num. xxxiii. 7, *et saepius*. Bissell wrongly renders, "and *bore him* from the midst," &c. The verb is intransitive.

12. *the men of the city.*] After these words the Gk. adds, ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους. Fritzsche assumes this to be "a nearer definition of πόλεως," *i.e.* a description of its position. But in that case not only would the omission of the article be harsh, but the construction would be absolutely incorrect, as we should expect a dative ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ, not an accusative. The words are evidently accounted for by the wandering of a copyist's eye to the next line, where they properly occur after τῆς πόλεως. Here they are rightly omitted by Cod. 58, Syr., Vet. Lat.

and every man that used a sling . . .] The A.V. paraphrases the second half of the verse. Literally it is: "And every slinger (ἀνὴρ σφενδονητὴς) held fast their ascent (*i.e.* their way up), and shot with stones at them." Trommius gives but one other instance of διακρατέω, "to hold a place," viz. 3 Esd. iv. 50. Fritzsche edits διεκράτησαν. Codd. 58, 23, 44, &c., read the singular. The Syriac connects "every slinger" with the former clause, and continues: "and they took the ascent."

13. *Nevertheless having gotten privily.*] The subject is changed from the defenders of the pass to the convoy of Achior. The Gk. is καὶ ὑποδύσαντες ὑποκάτω τοῦ ὄρους. Cf. Hdt. iv. 75, "to slip in under;" also Hdt. i. 31, "to go under;" Arist. 'Wasps,' 205, "to creep under." The Vulgate has: *illi autem divertentes a latere montis.* The Syriac, "And they got them away from thence" (Matt. iv. 12), presupposes ἀποχωρήσαντες, the reading of Cod. 58.

and cast him down, and left him at the foot of the hill.] It is not quite correct to say that "the Gk. text describes it as if he was bound and then rolled down a steep place at the foot of the mountain" (Churton). The words are, ἔδησαν τὸν Ἀχιὼρ καὶ ἀφῆκαν ἐῤῥιμένον ὑπὸ τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ ὄρους—*i.e.* "They bound A. and left him cast under the root (*i.e.* at the foot) of the mountain." The word ῥίπτω is used here as in Gen. xxi. 15, "And she cast the child under one of the shrubs;" and is

14 But the Israelites descended from their city, and came unto him, and loosed him, and brought him into Bethulia, and presented him to the governors of the city:

15 Which were in those days Ozias the son of Micha, of the tribe of Simeon, and Chabris the son of Gothoniel, and Charmis the son of Melchiel.

16 And they called together all the ancients of the city, and all their youth ran together, and their women, to the assembly, and they set Achior in the midst of all their people. Then Ozias asked him of that which was done.

17 And he answered and declared unto them the words of the council of Holofernes, and all the words that he had spoken in the midst of the princes of Assur, and whatsoever Holofernes had spoken proudly against the house of Israel.

18 Then the people fell down and

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the more appropriate, as Achior was bound hand and foot, to prevent his escape. Cf. the Syriac: "And they bound A., and left him cast under the mountain." The Vulgate says: "ligaverunt Achior *ad arborem* manibus et pedibus." Cf. Job xxviii. 9, for the Heb. שֹׁרֶשׁ, "root," of a mountain.

14. *came unto him.*] The Greek is *ἐπέστησαν αὐτῷ* (or *ἐπ' αὐτὸν*, as in Codd. iii. 64, al., and Ecclus. xli. 22), "stood over him;" and so the Syriac renders. The Midrash (Jellinek ii. 12) has: "And the king came into the squares of Jerusalem, bound with fetters of iron. And he found there the *captains of the host of Israel*, Uzziah ben Micah and Carmi."

15. *Ozias the son of Micha.*] *I.e.* Uzziah, the son of Micah; Heb. עֻזִּיָּה בֶּן־מִיכָה. Volkmar lays needless stress on the fact that these common names denote "My strength is Jah," and "Who is like Jah?" respectively. Like Judith herself, Ozias is of the tribe of *Simeon*, who is glorified as an avenger of Israel, ch. ix. 2. Probably, the whole population of Bethulia is understood to be Simeonite. There were Simeonites in the north as well as in the south (2 Chr. xv. 9, xxxiv. 6; cf. Gen. xlix. 7). This minute touch indicates the author's learning in the antiquities of his people (Scholz).

Chabris the son of Gothoniel.] The name Chabris recurs, chap. viii. 10; x. 6. The common reading here is Abris; but the Syriac ܚܒܪܝ, Chabrî, indicates a Heb. חברי, Chabri or Chebri (Num. xxvi. 45), which we find in the Midrash. So Cod. 58, *χαβρὶς*; Vet. Lat., *Chabris*. Fritzsche edits *χαβρεὶς*, after Codd. iii. x. 55.

Chabri might be a contraction of Chabrijah, *socius meus est Jah*, or *Jah est socius*. Volkmar sees in this name the חֲבוּרָה, the secret society of new Zealots calling themselves *Chabērîm* (not *Chabrîm*), i.e. *socii*, *sodales*, who according to him were the life and soul of the new revolt of Judea. For this sect or club of hot patriots, he quotes Grätz, 'Gesch. Isr.' iv. 85, who bases his account on 'Tosifta Demai,' 3, 4, and 'Bechoroth,' 30. Gothoniel is in the LXX. equivalent to Othniel, Heb. עָתְנִיאֵל (Josh. xv. 17), *God's lion*. The Heb. faucal sound *'ayin* is represented by the Gk. gamma, as in the words Gaza, Gomorrah, and many others. Syr. Anathna'el—a corrupted form.

Charmis the son of Melchiel.] Charmis is the Hebrew כַּרְמִי, Carmi (Gen. xlvi. 9). Volkmar objects to this as leaving the name without symbolic force, and proposes חֶרְמִיָּה, *devoted to Jah*, a name unknown to Heb. literature, and which would rather suggest the meaning *my cherem is Jah*, than *I am devoted to Jah*. Moreover, the *Cheth* is soft, and the proper Gk. equivalent would be Ἑρμίας, not Χαρμείς. Cf. Num. xiv. 45; Josh. xii. 5, 14, xv. 30; 1 Chron. iv. 30. I do not understand Volkmar's assertion, "Die Codd. führen vielmehr auf חרמיה." The Codd. have Χαρμεὶς (ii., x.); Χαλμεὶς (iii.); Χαρμὶ (44, al.); vulgo, Χαρμίς. Melchiel, the Heb. מַלְכִּיאֵל, *My king is El* (Gen. xlvi. 17). The Syriac has: Mansha'el. Cod. 58, Μοχιστὴλ; x. ὁ τοῦ Σελλὴμ,—variants which illustrate the Protean changes to which proper names are subject in ancient MSS.

16. *and their women.*] Cod. 58 adds *καὶ τὰ παιδία*. So the Syriac, "and their women and their sons;" and Vet. Lat.

asked him of that which was done.] Literally, Asked him the event, *τὸ συμβεβηκός*. So the Syriac: "asked him what had happened" (Luke xxiv. 14).

17. *the princes of Assur.*] Fritzsche edits "the princes of the sons of Assur." *υἱῶν* is wanting in Codd. 58, 64, al., Syriac; but it is probably original. Assurbanipal calls his subjects "sons of Assur."

spoken proudly.] *ἐμεγαλορρημόνησεν*. Heb. הִגְדִּיל; Ezek. xxxv. 13. Syriac, ܐܬܪܘܪܒ, "magnified himself."

worshipped God, and cried unto God, saying,

19 O Lord God of heaven, behold their pride, and pity the low estate of our nation, and look upon the face of those that are sanctified unto thee this day.

20 Then they comforted Achior, and praised him greatly.

21 And Ozias took him out of the assembly unto his house, and made a feast to the elders; and they called on the God of Israel all that night for help.

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18. *cried unto God.*] Fritzsche omits "unto God;" and so the Syriac, which has: "And *all* the people fell *upon their faces*, and worshipped God, and answered and said." Cf. the Vulgate: *Omnis populus cecidit in faciem, adorantes Dominum, et communi lamentatione et fletu unanimes preces suas Domino effuderunt, dicentes.* The Syriac looks original.

19. *behold their pride.*] Gk. κάτιδε τὰς ὑπερηφανίας αὐτῶν, "look down upon their disdainful dealings" or "displays of disdain." This plural occurs in Ps. lxxiv. 3 (LXX.). The Syriac has the singular, which may be right. So the Vulgate: *Intuere superbiam eorum.* In Heb. the plur. of an abstract noun is often used in such a sense; *e.g.* Ps. xi. 7, "righteousness" is צְדָקוֹת, "righteous dealings;" LXX. δικαιοσύνας. Instead of κάτιδε (Deut. xxvi. 15), the Codd. x. 19, 108 read ἐπίβλεψον. Cf. Lam. v. 1; Hab. i. 13; 1 Sam. i. 11; chap. ix. 9 *infra.* Bissell is wrong in rendering κάτιδε "behold," and ἐπίβλεψον "behold to punish." The idea of punishing is contained not in the verb but in the context. (He seems to have misunderstood Fritzsche.) Moreover, ἐπίβλεψον occurs in the next line in the sense of "Look in pity upon . . .;" cf. ch. xiii. 4.

low estate.] Gk. ταπείνωσιν. The same phrase recurs ch. xiii. 20.

The meaning is *depressed condition.* Cf. Luke i. 48. The Heb. is עֳנִי; see 1 Sam. i. 11 and LXX.

those that are sanctified unto thee.] τῶν ἡγιασμένων σοι. Heb. מְקֻדָּשֶׁיךָ, Isa. xiii. 3; 2 Chron. xxvi. 18. God's hallowed ones were not only the sacerdotal classes and persons under special religious obligations, such as the Nazarites (Grotius), but the collective Jewish people as the chosen of God. The Vulgate has: *et faciem sanctorum tuorum attende.* This suggests the Heb. קְדֹשֶׁיךָ, "thy saints:" cf. Deut. xxxiii. 3; Ps. xvi. 3. But the Syriac reads: "and look upon thy sanctuary" (ܡܩܕܫܟ). Cf. ch. iv. 3, 12. This may be right. It only involves different vowel-points in the former Heb. word.

this day.] Gk. ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ. *I.e.* Look upon us in the present time of peril. Bissell wrongly connects the phrase with "those that are sanctified unto thee," as if some special act of sanctification had been done that day.

The Vulgate adds: "And shew that thou forsakest not them that trust in thee (*praesumentes de te*); and them that trust in themselves, and boast of their own bravery, thou dost abase."

20. *they comforted.*] παρεκάλεσαν, 2 Sam. xii. 24; Ruth ii. 13; = נִחַם. So the Syriac and Vulgate: *consolati sunt Achior.* Cf. Παράκλητος, Intercessor, or Comforter, as a designation of the Holy Ghost. In the Vulgate (after the Chaldee) this short verse is expanded thus: "The weeping, therefore, being ended, and the prayer of the peoples all day long being finished, they comforted Achior, saying: The God of our fathers, whose might thou hast declared, will himself give thee this recompense, that thou rather shalt see *their* destruction (and not they thine). But when our God shall have given this deliverance (*libertatem*) to his servants, may God be with thee also in the midst of us; that thou and all thy friends may live with us, as it pleaseth thee." Cf. the Old Latin: *Dicentes, quomodo visum fuerit Deo de nobis, erit et tecum;* i.e. Thou shalt share our lot whatever it be.

21. *made a feast.*] Gk. ἐποίησε πότον. Heb. וַיַּעַשׂ מִשְׁתֶּה, Gen. xix. 3, and elsewhere. A *banquet* or *drinking* feast is the strict meaning. We must not here think of a carousal, but only of a friendly meal, given by way of according a hospitable reception to Achior. Cf. ch. xii. 10.

and they called on the God of Israel.] The Vulgate is more intelligible: *Postea* (after the feast) *vero convocatus est omnis populus, et per totam noctem intra ecclesiam oraverunt, petentes auxilium a Deo Israel.* The Syriac is: "And he (*i.e.* Ozias?) called unto the God of Israel all the night, that he might help them." The Heb. may have been the indefinite וַיִּקְרָא, "and one called;" *i.e.* the people of Betylua in general called for help.

The way in which Achior is left to fall into the hands of the Jews reminds us of Virgil's account of Sinon and the Trojans, 'Aen.' ii. 57 *seq.* Bissell remarks that "the unsuspecting confidence which is here accorded to

CHAPTER VII.

1 Holofernes besiegeth Bethulia, 7 and stoppeth the water from them. 22 They faint, and murmur against the governors, 30 who promise to yield within five days.

THE next day Holofernes commanded all his army, and all his people which were come to take his part, that they should remove their camp against Bethulia, to take aforehand the ascents of the hill country, and to make war against the children of Israel.

2 Then their strong men removed their camps in that day, and the army of the men of war was an hundred and seventy thousand footmen, and twelve thousand horsemen, beside the baggage, and other men that were afoot among them, a very great multitude.

3 And they camped in the valley

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this Gentile Achior—as afterwards on the part of the Assyrians to Judith—is scarcely natural." Corn. à Lap. writes, with reference to this point: "Non tamen eum consiliis suis adhibuerunt, vel bello praefecerunt, quia transfugarum suspecta est fides, sic enim Judith ficte transfugiens ad Assyrios, Chusai ad Absalonem 2 Sam. xvii. Sinon ad Trojanos, Zopyrus Darii Hystaspis dux ad Babylonios, eos hostibus suis tradiderunt." And Volkmar considers the whole episode admirable (*trefflich*).

CHAPTER VII.

1. *all his people which were come to take his part.*] Gk. *παντὶ τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ οἳ παρεγένοντο ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν αὐτοῦ.* The Syriac has: "all who came with him (ܠܥܘܕܪܗ) to help him." It is probable that the Gk. translator mistook עִמּוֹ, "with him," for עַמּוֹ, "his people." For the auxiliaries intended, see ch. v. 2 *supra.*

that they should remove their camp against Bethulia.] Gk. *ἀναζευγνύειν ἐπὶ Βετυλούα,* "to set out against Betylua;" "to break up camp, and march upon B." The word answers to the Heb. נָסַע, Exod. xiv. 15.

to take aforehand.] In the Gk. this is coordinate with the former clause: "And to pre-occupy the passes." The Vulgate abbreviates the verse: *Holofernes autem altera die praecepit exercitibus suis, ut ascenderent contra Bethuliam.* Codd. 19, 108 add *καὶ ποιεῖν προφύλακας,* "and to set a watch." Cf. Neh. iv. 9.

2. *Then their strong men removed their camps.*] Lit. "And there set out in that day every mighty man of them." The Syriac has the plural; Vulg. omits. Cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 52.

and the army of the men of war.] Gk. *καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν ἀνδρῶν πολεμιστῶν,* "and the force of them, namely, of the men of war." The Heb. may have been וְחֵילָם אַנְשֵׁי מִלְחָמָה, "and their force, men of war." But the Syriac has simply, "and all their force;" וְכָל־חֵילָם. Codd. 58, 249, and the Old Latin also omit "men of war."

an hundred and seventy thousand footmen.] The Syriac gives 172,000, and omits *footmen.* The Old Lat., according to Cod. Germ. 15, gives the same number; but Cod. Corb. and the Vulgate give 120,000, as in ch. ii. 15. In like manner, the Syriac, Old Latin, and Vulgate put the horsemen at 22,000 instead of 12,000,—the number given at ch. ii. 15, as well as by the common text here. Cod. x. reads "eight thousand footmen, and twelve thousand horsemen." Volkmar justifies the common text by the remark that the footmen had continually increased since the outset: cf. ch. iii. 6. The total of the horsemen remained unaltered, the *ἱππεῖς τοξόται* being the proper guard of the Moorish proconsul Lusius Quietus, whom he identifies with Holofernes (p. 241). Wolff supposes that 50,000 troops, chiefly infantry, had come in as contingents from the seaboard cities, and from Moab, Ammon, and Edom. The variations are, however, more easily accounted for by the hypothesis that numeral signs have been corrupted in the course of transmission.

beside the baggage.] Gk. *χωρὶς τῆς ἀποσκευῆς.* The Syriac renders ܐܣܪ̈ܟܐ, as in 1 Macc. v. 13, 20; a word which represents the Heb. טַף, "little ones," in Gen. xxxiv. 29, xliii. 8, &c., and probably here also.

and other men that were afoot among them.] "Other" is not in the Greek, which is: *καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἳ ἦσαν πεζοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς.* Instead of *πεζοὶ* Codd. 19, 108 read *πολλοί*; and Cod. 58 reads *παρεξοδευταί, i.e.* "travelling companions," a word not given in Trommius nor in Liddell and Scott, but supported by the Old Lat. *cum eis comitantes.* Ἐν αὐτοῖς, "among them," may refer to *τῆς ἀποσκευῆς,* by a construction *κατὰ σύνεσιν.* Then "the men who were on foot" denotes the people who accompanied the "baggage" on foot. But it may also refer to the army proper, and then the mixed multitude of ch. ii. 20 will be intended. Vulgate: *praeter praeparationes*

near unto Bethulia, by the fountain, and they spread themselves in breadth [1] over Dothaim even to Belmaim, and in length from Bethulia unto [1] Cyamon, which is over against Esdraelom.

4 Now the children of Israel, when they saw the multitude of them, were greatly troubled, and said every one to his neighbour, [a] Now will these men lick up the face of the earth; for neither the high mountains, nor the valleys, nor the hills, are able to bear their weight.

5 Then every man took up his weapons of war, and when they had kindled fires upon their towers, they remained and watched all that night.

6 But in the second day Holofernes

[1] *from Dothaim*, Junius.
[1] Gr. *Bean field.*
[a] Numb. 22. 4.

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virorum illorum, quos occupaverat captivitas, et abducti fuerant de provinciis et urbibus universae juventutis. This is not very clear Latin, but it seems to mean that Holofernes had swelled his ranks by carrying off all the warriors of the provinces through which he had marched. Cf. the Syriac: "and besides the men who came out unto them."

3. *by the fountain.*] ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς. Heb. עַל־עֵין הַמַּיִם, "by the fountain of the waters." Cf. Gen. xvi. 7. The Syriac has it so here.

they spread themselves in breadth over Dothaim even to Belmaim.] The Syriac has: *And the breadth of the camp was from Rauthim* (an error for Dauthîm) *even unto Abel-mehûtho* (an error for Abel-mehûlo, the Heb. אָבֵל מְחוֹלָה, 1 Kings xix. 16. Lagarde edits Abûl-mehûlo in the Syriac here). Junius corrected ἐπὶ into ἀπὸ, so as to read "from Dothaim." Dothaim is, of course, Dothan: see on ch. iii. 9. In Codd. iii. x. al. the spelling is Δωθαείμ; in 58, Δοθαήλ. Belmaim or Belbaim (so Codd. ii. iii. 55, al.) is the same as Belmen, ch. iv. 4. Cod. x. has Ἀβελβαίμ; Codd. 19, 108, Ἀβελμαείν; 44, al., Βελμέν. The common reading is Βελθέμ. Lieut. Conder compares *Wâdy Bela'meh* near *Jenîn.*

even to.] So the common text (καὶ ἕως). Fritzsche omits καὶ, after Codd. iii. x. 19, 55, al. But the Syriac is in favour of it, and it accords with Heb. idiom (וְעַד).

and in length from Bethulia unto Cyamon.] Cyamon, in Gk. Κυαμὼν, means a "bean-field," *e.g.* Theophr. 'H. P.' iv. 8. 8. The Syriac has: *And its length was unto Kadmún* (ܥܕܡܐ ܠܩܕܡܘܢ) *opposite Jezreel.* "From Betylua" (Syr. Beth-pallû) has evidently fallen out of the text. The Old Lat. reads Chelmona, the Vulg. Chelmon; Cod. 58, Κελμὼν, instead of Cyamon. The pure Greek name can hardly be right. Movers conjectured Jokmeam, 1 Kings iv. 12 (Heb. יָקְמְעָם), the present *El-Kaimôn*, on the eastern slope of the Carmel range, about 15 miles N.W of Jezreel (Zerin). Eusebius calls it Καμμωνά; Jerome, Cimana. It was not the same as Camon, Judges x. 5 (Heb. קָמוֹן), which was probably in Gilead. Wolff, after Schultz and Ritter, identifies Cyamon with the present *Kûmîeh*, on the southern slope of Little Hermon, about three miles N.W. of *Beit Ilfa.*

The Vulgate defines the locality in a different manner: "*Et venerunt per crepidinem montis usque ad apicem*, qui respicit super Dothain, a loco qui dicitur Belma, usque ad Chelmon qui est contra Esdrelon." The italicized words suggest Jerusalem, as A. Scholz remarks: cf. Isa. xxxvii. 24, and *v.* 7 below. The expression "which looks over Dothan" may be compared with Num. xxiii. 28, "The top of Peor which looketh toward Jeshimon." The LXX. there renders Heb. הַנִּשְׁקָף, "which looketh forth," by τὸ παρατεῖνον, the verb of the present verse (παρέτειναν, "they spread themselves").

4. *Now will these men lick up the face of the earth.*] A reminiscence of the words of the Moabites when alarmed at the advances of Israel in the old times of the conquest of Canaan, Num. xxii. 4. "The earth" should be "all the earth" or rather "land." The Syriac omits the metaphor: "Now, neither all the face of the land, nor the high mountains, nor the wadys, nor the heights will bear their weight." The Vulgate diverges a good deal farther from the Greek text: "Now the children of Israel, when they saw the multitude of them, threw themselves down upon the earth, putting ashes upon their heads, with one mind praying that the God of Israel would shew his mercy upon his people." Cf. ch. iv. 11. For the expression "bear their weight," see Gen. xiii. 6.

5. *upon their towers.*] Syriac ܒܡܓܕܠܐ ܕܫܘܪܝܗܘܢ, "on the towers of their walls," *i.e.* the walls of Betylua. This is probably original. So the Old Latin and Cod. 58. The Vulgate explains thus: "And taking their weapons of war, they sat among places which lead to the track of a narrow path between hilly places, and were on guard all that day and night."

brought forth all his horsemen in the sight of the children of Israel which were in Bethulia,

7 And viewed the passages up to the city, and came to the fountains of their waters, and took them, and set garrisons of men of war over them, and he himself removed toward his people.

8 Then came unto him all the chief of the children of Esau, and all the governors of the people of Moab, and the captains of the sea coast, and said,

9 Let our lord now hear a word, that there be not an overthrow in thine army.

10 For this people of the children of Israel do not trust in their spears, but in the height of the mountains

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For the watch-fires, cf. 1 Macc. xii. 28, 29.

7. *the city.*] So Cod. 58, and the Syriac, and probably the Heb. original. Fritzsche edits "their city." Holofernes makes a cavalry reconnaissance of the locality.

came to the fountains.] Rather, "spied out the fountains." Ἐφοδεύω = חָפַר, "searched out," Deut. i. 22. The first four verbs in this verse are plural in the Syriac.

set garrisons of men of war over them.] The word rendered "garrisons" (παρεμβολὰς) is used by Polybius and other late Greek writers in the sense of *camp*. In Acts xxi. 34 it means *barracks*, *quarters* of troops. It is the usual rendering of the Heb. מַחֲנֶה, *camp*, *encampment*, *army* (cf. στρατόπεδον), in the LXX. What the Greek text, therefore, states here is that Holofernes posted troops of soldiers by the fountains to guard them.

In the Vulg. we read: *Porro Holofernes dum circuit per gyrum, reperit quod fons qui influebat aquaeductum illorum a parte australi extra civitatem dirigeret; et incidi praecepit aquaeductum illorum.* The passage is important, as confirming S. Jerome's statements that he used a Chaldee text. One can hardly conceive of his going out of his way to *invent* such details as these. Neither the Greek nor the Old Latin text mentions the spring and its aqueduct. Wolff identifies it with *Ain el Judeideh*, on the ridge above *Beit Ilfa*. But cf. the Midrash (Jellinek, ii. 12–22), which relates thus: "And Olofernes in his going round the mountain found the canals (סִילוֹנֵי) of water that were outside of the city, and commanded to 'root out, and to pull down,'" &c. (Jer. i. 10). The Vulg. continues: *Erant tamen non longe a muris fontes, ex quibus furtim videbantur haurire aquam, ad refocillandum potius quam ad potandum.* Then follow three verses corresponding to *vv.* 8–16 in the Greek. The Vulgate evidently implies the existence of a spring on the hill above the town, as well as of others in the valley below (see *vv.* 7, 12, 17 of the Greek). The latter Wolff thinks are the springs issuing from the conglomerate cliffs and meeting in the little pool called Goliath's Well, below Beit Ilfa. Dr. A. Scholz thinks that the Greek text betrays the hand of an editor. He says that Jerusalem is the only instance in all Palestine of a mountain fortress getting its water by an aqueduct in the manner described; and that the aqueduct from the pools of Solomon comes *from the South*. Thus the notice of the Vulgate leads to the supposition that in the original text the place besieged by Holofernes was called Betylua, but plainly described as Jerusalem. So far as the Greek text alone is concerned, the statement of *v.* 7 may be simply a summary anticipation of what is afterwards told at length in *vv.* 8–17.

and he himself removed toward his people.] The verb is the same as in *vv.* 1, 2, viz. ἀνέζευξε, and the meaning is correctly given by the Syriac: "and he himself returned to his people," *i.e.* went back to the army, leaving the guards at the springs.

8. *the chief of the children of Esau.*] Rather, the chiefs, or princes. The "children of Esau" are the Edomites, the near kindred and bitterest foes of the Israelites, and their prominence here, where the chosen people is again threatened with destruction, depends on such passages as Ezek. xxxv. 5 *sqq.*; xxxvi. 5. Here their malicious expectations are to be utterly frustrated. Cf. also Num. xx. 14; Deut. ii. 3; xxiii. 7, 8; Obadiah's prophecy; Amos i. 11, 12; Ps. cxxxvii. 7. The designation "children of Esau" occurs in Deut. ii. 22; 1 Macc. v. 3, 65. The Syr. has "the house of Esau."

9. *an overthrow.*] Fritzsche edits θραῦσμα, lit. "a fragment," "piece;" cf. ch. xiii. 7. Codd. 19, 108, 64, &c., read θραῦσις, "a breaking," which suits better. Cf. Wisd. xviii. 20, where the word is rendered "destruction." The Heb. may have been מַגֵּפָה, "smiting," "plague," "slaughter," which is rendered θραῦσις in Num. xvi. 48–50; 2 Sam. xviii. 7. But more probably it was שֶׁבֶר; cf. the Syriac ܬܒܪܐ, and Jer. iv. 6, vi. 1.

10. *mountains.*] Cf. Ezek. xxxv. 12, "Thy (Edom's) blasphemies . . . against the moun-

wherein they dwell, because it is not easy to come up to the tops of their mountains.

11 Now therefore, my lord, fight not against them in battle array, and there shall not so much as one man of thy people perish.

12 Remain in thy camp, and keep all the men of thine army, and let thy servants get into their hands the fountain of water, which issueth forth of the foot of the mountain:

13 For all the inhabitants of Bethulia have their water thence; so shall thirst kill them, and they shall give up their city, and we and our people shall go up to the tops of the mountains that are near, and will camp upon them, to watch that none go out of the city.

14 So they and their wives and their children shall be consumed with famine, and before the sword come against them, they shall be overthrown in the streets where they dwell.

15 Thus shalt thou render them an evil reward; because they rebelled, and met not thy person peaceably.

16 And these words pleased Holofernes and all his servants, and he appointed to do as they had spoken.

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tains of Israel;" and xxxvi. 1, 2, 4, &c. Also Ps. cxxv. 1, 2.

wherein they dwell.] Gk. *ἐν οἷς αὐτοὶ ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς.* This unclassical form of speech is simply an imitation of the ordinary Heb. mode of expressing the relative: אֲשֶׁר הֵמָּה יוֹשְׁבִים בָּם׃. Cf. ch. v. 19; x. 2; xvi. 4.

11. *fight not against them in battle array.*] Do not proceed by pitched battle, but by blockade. The Gk. is *μὴ πολέμει* (note the tense; do not "carry on the war") *πρὸς αὐτοὺς καθὼς γίνεται πόλεμος παρατάξεως*, "as a war of battle-in-line goes on." The Syriac has simply: "Do not war with them as war is (usually) made." Cf. the Old Lat. *sicut pugnatur in bello;* and Cod. 58, *καθὼς πόλεμος πολεμεῖται.* "Perish" is "fall" in the Greek and Syriac.

12. *Remain.*] Ἀνάμεινον. The right reading is probably *ἀλλὰ μεῖνον*, according to Cod. 58, Syriac, and Old Lat.

and keep all the men.] Literally, "keeping every man;" *i.e.* not sacrificing any. *διαφυλάσσειν* here means not *to guard, protect,* as in ch. xiii. 16, Luke iv. 10, nor *to lay up in store,* as in ch. xi. 13; but *to retain.*

foot.] Lit. *root* (Syr. "from under the roots"): cf. ch. vi. 13.

13. *have their water.*] *ὑδρεύονται*; שָׁאַב, *aquam hausit,* Gen. xxiv. 11, 19, &c.

the tops of the mountains that are near.] Gk. *τὰς πλησίον κορυφὰς τ. ὀρέων.* Cod. 58 omits *πλησίον*; and so Old Lat. But Syr. has: "And we, *who are with thee,* will go up to the *top* of the mountains which are near."

to watch.] The Gk. is *εἰς προφυλακὴν* (cf. ch. x. 11; xiv. 2), "for an outpost" or "advanced guard." Cf. Thucyd. iv. 30. Syr. "and we will watch."

14. *consumed with famine.*] Lit. shall melt away in the famine; *τακήσονται ἐν τῷ λιμῷ.* The Heb. is not likely to have been מְזֵי רָעָב, "famine-sucked," which in Deut. xxxii. 24 the LXX. renders: *τηκόμενοι λιμῷ*, and to which Fritzsche refers. It was probably נָמַס בָּרָעָב, 2 Sam. xvii. 10, or נָמַק, Lev. xxvi. 39. The latter word might well describe the emaciation of want, as it describes the falling off of flesh through plague (Zech. xiv. 12).

Syr. ܢܣܬܝܦܘܢ ܒ, "they shall be consumed with . . ."

overthrown in the streets where they dwell.] Lit. laid low in the streets of their dwelling. *καταστρώννυμι* for שָׁחַט, prop. *ἔσφαξεν*, Num. xiv. 16 (A. V. "He hath *slain* them"). It is rare in the LXX. The Syr. has *fall,* which may be original; cf. Jer. xlix. 26. It omits "of their dwelling."

15. *render them an evil reward.*] Cf. Lam. iii. 64, תָּשִׁיב לָהֶם גְּמוּל; and Luke xiv. 12, 14.

thy person.] Rather, *thy face.* The Heb. was probably וְלֹא יָצְאוּ לְפָנֶיךָ בְּשָׁלוֹם: cf. 1 Chron. xii. 17, *καὶ Δαβὶδ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτῶν*; and the Syriac, "And *came not forth to meet thee* in peace." In late Hebrew לִפְנֵי is equivalent to לִקְרַאת. The reading *οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν* (Codd. 52, 69, al.) can hardly be right.

16. *these words.*] Gk. *their* words.

he appointed.] This is the reading of Codd. iii. x. 55, 58, the Syriac and Old Lat. Instead of *καθὼς* Codd. iii. x. 55, 58, al. have *καθὰ*, which is a closer imitation of the Heb. כַּאֲשֶׁר.

συνέταξαν (or *-εν*) is not "resolved" (Bissell), but "commanded," "ordered." In

17 So the camp of the children of Ammon departed, and with them five thousand of the Assyrians, and they pitched in the valley, and took the waters, and the fountains of the waters of the children of Israel.

18 Then the children of Esau went up with the children of Ammon, and camped in the hill country over against Dothaim: and they sent some of them toward the south, and toward the east, over against Ekrebel, which is near unto Chusi, that is upon the brook Mochmur; and the rest of the army of the Assyrians camped in the plain, and covered the face of the whole land; and their tents and carriages were pitched to a very great multitude.

19 Then the children of Israel cried unto the Lord their God, because their heart failed, for all their

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the LXX. it is common for צִוָּה, *jussit*. Fritzsche is wrong in explaining the singular as indefinite: "*Man* bestimmte."

17. *Ammon.*] Codd. 19, 108, Old Lat., and Syriac read *Moab:* cf. *vv.* 8, 13, 18; and ch. v. 2, 5; vi. 1, 5. Comparing *vv.* 17, 18, with *v.* 8, it certainly looks as if the writer confused or identified Moab and Ammon with each other. The Gk. παρεμβολὴ υἱῶν Ἀμμὼν does not mean, as Bissell asserts, "a detachment of the children of Ammon;" it represents the Heb. מַחֲנֵה בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן, and the A. V. is correct: cf. verse 13, from which it appears that the *whole* body of the auxiliaries in question is intended.

in the valley.] Here and elsewhere the Syriac retains the Gk. term: ܐܘܠܘܢܐ, *i.e.* αὐλῶνι.

of the waters.] Cod. 58 and Syr. omit.

18. *Then the children of Esau went up with the children of Ammon.*] *And the sons of Esau and the sons of Ammon went up.* Codd. iii. x. 44, al. read οἱ υἱοὶ Ἡσαῦ. Fritzsche omits the article and renders: *some of the sons of Esau and the rest of the sons of Ammon.* But in that case we should have expected a preposition, to represent the Heb. מִבְּנֵי עֵשָׂו. The article in οἱ υἱοὶ Ἀμμὼν refers to the previous mention of the υἱοὶ Ἀμμὼν in *v.* 17. The Heb. would be anarthrous in both cases. Cod. 58 and the Old Lat. read: *the sons of Ammon and the sons of Esau* (υἱοὶ Ἀμμὼν καὶ υἱοὶ Ἡσαῦ); and the latter adds: *et cum eis plebis Assyriorum duodecim millia.* So the Syr.: "and with them sons of Asshur twelve thousand."

they sent.] Syr. "he sent."

Ekrebel.] The common reading is Ἐκρεβήλ. Fr. edits Ἐγρεβὴλ after Codd. ii. x. 23 al. Codd. 19, 108 have Ἀκραβήλ; the Syriac ܥܩܪܒܠ. This points to the Talmudic עקרבת, the Ἀκραβαττὰ of Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' iii. 3, 5), the Acrabi of Eusebius and Jerome, now the village of *Akraba*, about ten miles S.E. of Nablûs. It gave its name in the Roman age to the district of Acrabatene in Central Palestine.

Chusi.] Fritzsche edits χοὺς, Chus. Codd. 19, 108 read Οὔζ. The Syriac has ܟܘܫ, Cush; the Old Lat., Chus. The form χουσὶ (εὶ) is gentilic; and Movers may be right in connecting it with כּוּתִי, "Cuthite," *i.e.* the Samaritans. The letter *tau* was pronounced like *s* by the later Jews; and the Samaritans are regularly styled by the contemptuous name of Cuthites or Cuthaeans in the Talmud. Cf. 2 Kings xvii. 24, 30, for the origin of the term.

the brook.] Rather, *the watercourse*, or *torrent bed*, or *gully;* Arab. *Wâdy*, Heb. נַחַל, Gk. χείμαρρος. The name "Mochmur" is prob. corrupt. The Syriac reads Peor; the Old Lat., Machur; and in Cod. Germ. 15, Pochor (*i.e.* Peor; cf. Φογὼρ in LXX. of Num. xxiii. 28). Schultz, who identifies Chusi with the present *Jurish*, suggests the *Wâdy Makhfûriyeh*, which Wolff accepts. A. Scholz, Michmash, about 8 miles N. of Jerusalem. The Jerusalem folk joined in the pursuit of the Assyrians (xv. 5), which they could hardly have done, had the Plain of Esdraelon been the scene of the rout.

and their tents and carriages were pitched to a very great multitude.] Rather, "And their tents and baggage (αἱ ἀπαρτίαι: cf. ch. ii. 17; iii. 10) were pitched in (*i.e.* among, with) a great throng (*i.e.* of camp-followers), and they (*i.e.* the entire army, camp-followers and all) came to a very great multitude." Syriac: "And their tents and their baggage were encamping among them, and were very many." For ὄχλος of camp-followers, cf. Xen. 'Anab.' iii. 4, 26.

19. *the Lord their God.*] Fritzsche edits κύριον Θεὸν αὐτῶν, anarthrous, as in Heb. usage: יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם, "Iahweh their God." But Codd. x. 58, 23, 44, al. have κυρίον τὸν Θεὸν αὐτῶν. It is well known that κύριος without the article, in the LXX. and N. T., represents the sacred Name of the God of Israel, like the Syriac ܡܪܝܐ, *dominus.*

enemies had compassed them round about, and there was no way to escape out from among them.

20 Thus all the company of Assur remained about them, both their footmen, chariots, and horsemen, four and thirty days, so that all their vessels of water failed all the inhabitants of Bethulia.

21 And the [1] cisterns were emptied, and they had not water to drink their fill for one day; for they gave them drink by measure.

[1] Or, *pits.*

22 Therefore their young children

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their heart failed.] Or, "their spirit was fainthearted," a phrase occurring in Ps. lxxvii. 3 (LXX.): Heb. הִתְעַטֵּף רוּחִי, "my spirit fainteth" (A. V. is overwhelmed). Cf. Ecclus. iv. 9.

had compassed them.] Cf. the story in Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' iii. 7, 32, concerning the Samaritans, who, when Vespasian was marching through their territory on his way to Jerusalem, occupied the top of Gerizim to the number of 11,600 strong, and were beset by the Romans a whole day; and, though suffering terribly from heat, hunger, and thirst, for the most part preferred death to submission.

there was no way.] The Gk. is οὐκ ἦν, "it was not possible." So the Syr. ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ.

20. *company.*] The rendering of συναγωγή, which is the reading of Codd. 23, 44, 64, al. Fritzsche edits παρεμβολή, "camp;" so Cod. 58; Syr. "camps."

about them.] The Gk. is κύκλῳ αὐτῶν, answering to the Heb. סְבִיבוֹתָם; Syr. ܚܕܪܝܗܘܢ.

four and thirty days.] Codd. 19, 108 read: ἡμ. δεκατέσσαρας καὶ μῆνα ἕνα. The Syriac has, "two months and four days;" with which Old Lat., Cod. Germ. 15, agrees: *diebus quatuor et mensibus duobus.* The Vulgate says: "cumque ista custodia *per dies viginti* fuisset expleta." Volkmar finds in the ordinary reading an important corroboration of his peculiar theory about the subject of the book. The 34 days of the siege, together with the 5 days of expectation (*v.* 30 *infra*), and the 2 days immediately preceding the blockade, make 41 days, or 1 month and 11 days; and the invaders had before encamped a whole month between Geba and Scythopolis, ch. iii. 10. The result is about 2½ months for the whole war, which he asserts was the duration of the Judean campaign of Lusius Quietus, which began early in June of Trajan's 19th year (cf. ch. iv. 5), and ended with Trajan's death 9–10 August of the same year. But see the Introduction.

The improbability that so great a force would lie idle round such a fortress for 39 days is evident. Moreover, as Volkmar observes, if the Assyrians were able to blockade the place so completely as to cut off all exit, this is hardly consistent with the statement of ch. iv. 6, 7, which implies that Betylua commanded the approaches to Judea. Why did not Holofernes detach a sufficient force to invest the place, and pass on with the rest of his army to Jerusalem? Obviously the story concentrates itself upon a single fortress for the sake of dramatic effect. Cf. ch. iv. 4 *sqq.*, where other points of resistance are enumerated.

all their vessels of water failed.] *I.e.* by running dry. Fritzsche remarks: "Einfacher stände πάντα τὰ ὕδατα." But the point of the Greek is that the temporary supplies which they had in their vessels were exhausted by the end of the time specified. For the verb (ἐξέλιπε, cum accus. pers.) cf. Prov. iv. 21, ὅπως μὴ ἐκλίπωσί σε αἱ πηγαὶ κ.τ.λ. (LXX.). Cf. also ch. xi. 12 *infra.* Syriac: "And the inhabitants of Beth-pallu emptied their water-vessels" (ܓܘ̈ܒܐ ܕܡܝ̈ܗܘܢ); cf. Sirach xxi. 10, 14, where the same Syr. word is used. It properly means *pit, well, cistern,* as in ch. viii. 31. Payne Smith renders it *vas, hydria,* in the present passage.

21. *the cisterns.*] Gk. οἱ λακκοί; Heb. בּוֹרוֹת, pits in which the rain-water was collected. The Syriac has a word strictly meaning *skins* (1 Sam. i. 24); but also used of any kind of *vessel* (Luke xxii. 10). Cod. 58 adds: καὶ οἱ λακκίσκοι αὐτῶν, a word not given in Liddell and Scott. So the Old Lat. *putei et cisternae.*

their fill.] Lit. unto fulness: εἰς πλησμονήν. Heb. לְשָׂבְעָ. Exod. xvi. 3.

by measure.] Cf. Ezek. iv. 16, "They shall drink water by measure" (Heb. בִּמְשׂוּרָה); that is, in miserably small quantities, in order to make them last as long as possible. The Syriac runs thus: "And their skins (or water-pots) were emptied, and there was not left unto them water to drink, and their boys and their women fainted (were stricken, ܐܬܢܓܕܘ, Judges iv. 21) because there was not left unto them water to drink and to be satisfied one day; because by measure they used to give them water (cf. John iii. 34). And their boys and their women and their youths fainted (or were troubled; cf. Gen. xli. 8) sore, and

were out of heart, and their women and young men fainted for thirst, and fell down in the streets of the city, and by the passages of the gates, and there was no longer any strength in them.

23 Then all the people assembled to Ozias, and to the chief of the city, both young men, and women, and children, and cried with a loud voice, and said before all the elders,

[b] Exod. 5. 21.

24 God be [b] judge between us and you: for ye have done us great injury, in that ye have not required peace of the children of Assur.

25 For now we have no helper: but God hath sold us into their hands, that we should be thrown down before them with thirst and great destruction.

26 Now therefore call them unto you, and deliver the whole city for a spoil to the people of Holofernes, and to all his army.

27 For it is better for us to be made a spoil unto them, than to die for thirst: for we will be his servants, that our souls may live, and not see the death of our infants before our eyes, nor our wives nor our children to die.

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failed from thirst, and fell in the streets of the city, and in the entries of the gates, and there was not in them strength."

22. This verse consists of reminiscences of the Lamentations, *e.g.* Lam. ii. 11, "The children and the sucklings swoon in the streets of the city;" *ib.* 19, "Thy young children that faint for hunger in the top of every street;" *ib.* 21, "The young and the old lie on the ground in the streets; my virgins and my young men are fallen by the sword;" *ib.* iv. 4, "The tongue of the sucking child cleaveth to the roof of his mouth for thirst." The Vulgate omits the verse.

were out of heart.] This is right. The verb is ἀθυμέω: cf. Col. iii. 21. Not "swooned" (Churton), for which in Lam. ii. 11 the word is ἐκλείπειν, as here, and in Luke xvi. 9 (strictly, to fail, be wanting):

by the passages of the gates.] Rather, *in the passages*, &c. The Heb. was דֶּרֶךְ, "way," cf. Prov. vii. 8; or פֶּתַח, "entry," combined with שַׁעַר, "gate," as in Judges xviii. 16, 17; or מְבוֹא פְּתָחִים, Prov. viii. 3. Cf. the Syriac quoted above.

23. "The chief of the city" (τοὺς ἄρχοντας) are the same as "the elders," *i.e.* the Gerusia. The Vulgate omits both.

both young men.] Rather, the young men (οἱ νεανίσκοι).

24. *God be judge between us and you.*] This phrase occurs in Gen. xvi. 5, xxxi. 53.

ye have done us great injury.] Lit. ye did in us great wrong, by not speaking peaceable things with the sons of Asshur. This is pure Hebrew idiom. For the latter phrase, cf. Jer. ix. 8, "One speaketh peaceably to his neighbour with his mouth." Heb. *speaketh peace with.* The Syriac renders quite literally. Cf. also the Vulgate: *Judicet Deus inter nos et te, quoniam fecisti in nos mala, nolens loqui pacifice cum Assyriis.*

25. *For now.*] Rather, "And now."

we have no helper.] Fritzsche edits οὐκ ἔστι βοηθὸς ἡμῶν. But Cod. x. has βοηθῶν ἡμῖν; and Codd. 58, 108, ὁ βοηθῶν ἡμῖν. This is nearer the Heb. idiom: אֵין עֹזֵר לָנוּ. Cf. 2 Kings xiv. 26; Job xxx. 13.

God hath sold us into their hands.] Heb. phrase. Cf. Judges ii. 14, x. 7; 1 Sam. xii. 9. The idea is: God hath delivered us into their power, as truly as if he had sold us to them for slaves. Cf. the Syriac, "The Lord hath *delivered* us into their hands."

thrown down.] τοῦ καταστρωθῆναι. Cf. note on *v.* 14 *supra.* Syriac, "that we might be consumed before them."

26. *call them unto you.*] ἐπικαλέσασθε αὐτούς. Not "entreat them" (Gaab). The Syriac has simply, "call them;" but the Vulgate, "Et nunc congregate universos *qui in civitate sunt* ut sponte tradamus nos omnes populo Holofernis."

for a spoil.] εἰς προνομήν. Syriac, "for captives and booty."

27. *a spoil.*] διαρπαγήν. "Than to die for thirst" is omitted by Fritzsche. It is found in Codd. 52, 64, al. (ἢ ἀποθανεῖν ἐν δίψῃ), but is merely an exegetical addition. The Syriac gives the verse thus: "Because it is good for us that we become unto them servants and handmaids, that our soul may live, that we see not with our own eyes the death of the children and the women and the sons, while their soul fainteth."

we will be his servants.] Rather, "we shall become slaves:" ἐσόμεθα εἰς δούλους imitates the Heb. נִהְיֶה לַעֲבָדִים.

that our souls may live and not see.] Lit. "and our soul will live (Gen. xii. 13; xix. 20), and we shall not see," &c.

before.] With; ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν. Heb. בְּעֵינֵינוּ.

28 We take to witness against you the heaven and the earth, and our God and Lord of our fathers, which punisheth us according to our sins and the sins of our fathers, [1]that he do not according as we have said this day.

[1] Or, *lest he do*, meaning Holofernes.

29 Then there was great weeping with one consent in the midst of the assembly; and they cried unto the Lord God with a loud voice.

30 Then said Ozias to them, Brethren, be of good courage, let us yet endure five days, in the which space the Lord our God may turn his mercy toward us; for he will not forsake us utterly.

31 And if these days pass, and there come no help unto us, I will do according to your word.

32 And he dispersed the people,

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to die.] ἐκλειπούσας τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, lit. fainting, pining away as to their souls (an accusative of "nearer definition"). Cf. *v.* 22 *supra*; ch. viii. 31.

28. *We take to witness against you the heaven and the earth.*] This adjuration is obviously borrowed from Deut. iv. 26, "I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that ye shall soon utterly perish."

and our God and Lord of our fathers.] So the Greek. But κύριον τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν represents no Hebrew phrase. Probably therefore, Codd. 19, 108, and the Syriac are right (τὴν γῆν καὶ κύριον τὸν θεὸν τῶν πατ. ἡμ.), "And the Lord (Heb. Jehovah) the God of our fathers."

punisheth us according to our sins.] ἐκδικεῖ ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὰς ἁμ. For the construction cf. Hos. xii. 2. The Heb. would be "visiteth upon us our sins" or "according to our sins." The Syriac omits "and the sins of our fathers." So Cod. 58.

that he do not according as we have said this day.] Lit., "in order that he may not do according to these sayings on this day." Fritzsche thinks the subject is God, who, as it appeared, was resolved to give them up into the power of the Assyrians (*v.* 25). The suppliants say, We adjure you by all that is held sacred to prevent the results we have described (*v.* 27) by an instant surrender (*v.* 26). Another mode of understanding this somewhat obscure clause is suggested by the margin, "in order that Holofernes may not do," &c. So Churton, "that Hol. kill us not with thirst and great destruction" (*v.* 25).

Perhaps the subject is indefinite, "in order that *one* do not," *i.e.* "in order that it may not be done"—a common Hebrew construction: cf. Isa. vi. 10. In any case ἵνα appears to be used elliptically, like ὅπως, with a notion of warning, ὅρα or βλέπε being understood, as in Mark v. 23. What the Hebrew was is another question. Codd. x. 23 omit μή, and the Old Lat. has *ut faciatis*; the Vulgate, *Contestamur hodie caelum et terram . . . ut jam tradatis civitatem in manu militiae Holofernis, et sit finis noster brevis in ore gladii qui longior efficitur in ariditate sitis*, as if all they desired was that short work might be made with them. Syriac, "to do (gerundial infin.) according to these words on the day of this day." This may be original.

29. *Then there was great weeping, &c.*] Rather, "And there arose a great weeping in the midst of the assembly—of all together." Cf. Exod. xix. 8. Ὁμοθυμαδὸν is יַחְדָּו = *una*. The Syriac puts this phrase at the end of the next clause, "And they cried unto the Lord with a loud voice all of them together." The Vulgate, after its Chaldee original, adds what they said—a cento of thoughts and expressions from Ps. cvi. 6; 2 Sam. xxiv. 14; Ps. cxv. 2; Joel ii. 17. "We have sinned with our fathers, we have dealt wrongfully, we have done iniquity. Do thou because thou art good have mercy upon us, or with thine own scourge punish our iniquities, and deliver not them that confess thee over unto a people that knoweth thee not; that they say not among the nations, Where is their God? And when, tired with these clamours, and wearied with these lamentations, they had become silent, Ozias rose, bathed in tears, and said," &c., as in *v.* 30.

30. *in the which space the Lord our God may (will) turn his mercy toward us.*] That is, by sending us rain. Cf. ch. viii. 31, where Ozias begs Judith to pray for this result. Rain and the consequent fertility of the soil were especially regarded as the gift of Jehovah. Cf. Joel ii. 23, 24; Hos. ii. 21 *sqq.*; Jer. xiv. 22; 1 Kings xvii. (The Syriac has, "Perchance the Lord our God will turn," &c.)

utterly.] εἰς τέλος, a translation of the Heb. לָעַד, "for ever." Cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9, where the LXX. also gives καταλείψει, "forsake," for הִזְנִיחַ "cast off," "reject."

31. *and there come no help unto us.*] Cod. 58: καὶ μὴ γενήται βοήθεια ἐφ' ἡμῖν. So the Old Lat. *non fuerit super nos adjutorium*; and the Syriac, "And if five days pass, and there become not to us help." At the end Syr. has: "we will do (so Vulg.) according to these words." Cf. 1 Sam. xi. 3.

32. *he dispersed.*] The Gk. is ἐσκόρπισε. Cf. John xvi. 32: "Ye shall be scattered every

every one to their own charge; and they went unto the walls and towers of their city, and sent the women and children into their houses: and they were very low brought in the city.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 The state and behaviour of Judith a widow. 12 She blameth the governors for their promise to yield, 17 and adviseth them to trust in God. 28 They excuse their promise. 32 She promiseth to do something for them.

NOW at that time Judith heard thereof, which was the daughter of Merari, the son of Ox, the son of Joseph, the son of Oziel, the son of Elcia, the son of Ananias, the son of Gedeon, the son of Raphaim, the

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man to his own." The Vulgate omits this verse.

every one to their own charge.] *ἕκαστον* (so Cod. 58, Syr., and Old Lat., and probably the Heb. Fritzsche omits) *εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρεμβολήν*, "each to his own quarters:" cf. Acts xxi. 34. The Syr. has: "each to his own tent, and to the wall and towers of the city," omitting *αὐτῶν ἀπῆλθον*. So Cod. 58 and Old Lat.

and sent.] *I.e.* he sent. So Fritzsche, after Codd. ii. x. 55, 19, 108. Other MSS. have the plural (iii. 23, 44, al.). Cod. 58 has *ἀπέλυσε*. Syr. ܫܪܐ.

they were very low brought.] Lit. they were in much affliction (*ταπεινώσει*). Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat., add "very much" (*σφόδρα*, as so often in this book).

CHAPTER VIII.

1. *Now at that time Judith heard thereof.*] Gk. *καὶ ἤκουσεν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις* Ἰουδίθ. Cod. 58, the Syr., and Old Lat. have a quite different reading for *καὶ ἤκουσεν*, viz.: *καὶ ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατοικοῦσα κ.τ.λ.*, which looks original. Syriac: "And in those days there was dwelling in the city Judith," &c. As she is here mentioned for the first time, her pedigree and personal history up to this point are given (*vv.* 1–8), and then at verse 9 the thread of the main story is taken up again.

"Judith," Gk. Ἰουδὶθ (or Ἰουδεὶθ, according to Codd. iii. x. 58, al., which merely indicates that the *i* is long), is the Heb. יְהוּדִית, "Jewess," "woman of Judah," the fem. form of Jehudi, Heb. יְהוּדִי, "Jew" or "Judean." Both occur as proper names in the O. T. According to Gen. xxvi. 34, Esau married "Judith, d. of Beeri the Hittite;" and in Jer. xxxvi. 14, 21, "Jehudi" is a messenger of the princes of Judah. This being so, we need not take the name of the heroine of our book allegorically. The formal statement of her genealogy, by which the writer obviously meant to give a historical colouring to his narrative, is also against this. Cf. the similar introduction of Ezra in the book which bears his name (Ezra vii. 1–7).

Volkmar is wrong in stating "יהודית verhält sich zu יהודה wie Frau zu Mann, und kann sowohl eine Jüdin als Judäa überhaupt, sei es als Land oder Volk, bezeichnen, in weiblicher Gestalt." As we have seen, the masc. correlative of *Judith* is *Jehudi*; and the proper term for Judea, "whether as land or people," is יְהוּדָה, and not יְהוּדִית.

Merari.] See Gen. xlvi. 11. The name of the third son of Levi, and of a principal subdivision of the tribe. It does not occur as the name of any other individual in the O. T.; and the Midrash is probably right in giving *Beeri* (Gen. xxvi. 34), which was also the name of Hosea's father (Hos. i. 1). Beeri (בארי) might easily be corrupted into Merari (מררי).

Ox.] Gk. Ὢξ, which is not Heb. Perhaps the Syriac gives the right form, namely, Uz, Heb. עוּץ (*'ûs*), Syr. ܥܘܨ. But cf. 1 Chron. i. 42, where, as in Gen. xxxvi. 28, the LXX. write Ὢς. The Old Lat. has Ozi, and Cod. 19 Ὢζ, which may point to Heb. עֻזִּי, Uzzi (1 Chron. vii. 2).

Oziel.] The Heb. עֻזִּיאֵל, Uzziel (1 Chron. vi. 2). So Syr. Vulg. Ozias, *i.e.* Uzziah.

Elcia.] Heb. חִלְקִיָּה, Hilkiah (2 Kings xviii. 18). Codd. 44, 74, 76, al. read Ἐλκανὰ, Elkanah; so the Syr. Codd. 19, 108, Ἐζεκίου, Hezekiah. Vulgate, Elai, which might be a corruption of Elkai, *i.e.* חֶלְקַי, Helkai, a contraction of Hilkiah (Neh. xii. 15).

Ananias.] The Heb. חֲנַנְיָה, Hananiah. Syr. Hanan (1 Chron. iii. 19). This and the next three members are wanting in the Vatican MS. But Codd. iii. x. 23, 52, al., Old Lat., Syriac, and Vulgate contain them.

Gedeon.] Heb. גִּדְעוֹן, Gideon (Judg. vi. 11; Heb. xi. 32). The Syr. has Gibeon (a mistake in one letter).

Raphaim.] Gk. Ῥαφαΐν. This is the Heb. רְפָאִים, Rephaim, which was not an individual name, but that of a race of giants: cf. Gen. xiv. 5; 2 Sam. xxi. 16, 18, 20. The Syr. gives the doubtful form *Daphnin*, which probably arose out of a confusion of Heb. *r* and *d*,

son of Acitho, the son of Eliu, the son of Eliab, the son of Nathanael, the son of [1]Samael, the son of Salasadai, the son of Israel.

2 And Manasses was her husband, of her tribe and kindred, who died in the barley harvest.

3 For as he stood overseeing them that bound sheaves in the field, the heat came upon his head, and he fell on his bed, and died in the city of Bethulia: and they buried him with his fathers in the field between Dothaim and Balamo.

[1] Or, *Samaliel.*

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such as often occurs. The Vulgate has Raphaim. Perhaps the original name was Raphaiah or Raphael.

Acitho.] Ἀκιθὼν: instead of which non-Hebrew form Fritzsche edits Ἀχιτὼβ (Ahitub), from Codd. x. 19, 108, and the Syriac and Old Lat. So Vulg. Achitob (cf. 1 Chron. vi. 7).

Eliu.] Gk. Ἠλιού, אֵלִיָּה, Elijah (2 K. i. 8). The Syr. has the strangely corrupted form *Na'in.* Vulg. omits. Fritzsche adds υἱοῦ Χελκίου, "son of Chelcias," *i.e.* Hilkiah (the same name often recurs in genealogies), which is wanting in Codd. iii. 64, 243, 249, Co. Ald. The Syriac has Malchiah; Old Lat. and Vulg., Melchiæ; and Cod. 58, Μελχία. This is perhaps right = Malchijah, 1 Chron. ix. 12; Heb. מַלְכִּיָּה.

Eliab.] See 1 Sam. xvi. 6. Cod. x. Ἐνὰβ; Old Lat. Enar; Vulg. Enan; Syr. Gîr (!).

Nathanael.] Heb. נְתַנְאֵל. A.V. Nethaneel (1 Chron. ii. 14; John i. 46). Syr. Nethaniah, Vulg. Nathaniae; an equivalent name (2 Kings xxv. 23).

Samael.] Sammael, סַמָּאֵל, is the Rabbinical designation of the angel of death. Fritzsche edits Σαλαμιὴλ, *i.e.* שְׁלֻמִיאֵל, Shelumiel (Num. i. 6; ii. 12). The Syriac has Samuel; the Vulg. and Old Lat. Salathiel. Cod. x. gives Σαμαμιὴλ; Codd. 248, Co., Σαμαλιήλ.

Salasadai.] This should be Sarasadai, or more accurately, Σουρεισαδδαΐ (Cod. 108), *i.e.* Zurishaddai, Heb. צוּרִישַׁדָּי. Shelumiel, son of Zurishaddai, was tribal prince of Simeon, Num. i. 6; ii. 12. Judith was of the tribe of Simeon, ch. ix. 2. The Old Lat., Vulg., and Syriac omit this name. The Vulg. has, "the son of Simeon, son of Reuben;" the Syr. more correctly, "the son of Simeon, son of Israel." Bethulia may have been occupied by a Simeonite clan. Cf. the migrations of that tribe, 1 Chron. iv. 39 *seq.*

In the whole list Ewald thinks there must have originally been, as usual, twenty names: different MSS. omit single members of the lengthy list. But there are twenty-four names from Levi to Jehozadak in 1 Chron. vi. 1–14. Cf. also the other lists in that chapter.

2. *And Manasses, &c.*] Rather, "And her husband Manasses was of her tribe and of her clan, and he died in the days of barley-harvest." Volkmar observes that Manasses was a favourite name in the age of the Apocrypha. Cf. Tobit xiv. 10, and the Prayer of Manasses. He sees in Judith's husband the symbol of the virile strength of Judea, which was stricken down in the fatal time of the first great outbreak against Rome, which began in harvest (Joseph. 'B. J.' ii. 14. 3). The word πατριά, A.V. "kindred," is the rendering of the Heb. בֵּית אָב or מִשְׁפָּחָה, which are synonymous terms denoting father-house or clan, *i.e.* a collection of kindred families. Codd. 19, 108, 71, and the Syriac omit καὶ τῆς πατριᾶς αὐτῆς. The Vulg. has only: "And her husband was Manasses, who died," &c. It was the rule for a woman to marry within her own tribe and clan. Cf. Tobit i. 9. The object was to prevent the alienation of land from one tribe to another. Cf. Num. xxxvi.

3. *For as he stood.*] That which is told of Manasses appears to be a reminiscence of the story of the death of the Shunammitish woman's son, 2 Kings iv. 18 *sqq.* Lit. the Gk. says: "For he stood over him that was binding the sheaf." The singular is used in a collective sense, as often in Hebrew. Codd. iii. x. 19, 64, al. correct it into the plural. Cf. the Syriac, "for he was standing over the reapers in the field;" and the Vulgate, *Instabat enim super alligantes manipulos in campo.*

the heat.] Gk. καὶ ὁ καύσων, "and the summer heat." Cf. Matt. xx. 12, where the labourers in the vineyard speak of "the burden and *heat* of the day." Isa. xlix. 10: "neither shall the heat (Heb. שָׁרָב, *aestus*) nor the sun smite them." In the LXX. the word is also used of the hot blast of the sirocco, in full, ἄνεμος καύσων: cf. Jer. xviii. 17; Jon. iv. 9; where the Heb. is קָדִים, "the east wind." Fritzsche and Bissell assume this meaning here; but the former is more likely. A sunstroke is meant.

and he fell on his bed.] The Vulg. and Cod. x. omit this clause. But Syr. has it. It hardly means "took to his bed" (Bissell); but rather suggests that his strength gave way, when he had staggered to his bed.

4 So Judith was a widow in her house three years and four months.

5 And she made her a tent upon the top of her house, and put on sackcloth upon her loins, and ware her widow's apparel.

6 And she fasted all the days of her widowhood, save the eves of the sabbaths, and the sabbaths, and the eves of the new moons, and the new moons, and the feasts and solemn days of the house of Israel.

7 She was also of a goodly countenance, and very beautiful to behold:

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in the city of Betbulia.] Gk. "in Betylua his city." So Syr. and Vulg.

they buried him with his fathers.] Cf. 2 Chron. xxv. 28; xxvi. 23.

Balamo.] Gk. Balamōn. So Codd ii. iii. x. 23, 55, al. Vulgo, Βελαμών. Cf. ch. iv. 4, Belmen. Gesenius (Thesaur. *s. v.* pag. 225*b*) connects Balamon with Baal-hamon, where Solomon had a vineyard (Cant. viii. 11). Cf. the Syriac, ܒܥܠܡܘܢ, *Be'elmûn.* Wolff says Balamo or Belmen is *Ilâmeh*, three miles S.W. of *Zer'in.*

4. *four months.*] The Old Lat. (cod. Corb.) and Vulg. say *six.* Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 18; Dan. xii. 7; Rev. xii. 14. Volkmar remarks that the half of the sacred number *seven* is thus "the usual time assigned for the duration of seeming God-abandonment." The time is reckoned from the death of her husband to the Assyrian siege of Betylua.

5. *And she made her a tent upon the top of her house.*] That is, when she became a widow. A tent or chamber on the housetop was the most private part of the dwelling. Such a place of retirement was built for Elisha by the Shunammite, cf. 2 Kings iv. 10 (Heb.). It was on the housetop that "Samuel communed with Saul, 1 Sam. ix. 25, 26. A corner of a housetop represents solitude or concealment, in Prov. xxi. 9. It was a place for mourning, Isa. xxii. 1, Jer. xlviii. 38, cf. 2 Sam. xviii. 33; also for prayer, Acts x. 9, Ps. cii. 7." (Churton.) Obviously Judith made her tent for the religious exercises described immediately. The Heb. word was perhaps סֻכָּה, "a booth;" as in Deut. xvi. 13, Neh. viii. 16 (LXX. σκηνή). Cf. the Syr. ܡܛܠܠܬܐ, *umbraculum, tabernaculum:* Isa. i. 8; Lev. xxiii. 34.

ware her widow's apparel.] Lit. the garments of her widowhood were upon her. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 14, בִּגְדֵי אַלְמְנוּתָהּ, "the garments of her widowhood." The phrase recurs chh. x. 3, xvi. 8.

The Vulgate again varies from the other texts: "And in the upper part of her house she made her a secret bedchamber, in which she tarried shut up with her maids."

6. *she fasted all the days of her widowhood.*] Like the Muhammadans, the Jews fasted from morning till evening, and only partook of food after sundown. Judith is represented as prolonging her mourning for her husband beyond the usual month. Cf. Luke ii. 37; 1 Tim. v. 5.

the eves of the sabbaths.] The word is προσάββατον, "the *fore-sabbath,*" *i.e.* the evening of the day before the Sabbath, also called παρασκευή, "preparation:" cf. Mark xv. 42. At sunset on Friday the Sabbath began. Ps. xcii. is inscribed in the LXX.: εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου. The "eves of the new moons" is a similar expression: προνουμηνιῶν. Both are omitted in Cod. 58, the Syriac, and Vulgate.

Fasting on festivals was naturally forbidden. Judith is represented as observing the legal prescription with more than usual strictness, in that she interrupted her fast not only on festivals, but also on their eves. "Cautio diligentior addiderat προεόρτια et προσάββατα, nimirum *in sepimentum legis,* ne quid pridiani luctus in animo restaret diebus gaudio dicatis" (Grotius).

Instead of χωρὶς προσαββ. the Old Lat. has *praeter caenam puram.* It omits καὶ προνουμηνιῶν, except in Cod. Germ. 15.

"The feasts"—ἑορταὶ—are the other fixed festivals; "the solemn days," or rather "rejoicings," "festivities"—χαρμοσυναὶ—are extraordinary occasions of gladness. The Heb. was probably שִׂמְחָה. Cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 6; Jer. xxxiii. 11. The Syriac is ܚܕ̈ܘܬܐ, Num. x. 10. Cod. 58 adds καὶ μνημοσύνων, the Syr. ܘܥܘܗܕܢ̈ܐ, the Old Lat. *et memoriae,* i.e. "and days of remembrance," "commemorations."

7. *of a goodly countenance, and very beautiful to behold.*] The same Greek occurs in Gen. xxix. 17, for יְפַת תֹּאַר וִיפַת מַרְאֶה, "fair of form and fair of look." Esther was a prototype of Judith, in that she was beautiful (Esth. ii. 7) and pious (Esth. iv. 16), and the saviour of her people. Volkmar quotes the Sibylline verses (Sib. v. 259 ff.) to prove that Judith is Judea, and remarks, "Die liebliche Judäa wird gerade in dieser Zeit (*i.e.* Trajan's) eine Gestalt die vorschwebt und die man anredet." But this might equally well be alleged of the times of the Babylonian Exile. In general, his mode of identifying Judith with Judea (pp. 245 *sqq.*) is forced and fanciful. Cod. 58 adds after ὄψει, "*and wise in heart and good in understanding,*

and her husband Manasses had left her gold, and silver, and menservants, and maidservants, and cattle, and lands; [1]and she remained upon them.

[1] Or, *and she kept them.*

8 And there was none that gave her an ill word; for she feared God greatly.

9 Now when she heard the evil words of the people against the governor, that they fainted for lack of water; for Judith had heard [a]all the words that Ozias had spoken unto them, and that he had sworn to deliver the city unto the Assyrians after five days;

[a] ch. 7. 30, 31.

10 Then she sent her waiting-woman, that had the government of all things that she had, to call Ozias and Chabris and Charmis, the ancients of the city.

11 And they came unto her, and

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and she was very rich because her husband," &c. Similarly the Syriac and Old Lat.

Manasses.] After the words *vir ejus* the Old Lat. interpolates a pedigree which is obviously a duplicate of that of Judith: *filius Joseph, filii Achitob, fil. Melchis, fil. Elia* (or Heliab), *fil. Nathanahel, fil. Syrrasadac* (or Sarisada or Surisoda), *fil. Symeon, fil. Israel.*

had left.] Gk. ὑπελείπετο, "was leaving;" Vulg., *reliquerat;* Syr., "left."

For what follows, see Gen. xiii. 2; xxiv. 35; 2 Kings v. 26. "Men-servants" is παῖδας. Cf. also Isa. lii. 13, ὁ παῖς μου, "my servant;" Job i. 8.

and she remained upon them.] Gk. καὶ ἔμενεν (Codd. iii. x. 19, 108, al. ἔμεινεν) ἐπ' αὐτῶν (19, 108, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς). The meaning perhaps is, She maintained the property; she was capable, as well as opulent. Syriac, "and she stood (*i.e.* continued) in them." Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 50, "Menelaus remained in authority," ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς (or τῇ ἀρχῇ, iii. 44, al.). The Heb. may have been וַתָּקָם עֲלֵיהֶם, "and she was established over them," *i.e.* maintained her hold upon them. Cf. the Syriac and 2 Chron. xxi. 4. Churton explains: "As a virtuous and exemplary matron, she was 'a keeper at home' (Titus ii. 5) . . . dwelling amongst her own people, and caring for them (2 Kings iv. 13)." This would represent the Heb. וַתֵּשֶׁב בָּם, "and she dwelt in them." Vulg. omits.

8. *gave her an ill word.*] The Heb. phrase occurs Num. xiv. 36, A. V., "to bring slander upon . . . ," which renders the Gk. rather than the Heb.

for she feared God greatly.] In some rare cases, perhaps, piety is so evidently genuine as to obviate all suspicion and to disarm slander. But our Lord has said, "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake" (Matt. v. 11). Judith is represented as "fearing God" in the manner generally approved in her own and succeeding ages of Judaism. Grotius cites Ausonius:

"'Quae dos matronae pulcerrima?' 'Vita pudica.'
'Quae casta est?' 'De qua mentiri fama veretur.'"

Cf. also Plaut. 'Trinumm.' I. ii. 41 *sqq.*

9. *Now when she heard.*] Rather, "And she heard . . . because they fainted. And Judith heard . . . Ozias spake, how he sware," &c.

For "they fainted," Syr. has "their soul was grieved;" and after "Ozias spake unto them," it continues, "that he hearkened unto them, and sware unto them that after five days they were going to deliver the city to the sons of Asshur." So Cod. 58, ὡς ἐνωτήσατο (Gen. iv. 22) καὶ ὤμοσεν, κ.τ.λ. παραδώσειν τ. πόλιν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἀσσούρ.

10. *her waiting-woman.*] The Gk. is τὴν ἅβραν αὐτῆς, perhaps "her pretty one," "her favourite," the Lat. *delicata.* The word occurs in fragments of Menander. It is commonly connected with ἁβρὸς, "pretty," "soft," "dainty," &c. But some old grammarians call the word foreign, and write it ἅβρα (Liddell and Scott, *s. v.*). This rather suggests the Assyrian *abru*, Aramean חַבְרָא, ܚܒܪܐ, Heb. חָבֵר, *sodalis, socius.* The Syriac version here has adapted παραστάτις, "helper." Cf. Targ. Judg. v. 29. LXX. for Heb. נַעֲרָה, ἡ παῖς, *ancilla:* Gen. xxiv. 61; Exod. ii. 5; Esth. ii. 9; iv. 4, 16. In Exod. ii. 5 for אָמָה, *ancilla.*

that had the government of all things that she had.] Or, who was set over all her belongings. Cf. Eliezer, the steward of Abram (Gen. xv. 2; xxiv. 2); and Joseph as overseer of the house of Potiphar (Gen. xxxix. 4).

For τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῆς, cf. Gen. xii. 5: 1 Chron. xxviii. 1; Heb. רְכוּשׁ, "substance." Cod. 58 reads, ἐπὶ τοῖς ταμείοις αὐτῆς, "over her storehouses." Cf. the Syriac ܥܠ ܐܘܨܪ̈ܝܗ̇.

Ozias.] Codd. ii. iii. x. 19, al. omit Ὀζίαν καί. So also Syr., Vet. Lat. (cod. Corb.), and Vulg. But Ozias was the chief "governor" of the city (ch. vi. 15), and he answers Judith, *v.* 28

she said unto them, Hear me now, O ye governors of the inhabitants of Bethulia: for your words that ye have spoken before the people this day are not right, touching this oath which ye made and pronounced between God and you, and have promised to deliver the city to our enemies, unless within these days the Lord turn to help you.

12 And now who are ye that have tempted God this day, and stand instead of God among the children of men?

13 And now try the Lord Almighty, but ye shall never know anything.

14 [b]For ye cannot find the depth of the heart of man, neither can ye perceive the things that he thinketh: then how can ye search out God, that hath made all these things, and

[b] 1 Cor. 2. 11.

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infra. The Midrash (Jellinek, ii. 12 *sqq.*) says: "Judith the widow, the daughter of Beeri, when she heard that Uzziah had promised to surrender the city after five days, sent to call the priests Chabri and Carmi."

11. *O ye governors of the inhabitants of Bethulia.*] Cod. 58, the Syr., and Vet. Lat. have "*and* the inhabitants," &c., but the interview was a private one. Instead of ἐν βετυλουᾳ, Cod. 58 has την βατυλωαν.

your words . . . are not right.] εὐθής, Hellenistic for εὐθύς. See Thom. Magist. p. 383.

touching this oath.] Lit. "And ye ratified the oath which ye spake between God and you, and said that ye would surrender the city," &c. Codd. iii. 19, 23, al. read ὅρκον τοῦτον ὅν κ.τ.λ. "this oath," as A.V. The Syr. has: "And ye ratified the oaths which *they* sware between you and God." "Ratified" or "established" in the Gk. is ἐστήσατε = Heb. הֲקִים: cf. the Syr. ܐܩܝܡܬܘܢ. Cf. Gen. vi. 18; ix. 9, 11.

The oath of Ozias is not mentioned in ch. vii. 31, but is referred to again in ch. viii. 30.

the Lord turn to help you.] Cod. 58 reads: "The Lord our God turn for help upon us." Similarly Syr. and Old Lat. Codd. ii. iii. x. 249, Ald. have "you," as A.V.

12. *who are ye.*] In comparison with God. They had tempted Him, by fixing a time within which He must display His power; thus implying that even He could not save beyond that limit. Prescribing conditions to the Almighty, making presumptuous proof of His power and goodness, is exactly what is meant by the phrase "tempting God." Cf. Matt. iv. 7; Ps. lxxviii. 41 *sqq.*

stand instead of God.] Rather, "set yourselves above God." Gk. ἵστασθε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Θεοῦ. To prescribe conditions to God is to claim a certain superiority to Him.

The Old Lat. has: *Et adsistitis pro Deo in medio filiorum hominum;* the Syriac, "And ye have become gods among the sons of men." Cod. 58 and the Vulg. omit. "The children of men," Heb. בְּנֵי אָדָם, implies the impotence of the elders before God. They were only mortal men, like those around them. Cf. Isa. xxxi. 3: "Now the Egyptians are men, and not God."

13. *And now try the Lord Almighty.*] Rather, "And now it is the Lord Almighty that ye are proving." ἐξετάζω for בָּחַן, *exploravit*, Ps. vii. 9. In Mal. iii. 15 the same Heb. word means "to tempt God."

but ye shall never know anything.] Lit. "and nothing will ye find out ever." Their demand of help within five days was a futile attempt to force the hand of the Almighty, and to compel Him to disclose His inscrutable purpose. Cod. 58: "And it is the mind (νοῦν for νῦν) of the Lord Almighty that ye are tempting, and none shall know it ever." So the Syriac and Old Latin.

"The Lord Almighty," Κύριον παντοκράτορα, represents Heb. יְהוָֹה צְבָאוֹת, Jehovah Sabaoth, "The Lord of hosts," as in 2 Sam. vii. 8, 26, 27; and many other places.

14. *ye cannot find.*] Gk. εὑρήσετε, answering to the Heb. impf. (fut.), which is sometimes potential. See Driver's 'Heb. Tenses,' ch. iii. §§ 23, 37. Cod. 58, εὑρεθήσεται: so Syr. and Old Lat.

neither can ye perceive the things that he thinketh.] Gk. καὶ λόγους τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ οὐ διαλήψεσθε, "and thoughts of his understanding ye cannot seize (or grasp)." For λόγους Cod. 58 has διαλογισμούς, which is probably right, as representing Heb. מַחְשְׁבוֹת: cf. Ps. lvi. 5. The Syriac has the same word. "If you cannot read men's thoughts, much less can you hope to penetrate the secret counsels of the Most High." Cf. Jer. xvii. 9; Rom. xi. 33, 34; 1 Cor. ii. 11, 16; Prov. xxv. 3; Ps. xxxvi. 6; Job xi. 7, 8. On the ground of 1 Cor. *l. c.* Bleek tried to shew that Judith is quoted in the N. T.

The phrase "the words of his thought" may be compared with the Heb. אָמַר בְּלִבּוֹ, "he saith in his heart," *i.e.* he thinketh.

[c] 1 Cor. 2. 16.

[c]know his mind, or comprehend his purpose? Nay, my brethren, provoke not the Lord our God to anger.

15 For if he will not help us within these five days, he hath power to defend us when he will, even every day, or to destroy us before our enemies.

‖ Or, *engage*.

[d] Numb. 23. 19.

16 Do not ‖bind the counsels of the Lord our God: for [d]God is not as man, that he may be threatened; neither is he as the son of man, that he should be wavering.

17 Therefore let us wait for salvation of him, and call upon him to help us, and he will hear our voice, if it please him.

18 For there arose none in our age, neither is there any now in these

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Nay, my brethren.] Gk. μηδαμῶς ἀδελφοί. Fritzsche says this is the answer to the preceding question. But then why not οὐδαμῶς? Surely the sense is rightly given by the A.V.: "By no means (do so), brethren." Or the μηδαμῶς may be regarded as simply strengthening the μή which follows: "In no wise, brethren, provoke ye," &c. Cf. 'Oed. Col.' 278. The Syriac has only one negative particle here.

15. More exactly: "Because if He be not willing to help us in the five days, He hath the power to shelter in what days he chooseth, or also to destroy us before the face of our enemies." Cod. 58 omits the first clause, ὅτι ἐὰν . . . βοηθῆσαι ἡμῖν, but the Syriac has it. "To shelter"—σκεπάσαι—probably represents the Heb. גָּנַן (2 Kings xix. 34; xx. 6); at least that root is used in the Syriac here, which concludes the verse thus: "*He* is able, when he willeth, to protect us, and to break our enemies before us." The emphatic *He* of the second clause—Gk. αὐτὸς—represents the Heb. הוּא. So Syr.

16. *Do not bind.*] Gk. ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ ἐνεχυράζετε. "But, for your part, take not in pledge (or distrain not) the counsels," &c. Cf. Dem. 762. 4. Fritzsche says the word means *auspfänden*, "to distrain," and is used figuratively in the sense of "to force." The Old Lat. renders: *nolite ignorare* (a scribe's error for *pignorare*, "to pledge, pawn"), or *nolite praepignerare*. The Syriac: "Do not pledge the purpose of the Lord God" (ܠܐ ܬܡܫܟܢܘܢ).

From the middle of *v.* 12 to this point the Vulgate varies thus: "And who are ye who are tempting the Lord? Your words are not such as to provoke pity, but rather to rouse anger and kindle indignation. You have fixed a time for the Lord's compassion, and according to your own will you have appointed Him a day. But because the Lord is patient, let us repent in this very matter, and crave His pardon with floods of tears."

God is not as man, &c.] In this sentence it is evident that the translator had in his mind the inaccurate LXX. rendering of Num. xxiii. 19. The Heb. there, rightly rendered by A.V., "God is not a man that he should lie, neither the (a) son of man that he should repent," is thus misconstrued in the LXX.: οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεὸς διαρτηθῆναι, οὐδ' ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀπειληθῆναι. Our present passage simply transposes the two verbs. The Syriac has: "Because He is not as a man that He should be revealed (ܢܬܓܠܐ), nor as a son of man that He should be minished" (or made inferior: ܢܬܒܨܪ), Exod. v. 11; 2 Cor. xii. 13. Διαρτηθῆναι means "to be suspended," both lit. and metaph. Here the sense is rightly given by A.V.: that He should waver, or hesitate in His purpose, owing to your presumption: *ut animo pendeat*.

The common reading διαιτηθῆναι was explained by Grotius, Wahl, and others: "ut in jus vocetur = ut ad judicium subeundum cogatur." The verb διαιτᾶν has the secondary sense, "to be umpire," and "to determine or decide a matter;" but the idea of bringing God before a tribunal to answer for His failure to help within the specified time does not suit the context. Schleusner, followed by De Wette, renders, "that He should be prevailed upon by prayer." But a verb διαιτέω is unknown; and the Old. Lat. *extollitur*, and S. Cyprian's quotation of Num. xxiii. 19, which has *suspenditur* (Cypr. 'Testim. contr. Jud.' ii. 20), support the reading διαρτηθῆναι, which is that of Codd. 19, 23, 44, 55, al., and is established by the LXX. of Num. *l. c.* Vulg.: "For not as a man will God threaten, nor like a son of man will He be inflamed unto wrath." It continues thus: "And therefore let us humble our souls unto Him, and, being disposed in a humble spirit, serving Him, Let us say weeping unto the Lord that, according to His own will, He should shew His mercy upon us: that, as our heart is troubled at their arrogancy, so also we may boast ourselves in our humility."

17. *salvation of him.*] τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν. Heb. prob. יְשׁוּעָתוֹ, "his salvation." So Syr.

voice.] Some MSS. have δεήσεως, "prayer," as in ch. ix. 12. Syr., "our voice."

18. *For there arose none in our age.*] Or, "For there hath not arisen in our genera-

days, neither tribe, nor family, nor ¹people, nor city, among us, which worship gods made with hands, ᵉas hath been aforetime.

19 For the which cause our fathers were given to the sword, and for a spoil, and had a great fall before our enemies.

20 But we know none other god, therefore we trust that he will not despise us, nor any of our nation.

21 For if we be taken so, all Judea

¹ Or, *town*.
ᵉ Judg. 2. 11. & 4. 1. & 6. 1.

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tions." The aorist here represents a Hebrew perfect, and may well be rendered accordingly. "Our generations," *i.e.* according to Heb. idiom, "our contemporaries;" cf. Gen. vi. 9.

What follows may be translated, "Neither is there at the present day either a tribe or a fatherhouse, or a clan or a city of us, that worship gods made with hands, as it happened in the former days."

The "fatherhouse" (Gk. πατριὰ, Heb. בֵּית אָב) and the "clan" (Gk. δῆμος, Heb. מִשְׁפָּחָה) represent subdivisions of the tribe. For the latter, cf. Num. i. 20, 22, 24, *et passim.* Fritzsche, therefore, is wrong in making δῆμος equivalent to the German *Gau*, Lat. *pagus*, as opposed to πόλις, "city." In Heb. "fatherhouse" and "clan" are synonyms. The Syr. ܫܪܒܬܐ (*gens*) and the Old Lat. *populus* render the Gk. δῆμος, not the Heb. מִשְׁפָּחָה. For "the former days," cf. Num. vi. 12; Heb. x. 32.

The statements made in this and the two following verses harmonize with those of chh. iv. 3; v. 18, 19, which fix the plot of the story in the time subsequent to the Return from the Babylonish Exile. The restored community never relapsed into the old idolatries of the kingly period.

gods made with hands.] The LXX. of Isaiah renders the Heb. אֱלִילִים, "idols," by τὰ χειροποίητα, "the things made with hands," in Isa. ii. 18, x. 11, xix. 1, and elsewhere. That may have been the term here. But cf. also Ps. cxv. 4, "Their idols are silver and gold, *a work of human hands;*" Isa. ii. 8; Mic. v. 13.

19. *For the which cause.*] Gk. ὧν χάριν: cf. τοῦ χάριν, "for what reason?" (Aristoph. 'Plut.' 53), and ἀνθ' ὧν, "wherefore = in return for which proceedings" (Aesch. 'Prom.' 31). The Vulg. well: *Pro quo scelere dati sunt in gladium.* The Heb. was prob. עַל־כֵּן or לָכֵן, "therefore."

had a great fall.] In the Gk. a cognate accusative, ἔπεσον πτῶμα μέγα. So the Syriac, ܢܦܠܘ ܡܦܘܠܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ, Heb. וַיִּפְּלוּ מַפֶּלֶת גְּדוֹלָה, "And they fell a great fall." Like the Gk. πτῶμα, the Heb. noun also signifies "corpse" (Judg. xiv. 8); but that meaning does not suit here.

our enemies.] "*Their* enemies," the reading of Cod. 44, al., and Syriac, Old Lat., and Vulg., is more natural, though Fritzsche thinks otherwise.

The allusion is to the final overthrow of the kingdom of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar—a catastrophe to which all the prophets had pointed as the sure result of perpetually renewed apostasy (Isa. vi. 11, 12).

20. Cod. 58 omits verses 18, 19, and begins this one with ἕτερον γὰρ Θεὸν οὐκ ἔγνωμεν, κ.τ.λ.

But we know.] The *we* is emphatic, being opposed to "our fathers." Gk. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔγνωμεν (Codd. iii., x., 52, 55, 58, al.), or ἐγνώκαμεν (Codd. 23, 44, al.). The common text has ἐπέγνωμεν. The Heb. וַאֲנַחְנוּ לֹא יָדַעְנוּ might be rendered by either of the verbs; but ἡμεῖς δὲ . . . οὐκ ἴσμεν would be best. Cf. for the phrase, Deut. xxix. 26, xxxii. 17; Isa. xxvi. 13. "To know" in this sense is to *recognize* and *regard.* "Beside him" (πλὴν αὐτοῦ, Vulg. *praeter ipsum*) should be added at the end of the clause. Cf. Isa. xliv. 8.

despise us.] Or, "overlook, disregard us:" ὑπερόψεται ἡμᾶς.

nor any of our nation.] The Gk. is οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, which Fritzsche explains, like the A.V., by an elliptic τινά, comparing Isa. lviii. 7, "And that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh," which the LXX. renders: καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τοῦ σπέρματός σου οὐχ ὑπερόψει, "and thou shalt not overlook one of the kindred of thy seed." Cod. 58 supplies more than this: οὐδ' ἀποστήσει τὸ σωτήριον ἔλεος αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ., "nor *remove his saving mercy* from our nation." So the Old Lat.: *nec auferet salvationem et misericordiam suam a nobis et a genere nostro.* Codd. 19, 108 get rid of the difficulty by οὐδὲ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν. Fritzsche says, "Die W. οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν fehlen im Syr." But that version gives the verse thus: "But *we* know not a God besides Him, that He should turn away His face *from our people:*" ܡܢ ܥܡܢ.

21. *For if we be taken so.*] The οὕτως probably belongs rather to the following verb. Translate, "For when we are taken (lit. *in* or *through* our being taken—a common Heb.

shall lie waste, and our sanctuary shall be spoiled; and he will require the profanation thereof at our mouth.

22 And the [1]slaughter of our brethren, and the captivity of the country, and the desolation of our inheritance, will he turn upon our heads among the Gentiles, wheresoever we shall be in bondage; and we shall be an offence and a reproach to all them that possess us.

23 For our servitude shall not be directed to favour: but the Lord our God shall turn it to dishonour.

24 Now therefore, O brethren, let us shew an example to our brethren,

[1] Or, *fear.*

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construction), all Judea will in that case be brought low." The Heb. may have been וְנָמוֹט, "then will totter." This verb is rendered *κλιθήσεται* in Ps. civ. 5: cf. Ps. xlvi. 8: also Aesch. 'Pers.' 929:—

> *'Ασία δὲ χθὼν, βασιλεῦ γαίας,*
> *αἰνῶς αἰνῶς ἐπὶ γόνυ κέκλιται.*

Or we might compare the phrases *κλίνειν πρὸς φυγὴν*, "to turn to flight," like the Lat. *inclinatur acies* (Polyb. i. 27. 8); and the Homeric *Τρῶας δ' ἔκλιναν Δαναοί* (Il. v. 37).

κλιθήσεται is the reading of Codd. 19, 23, 44, 64, al., in some of which it is spelt *κληθήσεται*, owing to Itacism. The common reading *καθήσεται*, "will sit," is explained by Gaab, Schleusner, and De Wette, *se subjiciet*, i.e. *quieta sedebit.* But the context requires something stronger. Fritzsche suggests *καυθήσεται*, "shall be consumed," but considers *κλιθήσεται* original. The Syriac gives the general sense very well: "Because, if we be delivered up, all Judah will be delivered up also." So Cod. 58: *ἐν γὰρ τῷ ληφθῆναι ἡμᾶς ληφθήσεται πᾶσα κ.τ.λ.*; and Old Lat. Judith argues that there is ground of hope in the fact that the fall of Betylua would involve that of the whole country. God would not permit *that.*

and he will require the profanation thereof at our mouth.] Cod. 58 omits this and all that follows to the end of *v.* 25. The meaning is, God will make us answerable for the desecration of His sanctuary. "He will seek from our mouth the profanation thereof;" *i.e.* He will demand of us the reason of it.

Instead of "our mouth"—*στόματος*—Codd. ii. iii. x. 55, 19, 108 have *αἵματος*, and so the Syriac: ܢܬܒܥ ܡܪܝܐ ... ܛܡ ܕܡܢ, "The Lord will exact their pollution from our blood;" that is, He will take vengeance on us for it. So Old Lat. Fritzsche calls this "a wholly abortive correction," due to the fact that *στόματος* was not understood; and he points out that it is not in accordance with Hebrew idiom: cf. Gen. ix. 5; Ezek. iii. 18. The phrase was "to seek (or exact) the blood of a man from the hand of a man." Wahl therefore can hardly be right in explaining *ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἡμῶν* by reference to the oath of Ozias to surrender the city after five days' delay (*v.* 11; ch. vii. 31). The sense is not "*Judea* will require" (Churton); the subject is the same as in *v.* 22, "will he turn:" cf. *v.* 23, "the Lord our God shall turn."

22. *will be turn upon our heads.*] The phrase and construction are the same as in Judges ix. 57: "And all the evil of the men of Shechem did God render [return, requite] upon their heads [upon their own head]." Cf. 1 Kings ii. 33; 1 Sam. xxv. 39. The sense, therefore, is: God will requite us as the guilty authors of our country's ruin with extreme sufferings in the land of our captivity.

we shall be an offence.] *ἐσόμεθα εἰς πρόσκομμα*: cf. Isa. viii. 14, "And he shall be for a stone of stumbling"—Heb. אֶבֶן נֶגֶף. In Exod. xxiii. 33 *πρόσκομμα* represents the Heb. מוֹקֵשׁ, *snare.* The same idea, that of *obstacle* or *hindrance*, underlies both Hebrew expressions, as is evident from Isa. viii. 14, where both occur. Cf. Ecclus. xvii. 19; xxxi. 7, 35. We shall become objects of offence, a butt of scorn and abuse to our enslavers.

to all them that possess us.] Rather, "before them that get possession of us." The word is *κτωμένων*, not *κεκτημένων*. Syr. "before all our neighbours"—probably a corruption of "our captors"—ܫܒ̈ܒܝܢ for ܫܒܝܢ.

23. *directed to favour.*] As in the case of the captive Jehoiachin (2 Kings xxv. 27 *sqq.*), and of the whole nation under Cyrus and Artaxerxes (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 *seq.*; Ezra and Neh. *passim*). Cf. also the stories of Joseph, Daniel, and Esther. "He made them also to be pitied of all those that carried them captives," Ps. cvi. 46.

turn it to dishonour.] *εἰς ἀτιμίαν θήσει αὐτήν.* Hos. iv. 7; Isa. xxii. 18 (where the Greek is wrong). The verse well illustrates the thought that God's providence extends to all conditions of life—the most depressed as well as the most exalted. Exile and slavery do not terminate His influence for good or for evil. He can and does overrule even the seemingly irresponsible and arbitrary will of the foreign conqueror.

24. *Now therefore.*] And now (in conclusion).

because their hearts depend upon us, and the sanctuary, and the house, and the altar, rest upon us.

25 Moreover let us give thanks to the Lord our God, which trieth us, even as he did our fathers.

26 Remember what things he did to [f] Abraham, and how he tried Isaac, and what happened to [g] Jacob in Mesopotamia of Syria, when he kept the sheep of Laban his mother's brother.

27 For he hath not tried us in the fire, as he did them, for the examination of their hearts, neither hath he taken vengeance on us: but the Lord

[f] Gen. 22. 1.
[g] Gen. 28. 7.

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let us shew an example to our brethren, because, &c.] Fritzsche would translate: "Let us prove to our brethren that their life depends . . . Let us demonstrate it by our deeds—namely, by saving them and the sanctuary." But the A.V. seems to give a better sense. The verb ἐπιδείκνυμαι may mean *to display one's powers* or *qualities*—e.g. σοφίαν, ἀρετήν (cf. Xen. 'Anab.' i. 9, 16)—and may be used absolutely (cf. Plat. 'Phaedo,' 235 B). For ἐξ ἡμῶν κρέμαται (ἐκκρέμ.: Codd. 19, 108, al.) ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν, cf. Gen. xliv. 30, where the Heb. נַפְשׁוֹ קְשׁוּרָה בְנַפְשׁוֹ, "his life is bound up in his life," is so rendered by the LXX. The meaning of ψυχὴ seems to be the same here; though the Heb. term לֵבָב, לֵב, "heart," "courage," is sometimes rendered ψυχὴ: cf. Isa. vii. 2, 4; xiii. 7. The A. V. understands the latter sense: "their hearts," *i.e.* their courage, "depend on us;" but "the slaughter of our brethren," *v.* 22, favours the former, and so the Syriac.

the sanctuary.] Greek τὰ ἅγια; cf. *v.* 21. The term includes what follows, "the house," *i.e.* the temple building, and "the altar," *i.e.* the great altar of sacrifice. The Syr. has ܩܘܕܫܐ "the sanctuary." Wahl explains *officia sacra, cultus divinus;* but the Heb. was probably קֹדֶשׁ, which is rendered τὰ ἅγια in Zeph. iii. 4, Mal. ii. 11, and elsewhere, not עֲבֹדַת בֵּית ה״: cf. 1 Chron. ix. 13. Wolff argues that this mention of the Temple proves that ch. iv. 3, v. 18, 19, are interpolations, as the Temple was not rebuilt for some twenty years after the Return—an argument which is more than doubtful. But the passage is good against Volkmar's theory, which supposes that, at the time when Judith was written, the Jews had only an altar on the holy site.

rest.] ἐπεστήρικται, for which Fritzsche edits ἐπεστήρισται, from Codd. ii. x. 55. Cf. Ps. lxxi. 6, "Upon thee have I been supported from the womb;" also Judg. xvi. 26, 27. Compare with the whole verse 1 Macc. iii. 58 *sqq.*

25-27. Let us thank our God, who is trying our faith, not punishing our sins; because trial is a proof of His favour. Cf. Deut. viii. 5; Heb. xii. 5, 6; Ps. xciv. 12.

25. *Moreover.*] Rather: On account of all this, therefore: Greek παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα. Codd. 19, 108 have the easier διά. Syriac: "And besides all these things, we shall please God," &c.

26. *what things . . . how . . . what.*] Greek ὅσα, *how much.*

Isaac.] Fritzsche says the sole reference is to the intended offering of him. But the traditional trials of Isaac were in part the same as Abraham's: cf. Gen. xxv. 21 with xvi. 1; and xxvi. 1-11 with 12. For other trials of Isaac, see Gen. xxvi. 34, 35 (the Hittite marriages of Esau); cf. xxiv. 3, 4, and xxvii. (the fraud practised upon him by Rebekah and Jacob, and the consequent exile of the latter). The Syriac has: "Remember all that he did with Abraham and Isaac." So Cod. 58 and Old Lat.

Mesopotamia of Syria.] The LXX. reading of Heb. פַּדַּן אֲרָם (not שְׂרָם, as Fritzsche, ? misprint) in Gen. xxv. 20; xxviii. 6, 7, &c.: cf. Hos. xii. 13, πεδίον Συρίας=Heb. שְׂדֵה אֲרָם. Cod. 58 and the Syriac omit τῆς Συρίας. The latter has *Bêth-Nabrîn*, cf. Assyrian *mât-Nabrî* or *Na-i-rî*. That Padan-Aram really means, as Hos. *l. c.* implies, "the plain, or open country, of Aram," appears also from comparison of the Assyr. *padânu*, which in II. R. 62, 33 explains the usual ideograph for *iqlu*, "field," and *ginû*, "garden" (GAN=*padânu*).

27. *tried us in the fire.*] The Greek is ἐπύρωσεν, "he burnt," "tested by fire," a word used by the LXX. to render Heb. צָרַף, "to melt or smelt" gold and silver; and so "test" men by trial, δοκιμάζειν. Cf. Ps. xii. 6, xxvi. 2; Zech. xiii. 9.

neither hath he taken vengeance on us.] The whole verse literally rendered would run somewhat thus: "Because not—as them he tested by fire for proof of their heart—also us he not punished; but for admonition the Lord scourgeth those who draw nigh unto Him." Both negatives belong to the verb "punished," which is the emphatic word. The οὐ is repeated before ἐξεδίκησεν, owing to the parenthetic reference to the trial of the

doth scourge them that come near unto him, to admonish them.

28 Then said Ozias to her, All that thou hast spoken hast thou spoken with a good heart, and there is none that may gainsay thy words.

29 For this is not the first day wherein thy wisdom is manifested; but from the beginning of thy days all the people have known thy understanding, because the disposition of thine heart is good.

30 But the people were very thirsty, and compelled us to do unto them as we have spoken, and to bring an oath upon ourselves, which we will not break.

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patriarchs. The sense is: Let us give thanks, because, as was the case with our ancestors, what we have suffered is in the way of trial, not of vengeance. The last clause states a general truth about the Divine dealings, applicable to both cases. Cf. Heb. xii. 6: "For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth."

to admonish them.] Greek *εἰς νουθέτησιν*. Quoted by S. Clem. Alex. 'Strom.' ii. 447. Codd. 58, 243, al., *εἰς νουθεσίαν*, which occurs Wisd. xvi. 6; 1 Cor. x. 11. The former is used by Plato, *e.g.* 'Republ.' 399 B. The Syriac gives *vv.* 26, 27 thus: "Remember all that He did, &c. when He examined (ܒܨܐ) them for trial of their heart. And to us also it happened not for vengeance, but for chastisement, that the Lord smote us, because we are nigh unto Him." Cod. 58 has *οὐκ εἰς ἐκδίκησιν* instead of *οὐκ ἐξεδίκησε*; and so Old Lat.

28. *spoken . . . spoken.*] *εἶπας . . . ἐλάλησας*; Heb. אָמַרְתְּ–דִּבַּרְתְּ, i.e. *said . . . spoken.*

with a good heart.] *ἐν ἀγαθῇ καρδίᾳ, i.e.* with good intent.

that may gainsay.] The Greek *ὃς ἀντιστήσεται*, lit. "who will withstand," represents a Heb. participle (אֵין קָם עַל; cf. Syriac); so that A. V. need not be altered. The Vulgate gives *vv.* 20–27 thus: "Let us humbly await His comfort, and He will require our blood from the afflictions of our enemies, and will humble all the heathen that rise up against us, and the Lord our God will make them without honour. And now, brethren, since ye are elders among the people of God, and their life depends upon you, lift their hearts unto your speech, that they may remember that our fathers were tempted, that they might be tested whether they truly served their God. They should be mindful how our father Abraham was tempted, and, after having been tested by many tribulations, was made the friend of God. So Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and all they who pleased God, passed faithful through many tribulations. But they that received not temptations with the fear of the Lord, and uttered against the Lord their impatience and the reproach of their murmuring, were destroyed by the destroyer, and perished by serpents. And, for ourselves, therefore, let us not avenge ourselves for these things that we suffer; but reckoning these self-same punishments to be less than our sins, let us believe the scourges of the Lord, wherewith like slaves we are beaten, to have fallen out for our correction and not for our destruction."

29. *For this is not the first day, &c.*] Greek *ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡ σοφία σου πρόδηλός ἐστιν*. Syr.: "Because it hath not been from to-day (that) thy wisdom has been known." Cod. 58: *ἐκ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας*. So Old Lat.

from the beginning of thy days.] Syr., "from the former days."

because the disposition, &c.] So the Syr.: "because good is the thought (ܡܚܫܒܬܐ) of thine heart." Bissell strangely corrects, "*and that* the disposition," &c., remarking that "*Because* seems not to be just the force of *καθότι* here" (!). Doubtless it represents Heb. כַּאֲשֶׁר, "according as," "inasmuch as," "because." Cod. 58 omits the clause.

disposition.] The Gr. *πλάσμα*, cf. Old Lat. *figmenta*, is a literal reading of the Heb. יֵצֶר, *fictio*, and then *meditatio*, *cogitatio*. Gen. vi. 5; viii. 21.

30. *the people were very thirsty, and (they) compelled.*] The first verb is sing., the second plur. according to the usual Heb. construction. Codd. iii. x. 23, 44 alter the second to sing.

to do unto them as we have spoken.] Rather, "to do as we spake unto them." The Syr. has, "to do unto them as we said unto them, and they brought upon us the oath, and we cannot transgress it." Cf. Cod. iii. *ἐπήγαγεν*. Fritzsche edits *ἐπαγαγεῖν* from Codd. x. 19, 23, 44, 55, al. Old Lat. *inducere*. The common reading *ἀπαγαγεῖν* is meaningless. The Heb. was prob. וַיָּבִיאוּ עָלֵינוּ, "and they caused to come upon us." The whole of the last clause, *καὶ ἐπαγ. . . . παραβησόμ.* is omitted by Cod. 58. The excuse of Ozias is like that of Saul: 1 Sam. xiii. 11 *seq.*; xv. 21–24.

31 Therefore now pray thou for us, because thou art a godly woman, and the Lord will send us rain to fill our cisterns, and we shall faint no more.

32 Then said Judith unto them, Hear me, and I will do a thing, which shall go throughout all generations to the children of our nation.

33 Ye shall stand this night in the gate, and I will go forth with my waiting-woman: and within the days that ye have promised to deliver the city to our enemies the Lord will visit Israel by mine hand.

34 But enquire not ye of mine act: for I will not declare it unto you, till the things be finished that I do.

35 Then said Ozias and the princes unto her, Go in peace, and the Lord God be before thee, to take vengeance on our enemies.

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we will not break.] Or, *may not*, *cannot*, answering to Heb. imperfect. So the Syr. ܘܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܝܢܢ ܠܡܕܓܠܘ. According to ancient ideas, an oath was inviolable even when it had been obtained by fraud (Josh. ix. 19, 20) or force. Otherwise vengeance would ensue. (So Fritzsche. Bissell, apparently misunderstanding him, "Even the *unnecessary* oath could not be broken." ? *der erschlichene* oder *abgenöthigte* Eid.) Cf. also Jephthah's "I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot go back" (Judg. xi. 35, quoted by Churton).

31. *pray thou for us.*] Cod. 58 adds: καὶ τάχα εἰσακούσεται ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. So the Syr. "Perchance the Lord our God will answer thee;" and Old Lat. (prob. original).

godly.] Greek εὐσεβής. This word renders צַדִּיק, "just," in Isa. xxiv. 16; xxvi. 7. But εὐσέβεια is used for "the fear of the Lord" in Isa. xxxiii. 6, xi. 2 (cf. Prov. i. 7); and the Syr. here has "fearing God." Probably, therefore, the Heb. was יראת אלהים: cf. Cod. 58, θεοσεβής, and Job i. 1, 8; ii. 3; ch. xi. 17. Vulg. "quoniam mulier sancta es, et *timens Deum*." (It omits the rest of the verse.)

rain.] The rain. Not "the desired or the needful rain" (Fritzsche), but "the thing rain," as distinct from all other things (*generic* use of the article; so "the sun").

we shall faint no more.] οὐκ ἐκλείψομεν ἔτι. See on ch. vii. 22. Syr. ܘܠܐ ܢܣܘܦ, "and we shall not be consumed."

32. *I will do a thing.*] Syr. "I will do a thing of wisdom," ܨܒܘܬܐ ܕܚܟܡܬܐ. Cod. 58, πρᾶγμα σοφίας. So Old Lat. But cf. 1 Sam. iii. 11. Instead of this verse the Vulg. has: "And I said unto them: As ye know that what I have been able to say is of God, so prove ye whether what I have resolved to do is from God, and pray that God make my purpose firm." Volkmar refers to Esth. ix. 28.

the children of our nation.] Not literally "children," nor "descendants," but synonymous with "children of Israel," and so equivalent to "our fellow-countrymen."

33. *Ye shall stand.*] The *ye* is emphatic. Probably the καὶ ὑμεῖς of Codd. 19, 108 is correct. Cod. 58 has the better Greek, ὑμεῖς γάρ. The elders were to be at the gate to see that she kept her word, and to facilitate her egress.

waiting-woman.] See *v.* 10. The Syr. has "her maid," using the word ܛܠܝܬܗ, which appears in Mark v. 41 (Ταλιθὰ κοῦμι). This suggests Heb. נַעֲרָה. Vulg. *cum abra mea*, retaining the Greek word. Cf. Exod. xi. 5; Esth. iv. 4. Judith's promise does not consist with her rebuke of the Elders, unless it be assumed that she speaks under inspiration.

within the days.] Lit. in the days after which. Codd. 19, 108, "in the *five* days."

will visit.] ἐπισκέψεται. See ch. iv. 15. The καὶ before this word in Cod. 108 is probably original. Instead of "will visit Israel by mine hand," *i.e.* through my instrumentality, the Syr. has, "will deliver Israel as I hope." Cod. 58 adds, καθότι ἐγὼ πέποιθα. Similarly Old Lat. The Vulg. puts it less categorically: "And pray ye that, as ye have said, in five days the Lord may visit his people Israel."

34. *enquire not ye.*] But, on your part, ye shall not inquire. Old Lat. *non scrutabitis*. In Heb. this would be a strong prohibition, Ye must not inquire.

declare.] Fritzsche edits ἐρῶ. Codd. iii. x. 19, 52, al. have ἀναγγελῶ; 58, 248, Co. Ald., ἀπαγγελῶ; Old Lat. *renuntiabo*. Syr., "I am not going to reveal." Vulg. *et usque dum renunciem vobis, nihil aliud fiat nisi oratio pro me ad Dominum Deum nostrum.*

35. *Go in peace.*] Lit. go into peace. Judges xviii. 6; 1 Sam. i. 17; Luke vii. 50, viii. 48. The meaning is: go and prosper. Vulg. *vade in pace*.

the Lord God be before thee.] *Go* rather than *be*. Cf. Deut. ix. 3; Judges iv. 14;

36 So they returned from the tent, and went to their wards.

CHAPTER IX.

1 Judith humbleth herself, 2 and prayeth God to prosper her purpose against the enemies of his sanctuary.

THEN Judith fell upon her face, and put ashes upon her head, and uncovered the sackcloth wherewith she was clothed; and about the time that the incense of that evening was offered in Jerusalem in the house of the Lord Judith cried with a loud voice, and said,

2 O Lord God of my father [a] Simeon, to whom thou gavest a sword to take vengeance of the strangers,

[a] Gen. 34. 2, 25, &c.

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2 Sam. v. 24. Jehovah went before the host of Israel to battle, according to these passages. So the Syr., which repeats the former verb: "And the Lord go before thee, and avenge us of our enemies!" But Vulg.: *et Dominus sit tecum.*

36. *the tent.*] *I.e.* the private chamber on the roof of Judith's house, *v.* 5. Cod. 58 makes this clearer: καὶ ἀποστρέψαντες κατέβησαν ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπορεύθ. κ.τ.λ. So Old Lat., but not the Syr.

their wards.] Or *stations*, διατάξεις; cf. Old Lat. *dispositiones.* The Syr. says, "to their houses;" perhaps because it seemed unsuitable to assign guard posts to the governors of the city. Cf. ch. vii. 32, "to their own charge." The Vulg. has simply: *et revertentes abierunt.*

CHAPTER IX.

1. *Then* (*but*) *Judith fell upon her face.*] Prostrated herself in prayer, like Moses, Num. xvi. 4. ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς is the reading of Cod. 58, and so Syr. and Old Lat. Fritzsche omits the pronoun. Cf. ch. iv. 11, "Thus every man . . . fell before the temple, and cast ashes upon their heads, and spread out their sackcloth before the face of the Lord." Like Esther and like Judas Maccabæus, Judith arms herself with prayer (Volkmar). Cf. the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in the Greek Esther, ch. iv.

The verb ἐπέθετο, "put on," occurs also in ch. iv. 10; x. 3; xvi. 7.

uncovered the sackcloth wherewith she was clothed.] She made the rough garment of her mourning visible, by pulling off or rending what she wore above it: thus "spreading out her sackcloth before the Lord." Cf. 2 Kings vi. 30; xix. 1, 14; and ch. viii. 5 *supra.*

The verb ἐγύμνωσε, "laid bare," "stripped," represents Heb. גִּלָּה, as in Gen. ix. 21. (So Syr.) The Syr. says: She cast ashes upon her head, *and rent her mantle*, and the sackcloth wherewith she was clothed was revealed. Cod. 58: καὶ διέρρηξε τὸν χιτῶνα αὐτῆς. So Old Lat. This may be original, though perhaps it is only a correct gloss.

ἐνεδιδύσκετο, "was clothed," occurs in Luke viii. 27: cf. xvi. 19; Mark xv. 17; 2 Kings i. 24. 'Ενδεδύκει (Codd. x. 23, al.) and ἐδεδύκει (iii) are false improvements. Cf. ch. x. 3.

and about the time, &c.] Lit. "and there was just being offered in Jerusalem in (εἰς) the house of God the incense of that evening. And Judith cried," &c.

The coincidence of the time of Judith's prayer with the hour of the evening incense—itself a symbol of prayer, Rev. viii. 3—may be compared with a similar coincidence related in 2 Kings iii. 20.

For the rubric of the morning and evening incense, see Exod. xxx. 7, 8. Cf. also Luke i. 9, 10. "The Lord" is the reading of Codd. iii. 55, al.; and "Lord" (*i.e.* Jehovah) of 58, the Syr., Old Lat., &c.

with a loud voice.] Add, *unto the Lord.*

2. *O Lord God of my father Simeon.*] See ch. viii. 1. What follows is an allusion to the joint revenge of Simeon and Levi upon Shechem and his people, for the rape of their sister Dinah, as recorded in Gen. xxxiv. In the original narrative Jacob is represented as strongly disapproving of the slaughter of the Shechemites, because he dreaded reprisals. Cf. the curse, Gen. xlix. 5–7; xlii. 24. The writer of the present pseudo-history, or didactico-historical romance, regards this ancient tale of vengeance on an alien community with the warm approval which was natural in and after the times of the Maccabean struggles, when hatred of "the heathen" had been intensified to the utmost by oppression and outrage. It is not necessary to attempt to reconcile or explain away the difference of feeling evident in the two narratives, which indeed appears also in the Targum, Gen. xlix. 5 *sqq.*: "Simeon and Levi are brethren, mighty men; in the land of their sojourn they did a mighty deed." But the final curse is not altered.

to whom thou gavest a sword.] Fritzsche edits ᾧ ἔδωκας ἐν χειρὶ ῥομφαίαν. The reading of Codd. 19, 108, ᾧ ἔδ. ῥομφ. ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, "in whose hand thou didst put a sword," better represents Heb. idiom. So the Midrash, Jellinek ii. p. 12.

to take vengeance.] Lit. "unto (*i.e.* with a

who loosened the girdle of a maid to defile her, and discovered the thigh to her shame, and polluted her virginity to her reproach; for thou saidst, It shall not be so; and yet they did so:

3 Wherefore thou gavest their rulers to be slain, so that they dyed their bed in blood, being deceived, and smotest the servants with their lords, and the lords upon their thrones;

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view to) vengeance;" *εἰς ἐκδίκησιν*. Cf. "to defile her," lit. "for defilement," *εἰς μίασμα*; "to be slain," lit. "unto slaughter," *εἰς φόνον* (*v.* 3); and "to be captives," lit. "unto captivity," "to be divided," lit. "unto division" (*v.* 4). The preposition expresses the *result* of an action. Syr.: "who puttest in his hand a sword to take vengeance on the enemies."

loosened the girdle.] Greek *ἔλυσαν μήτραν*, "loosened or opened the womb." The Heb. פָּתַח, "he opened," is rendered by *λύω* in Isa. v. 27—*οὐδὲ λύσουσι τὰς ζώνας αὐτῶν*—and elsewhere. But the Heb. פָּתַח רֶחֶם, *aperuit uterum cs.*, like its contrary סָגַר ר״, *clausit uterum*, is apparently used only of Jehovah. See Gen. xxx. 22; 1 Sam. i. 5, 6. Grotius and others have therefore suggested *μίτραν*, "girdle," *i.e.* the maiden-girdle, or *ζώνη*, instead of *μήτραν* (a very slight change, on account of Itacism). The phrase *μίτραν λύειν* occurs Apoll. Rhod. i. 288; *μ. λύσασθαι*, Callim. Jov. 21. The word *μίτρα* occurs ch. x. 3; xvi. 8 *infra;* Bar. v. 2; but in the sense of *headdress*, *mitre*, *tiara*, and so in the LXX. generally: *e.g.* Exod. xxviii. 33; Zech. iii. 5. This is against its use here. Perhaps however the Heb. was פִּתְּחוּ אֵזוֹר (Isa. v. 27), and was rendered *ἔλυσαν μίτραν*, according to the classical rather than the LXX. usage of the term. Fritzsche inclines, upon the whole, to *μήτραν*. Codd. 19, 108 read *ἐλυμήναντο μήτρ.* Cf. Amos i. 11, *ἐλυμήνατο μητέρα*, al. lect. *μήτραν*; Heb. שִׁחֵת רַחֲמָיו; and 4 Macc. xviii. 8. The Midrash has: "who polluted and defiled the nakedness of Dinah their sister," and omits the rest of *v.* 2 and all *v.* 3.

The Syriac, "they loosened the hair of a maiden," is surely not, as Fritzsche says, "a quid pro quo" = *μήτραν*; but rather supports the reading *μίτραν*, "headdress."

discovered the thigh to her shame.] Rather, *made bare a thigh unto shame.* The term *μηρὸς* is euphemistic, as the Syriac shews by using the same word as in Rev. xvi. 15; ܥܘܪܛܠܗ, *pudenda ejus.*

her virginity.] So Codd. 248, Co. *παρθενίαν*. Fritzsche edits *μήτραν*, "womb."

for thou saidst.] The "for" gives the reason for the divinely caused destruction of the ravishers of Dinah. "It shall not be so:" cf. Gen. xxix. 26; 2 Sam. xiii. 12, "It must not" or "ought not to be so done;" and esp. Gen. xxxiv. 7, where the same Heb. phrase (with a different order of words) is rendered by LXX. *καὶ οὐχ οὕτως ἔσται*—a passage which was evidently in the author's mind.

3. *so that they dyed their bed in blood, being deceived.*] The Greek text here is dubious. The construction evidently is, as the parallelism requires: "Wherefore thou gavest their rulers unto slaughter, And their bed . . . . unto blood" [*i.e.* bloodshed]. The doubt concerns the verb of the inserted relative clause. The common text, *ἣ ᾐδέσατο τὴν ἀπάτην αὐτῶν*, "which was ashamed of their guile," makes the Hivite prince's bed revolt against the illicit passion of its lord—a not very suitable idea. The parallelism rather demands that the bed should be considered a kind of accomplice in its master's guilt. Codd. 248, Co. have *ᾐρδεύσατο*, "watered itself." L. and S. give no instance of the middle of *ἀρδεύω*, *irrigare;* and Trommius refers to this passage only. Another reading is that of 23, 64, 243, Ald. *ᾐδεύσατο*, which Bissell explains "to wet," "soak," but of which I can find no other notice [? *ἐδεύσατο*]. Fritzsche edits his own conjecture *ᾑδύνατο*, which he renders "sweetened," *versüsste;* but why the middle? Perhaps the writer formed an aor. mid. *ᾑδήσατο*, "delighted in," from *ἁνδάνω*, fut. *ἁδήσω*; though *συνῄδει*, "was privy to" [Dereser, Scholz], gives an excellent sense. Instead of *ἀπάτην αὐτῶν* Codd. iii. 52, 64, al. read *ἀπατηθεῖσαν*; and ii. x. 19, 23, 44, 55, al. *τὴν ἀπάτην αὐτῶν* [*αὐτήν*, 19, 108; om. x.] *ἀπατηθεῖσαν*—a conflate reading. Cod. 58 corrects the text thus: *ἣ ἐδέξατο τὴν ἀγαπηθεῖσαν*, "which received the beloved one." Syr.: "and their couch [ܫܘܘܝܐ = Greek *στρωμνήν*] which received the blood of thy beloved one."

the servants with their lords.] Lit. *slaves upon princes:* cf. Gen. xxxii. 11, "mother upon children" (Heb.). See the like phrase in *v.* 10 *infr.* "Im dichterischen Schwunge," says Fritzsche, "betrachtet Judith die Häupter der Sichemiten als Fürsten, ihre Leute als Knechte." But surely Shechem and his father *were* princes (see Gen. xxxiv. 2); in which case their subjects would be called their "servants," or rather "slaves." The Syr. has:

> "And smotest slaves with their lords,
> And princes with their thrones."

4 And hast given their wives for a prey, and their daughters to be captives, and all their spoils to be divided among thy dear children; which were moved with thy zeal, and abhorred the pollution of their blood, and called upon thee for aid: O God, O my God, hear me also a widow.

5 For thou hast wrought not only those things, but also the things which fell out before, and which ensued after; thou hast thought upon the things which are now, and which are to come.

6 Yea, what things thou didst determine were ready at hand, and said, Lo, we are here: for all thy ways are prepared, and thy judgments are in thy foreknowledge.

7 For, behold, the Assyrians are multiplied in their powers; they are

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4. *hast given.*] Rather, *Thou gavest.* For the thing related, see Gen. xxxiv. 27–29.

to be divided among thy dear children.] The Greek is: *εἰς διαίρεσιν υἱῶν ἠγαπημένων ὑπὸ σοῦ.* Syriac: "and all their booty they divided between thy beloved ones, who kept thy zeal." Midrash: "thy servants."

which were moved with thy zeal.] Lit. *who also* (or *both*) *were zealous with the zeal of* (for) *Thee;* a cognate accusative, as in the Heb. קִנְאוּ אֶת־קִנְאָתְךָ: cf. Num. xxv. 11; 1 Macc. ii. 58. So Midrash.

the pollution of their blood.] Codd. 19, 108: "the blood of their pollution," *αἷμα μιάσματος αὐτῶν*, which, according to Heb. idiom, means "their polluted blood." The blood of Simeon and Levi was polluted in Dinah. It is more likely that the actual defilement of their sister is referred to, than the prospective taint involved in the proposed intermarriages of the two races.

O God, O my God.] The Greek is the nominative case with the article—*ὁ θεὸς, ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐμός*—which resembles the Heb. construction of the vocative: cf. Ps. xxii. 1 (LXX.); Matt. xxvii. 46. The Syriac has: "O my God, hear me, me also, who am a widow." The Greek is: "Also hear me, the widow." The former looks more original. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 38, "Bless me, me also;" *i.e.* me as well as my brother Jacob. So here: me as well as my forefather Simeon. The concluding touch—"the widow"—makes of her helplessness a special plea for help from "the Father of the fatherless, and the God of the widow."

5, 6. The thought of these fine verses is coloured by reminiscences of the "evangelical Prophet:" Isa. xli. 22, 23; xlii. 9; xliii. 9; xliv. 7; xlvi. 9 *sqq.*

Literally rendered, Fritzsche's Greek text says: "For it was Thou that wroughtest the things before those, and those things, and the things thereafter; and the things which are now, and the things to come, Thou thoughtest (*i.e.* devisedst: *διενοήθης* = חָשַׁבְתָּ; cf. 2 Chron. ii. 14), and (the things) came to pass which Thou hadst in mind (*ἐνενοήθης*), and (the things) presented themselves (*παρέστησαν*, Job i. 6) which Thou determinedst, and said, Lo, we are present" (a bold personification).

The divine activity pervades all events. was seen in the history of Israel previous to the episode recalled in *vv.* 2–4 (*ἐκεῖνα*, "those things" = the events of that episode); it was seen in that episode itself, and in all that followed, down to the present crisis, which equally with the yet hidden future is conditioned by the Will of God. Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6–9. Cod. 71 omits the two verses; Codd. 58, 106 omit what we have translated. The Syriac has it thus: "Because *Thou* didst the former things, and the middle things, and also the things thereafter; because Thou thoughtest, and they became, and Thou consideredst, and they stood before thee. And Thou calledst, and they said, Lo, we are standing (here); because all Thy ways are prepared, and Thy creation is naked before thee" [reading *κτίσις* for *κρίσις*; see *infra*]. God's ways are "prepared" or "ready" (Greek *ἕτοιμοι*—Syr. ܥܬܝܕܝܢ); *i.e.* there are no obstacles which can arrest the course of His Will; cf. the phrase, *ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου*, Isa. xl. 3. But the parallelism suggests this sense: All Thy courses of action are predetermined; they are not still to be decided upon, but are already present in thy mind.

6. *thy judgments.*] So Codd. iii. 64, 248. Co. Ald. 58, *αἱ κτίσεις*; cf. Syr. and Old Lat. Fritzsche edits *ἡ κρίσις σου*, "thy judgment." This does not here mean "Strafgericht," with special reference to what follows, but "decision," "judicial determination," in general; or perhaps, rather, "manner of dealing," which clears up the parallelism. The Heb. term would be מִשְׁפָּט.

in thy foreknowledge.] Omit *thy*. The Greek is *ἐν προγνώσει*. This term occurs again in ch. xi., and nowhere else in LXX. Cf. the Syr. *supra*, and Acts xv. 18.

7. *are multiplied in their powers.*] The

exalted with horse and man; they glory in the strength of their footmen; they trust in shield, and spear, and bow, and sling; and know not that thou art the Lord that breakest the battles: the Lord is thy name.

8 Throw down their strength in thy power, and bring down their force in thy wrath: for they have purposed to defile thy sanctuary, and to pollute the tabernacle where thy glorious name resteth, and to cast

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verbs of this verse are all aorists, representing Heb. perfects. "Powers" should be "power," *i.e.* "army," as often.

they are exalted with horse and man.] The Greek is ὑψώθησαν ἐφ' ἵππῳ καὶ ἀναβάτῃ (Cod. 58, ἐφ' ἵππων κ. ἀναβατῶν), "they have been (and are) lifted up upon (*i.e.* at) horse and rider;" *i.e.* make their boast in them. Heb. רָמוּ בַסּוּס וגו׳: cf. Ps. lxxxix. 16; Exod. xv. 2; and the Syr. ܘܐܬܬܪܝܡܘ ܒܪܟܒܝܗܘܢ. Both Syr. and Old Lat. (cod. Corb.) read plur. "horses and riders."

they glory in the strength of their footmen.] Lit. "They have gloried (ἐγαυρίασαν = Heb. pf.) in the arm of footmen." The verb γαυριάω, prop. "to prance," is rare in LXX. In Ps. v. 11, Aquila's version has γαυριάσουσιν instead of καυχήσονται (LXX.) as rendering of Heb. יַעְלְצוּ, "Let them exult." The Heb. here may have been either עלץ, or התהלל, Jer. ix. 22, 23; or התפאר. For the expression "arm," Heb. זרוע, cf. Jer. xvii. 5; Isa. ix. 20.

they trust.] Lit. they have hoped. The verb ἐλπίζω often renders Heb. בָּטַח, to trust, put one's hope in a person or thing; *e.g.* Ps. xliv. 6, "I trust not in my bow."

spear.] Greek ἐν γαισῷ: Codd. 19, 108, δόρατι. Γαῖσος, or γαισὸς, and τὸ γαῖσον, the Lat. *gaesum*, means a sort of *javelin* (Polyb. vi. 39. 3; xviii. 1. 4, &c.). According to Athenaeus, 273 F, the term is Iberian. In Josh. viii. 18, 26, it renders the Heb. כִּידוֹן. Cf. also 1 Sam. xvii. 6, 7. The Syr. has: "And (they are) strengthened with swords, and trust in bows and slings."

the Lord that breakest the battles, &c.] Adapted from the LXX. of Exod. xv. 3, where κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους, κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῷ is the curious rendering of "Jehovah is a man of war (אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה; cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 8), Jehovah is His name." Συντρίβω usually meant "to break in pieces;" and accordingly some interpret "who puttest an end to wars" (cf. Ps. xlvi. 9; lxxvi. 3). Fritzsche says the phrase is a free translation of the Heb. in the sense "who *decidest* wars." But the old Heb. phrase certainly conceived Jehovah as himself a warrior (cf. Ps. xxiv. 8–10). The idea appeared inappropriate to later thought. Hence the curious paraphrase or substitution found in the Greek versions. The Syr. has ܡܦܠܓ ܩܪ̈ܒܐ, "the cleaver of wars." The phrase recurs in ch. xvi. 3. Fritzsche connects κύριος ὄνομά σοι with the next verse—"du heisst und bist der seiende unveränderliche allmächtige Gott. Also solche wirf du nieder;" but this is contrary to the original passage (Exod. xv. 3), and weakens the emphasis of σὺ ῥάξον, which should evidently *begin* the next sentence.

8. *Throw down.*] There is an emphatic *thou* in the Greek and Syriac. The verb ῥάσσω is equivalent to ἀράσσω, to strike, dash, push. In Jer. xxiii. 33, 39, it renders נָטַשׁ, "to cast off." Ῥάξαι ἀντὶ τοῦ καταβαλεῖν (Photius). Cod. 58 has κατάῤῥαξον = κατάραξον, "dash down," "break in pieces," a phrase used of breaking and routing armies (*e.g.* Hdt. ix. 69; Thucyd. vii. 6). The Syr. is ܪܥܘ, "break in pieces."

bring down.] Rather, "shatter," "dash in pieces." The Greek κάταξον is from κατάγνυμι, not κατάγω. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 11 (= Heb. מְחַץ, "crush;" A. V. "smite through").

Cod. 58 is fuller here: "Break down their strength, O Eternal (αἰώνιε), crush (σύντριψον) their multitude with (ἐν) thy power, smite (πάταξον pro κάταξον) their force in thy wrath." So the Syr., which has "King of worlds (or ages)" for "eternal," and repeats "break in pieces" (= κάταξον) instead of "smite," and omits "with thy power;" and the Old Lat.

the tabernacle where thy glorious name resteth.] Lit. the tent (or dwelling-place) of the resting of the name of Thy glory—a pure Hebraism = מִשְׁכַּן מְנוּחַת שֵׁם כְּבוֹדֶךָ; cf. Isa. lxvi. 1, Ps. cxxxii. 14, lxxiv. 7, lxxii. 19, for the parts of this expression, which is not found in its entirety in O. T. Cf. also Ecclus. xxxvi. 18, where Jerusalem is called πόλις καταπαύματός σου; and Deut. xii. 11, "the place which Jehovah your God shall choose, to cause his name to dwell there." The Syr. has: "Because they have wished to pollute the sanctuary of the glory of Thy name."

and to cast down, &c.] Fritzsche notes: "καὶ ante καταβαλεῖν delevi; abest a ii. iii.

down with sword the horn of thy altar.

9 Behold their pride, and send thy wrath upon their heads: give into mine hand, which am a widow, the power that I have conceived.

10 [b]Smite by the deceit of my lips the servant with the prince, and the prince with the servant: break down their stateliness by the hand of a woman.

11 [c]For thy power standeth not in

[b] Judg. 4. 21. & 5. 26.
[c] Judg. 7. 2. 1 Sam. 17. 47. 2 Chron. 14. 11. & 16. 8. & 20. 6.

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x. 44, 55, 58, al." The construction, however (a climax), seems to require it, and the Syr. has it. "Sword" is again σίδηρος: Syr. "iron;" cf. Lat. *ferrum*, in the phrase "ferro et igne."

the horn of thy altar.] The Syriac has "horns." See Exod. xxvii. 2; Ezek. xliii. 15. To cut off the horns of the altar would be at once to mutilate and to profane it. But perhaps the phrase is figurative, and means "to abase thine altar," "shamefully overthrow it:" cf. the frequent expression "to lift up or exalt the horn of a person" (1 Sam. ii. 1, 10; Ps. lxxv. 4, 5; xcii. 10; cxlviii. 14); also Job xvi. 15, "I have defiled my horn in the dust;" Lam. ii. 3, "He hath cut off all the horn of Israel." In that case, the singular is not collective, as Fritzsche supposes.

9. *their pride.*] Codd. 19, 108 have the plur. τὰς ὑπερηφανίας = either their haughty doings, displays of haughtiness, or their exceeding haughtiness (intensive plural). See ch. vi. 19 *supra*.

send thy wrath.] Greek ἀπόστειλον, "send off," God's wrath being a messenger of vengeance. The original phrase occurs in the Song of Moses, with which we have already noted other points of contact (see Exod. xv. 7). Cf. Mark iv. 29.

upon their heads.] Greek εἰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν. The preposition prob. represents Heb. בְּ, as in 1 Kings ii. 33; Ps. vii. 16 (17); Amos i. 4, 12.

give into mine hand, which am a widow.] The German can imitate the Greek more closely: "Gieb in meine, der Wittwe, Hand." Lit. it is: "Put in the hand of me the widow the strength that I thought of;" *i.e.* the strength requisite for the execution of my purpose: an allusion, as it would seem, to her intended slaughter of Holofernes and the physical strength that feat would demand. Cf. the Vulg.: *Fac Domine ut gladio proprio ejus superbia amputetur.* The word κράτος, however, may have the more general meaning of *praise, glory*, or *victory*; cf. Ps. viii. 2, xxix. 1; Exod. xv. 2 (Heb. עֹז); and ch. viii. 32 *supra*: also Luke i. 51.

10. *by the deceit of my lips.*] The Greek is of a more Hebraic cast: ἐκ χειλέων ἀπάτης μου, "out of the lips of my deceit," *i.e.* through or with my deceiving lips. Cf. Ps. xvii. 1, שִׂפְתֵי מִרְמָה, "lips of deceit." The Syr. has: "with the deception of my lips;" the Old Lat. *ex labiis suasionis meae* (but Cod. Corb. and Vulg. *charitatis*, reading ἀγάπης). The only references in Trommius for ἀπάτη are Judith ix. 10, 13; xvi. 6. As to the morality of Judith's wiles, Arnald quotes, "Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?" Cf. Judg. iv. 18 *sqq.*; Num. xxxi. 16; 1 Sam. xvi. 2; 2 Kings vi. 18, 19.

the servant with the prince, and the prince with the servant.] Lit. bondman upon prince, and prince upon his servant: cf. note on *v.* 3 *supra*. But both δοῦλος and θεράπων render the Heb. עֶבֶד, *servus*, and the Syr. has simply, "smite man upon chief." There is an allusion in this first half of the verse (omitted in Codd. 58, 71) to the deceit by which Simeon and Levi overcame the Shechemites (*v.* 3 *supra*). The Vulgate has: *Capiatur laqueo oculorum suorum in me, et percuties eum ex labiis charitatis meae.* This may depend on S. Jerome's Chaldee MS. Cf. Midrash J. ii. "Let him be caught in the snare of his eyes, to love me; and make him sick with the sickness of desire for me."

break down their stateliness.] The Greek is peculiar: θραῦσον αὐτῶν (αὐτοῦ, 58) τὸ ἀνάστημα (so Codd. iii. 55, 236, 248, 249, co. Ald. The common reading is ἀνάστεμα, a very doubtful form: see Fritzsche, 'Das Buch Judith,' p. 177). The verb may be a reminiscence of Exod. xv. 6: "Thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy" (ἔθραυσεν = Heb. תִּרְעַץ). Ἀνάστημα may mean *height, tallness*, of a mountain or a plant (Theophr.); or *loftiness, majesty*, e.g. ἀνάστ. βασιλικόν, royal majesty (Diod. xix. 92); ἀνάστ. ψυχῆς (Longin. vii. 2). The Heb. was prob. קוֹמָה, *height, stature*, a term used metaphorically in Isa. x. 33: "The high ones of stature shall be hewn down, and the haughty shall be humbled." Cf. also Isa. xxxvii. 24. The LXX. does not render this word by ἀνάστημα anywhere else, but Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus have done so. Cf. ch. xii. 8 *infra*. The Syr. has: "And the prince—break thou his strength by the hand of a female" (ܢܩܒܬܐ, the word used in *v.* 11 *supra*). The Old Lat. has *substantiam*, as if the Heb. had been יְקוּם, which is rendered ἀνάστημα in Gen. vii. 4, 23. (But Cod. Corb. has *Allide surrectionem illorum.*)

by the hand of a woman.] So as to couple dishonour with ruin. Cf. Judges ix. 54.

multitude, nor thy might in strong men: for thou art a God of the afflicted, an helper of the oppressed, an upholder of the weak, a protector of the forlorn, a saviour of them that are without hope.

12 I pray thee, I pray thee, O God of my father, and God of the inheritance of Israel, Lord of the heavens and earth, Creator of the waters, King of every creature, hear thou my prayer:

13 And make my speech and deceit to be their wound and stripe, who have purposed cruel things against thy covenant, and thy hallowed house,

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This detail is repeated, ch. xiii. 15; xvi. 6. θήλεια = נְקֵבָה rather than אִשָּׁה. So Syr. The Old Lat. according to Codd. Reg. and Germ. has: *in manu viduae, ut sciant omnia regna quoniam tu es Deus.* The Vulgate amplifies: "*Da mihi in animo constantiam ut contemnam illum, et virtutem ut evertam illum:* Erit enim hoc memoriale nominis tui, cum manus feminae dejecerit eum." Cf. Midr.: "And put in my soul firmness to despise him, and in my hand might and power (כוח ואל) to destroy him." Cf. also Judges iv. 9.

11. See the marginal references, which are very apposite. Cf. also 2 Kings vi. 17; Ps. xx. 7; Eccles. ix. 11.

might.] ἡ δυναστεία; Heb. גְּבוּרָה, "prowess," "valour," Ps. lxxx. 2. Cod. 58 has "thy gift" (δόσις), and so the Syr. and Old Lat. Other readings are: δύναμις (Codd. 19, 108) and δεξία (x.).

the afflicted.] Or, *oppressed;* Greek ταπεινοί, Heb. prob. עֲנִיִּים. Cf. Luke i. 52. The article is wanting in the Greek before this, and the following class-names, because the *condition* and *character* of the persons spoken of are prominent in the speaker's mind.

the oppressed.] The Greek is ἐλαττόνων, "inferiors;" and the Heb. was prob. קְטַנִּים or צְעִירִים, "little, insignificant, feeble folk." Syr. ܙܥܘܪܐ, *parvuli:* Matt. ii. 6; v. 19.

upholder.] ἀντιλήπτωρ. Cf. Luke i. 54, ἀντελάβετο. The LXX. uses the noun to render several Hebrew terms denoting *refuge* and *defender*. Cf. Ps. iii. 3; xviii. 2; lxxxviii. 26; xlii. 9.

a protector of the forlorn.] ἀπεγνωσμένων σκεπαστής. The former term means persons *given up in despair, regarded as in hopeless plight,* e.g. by physicians, Plut. 'Pericl.' 13. Heb. אוֹבֵד, *perditus;* cf. the Syriac. The other term, σκεπαστής, one who *shelters*, occurs in Exod. xv. 2 and Ps. lxxi. 6. "Them that are without hope," should rather be *folk despaired of.* The word ἀπηλπισμένος is a later synonym of ἀπεγνωσμένος; and occurs in Isa. xxix. 19 as = אֶבְיוֹן, A.V. "the poor." For the other term see 2 Macc. ix. 22. (Cod. 58, the Syr., and Old Lat. omit σκεπαστὴς ἀπηλπισμένων.)

12. *I pray thee, I pray thee.*] Lit. *yea, yea;* Greek ναὶ, ναὶ, ὁ θεός κ.τ.λ. Cf. Matt. v. 37. The Syriac has: "Yea, O Lord, God of my father." Cod. 58, κύριε ὁ θεός. So Old Lat. At the end, as at the beginning of her prayer, she dwells on the deed of her forefather Simeon (*v.* 2).

God of the inheritance of Israel.] A phrase not occurring in O. T. Israel is often called God's "inheritance" or domain—נַחֲלָה—*e.g.* 1 Sam. x. 1, xxvi. 19; 2 Kings xxi. 14; Ps. xxviii. 9, lxxviii. 62; Isa. xix. 25. See ch. xiii. 5 *infra.* Here the meaning may either be this, or else that God is Israel's "inheritance" and peculiar property: cf. Josh. xiii. 33; Ps. xvi. 5. In either case, the point insisted on is that God is specially the God of Israel. The next words declare that the God of Israel is the Almighty Maker and Ruler of the world. "Lord (δέσποτα=אָדוֹן) of the heavens and (the) earth" is nearly equivalent to the Saviour's "Lord (κύριε) of heaven and earth," Matt. xi. 25. The phrase is not found in O. T. "Creator of the waters" is added because earth and sky and sea comprise the visible world. This, too, is a non-Biblical phrase, but cf. Amos v. 8, ix. 6.

King of every creature.] So Codd. 58, 44, al. Syriac: "King of all creatures" (so also Rom. i. 25). Fritzsche edits β. πάσης κτίσεώς σου, "King of all thy creation;" another extra-Biblical phrase. The pronoun may have been omitted by some MSS. and Syr. and Old Lat., because it seemed to suggest that there were other creatures outside the dominion of God. For κτίσις cf. ch. xvi. 11; Wisd. xvi. 24; Ecclus. xvi. 18: and for κτίστης, Ecclus. xxiv. 8; 2 Macc. i. 24.

13. *make my speech and deceit to be.*] Δὸς λόγον μου . . . εἰς τραῦμα κ.τ.λ., a common Hebraism: וְנָתַתָּ דְבָרִי לְפֶצַע; cf. Gen. xvii. 20, and ch. x. 8 *infra.* Instead of "my speech" the Syriac has "my craft"—ܢܟܠܝ. "Stripe" or *weal*—μώλωψ—is the Heb. חַבּוּרָה. Both "wound" and "stripe" occur in Gen. iv. 23 (the song of Lamech). Cf. also for the latter, 1 Pet. ii. 24.

who have purposed cruel things (σκληρὰ =

and against the top of Sion, and against the house of the possession of thy children.

14 And make every nation and tribe to acknowledge that thou art the God of all power and might, and that there is none other that protecteth the people of Israel but thou.

CHAPTER X.

3 *Judith doth set forth herself.* 10 *She and her maid go forth into the camp.* 17 *The watch take and conduct her to Holofernes.*

NOW after that she had ceased to cry unto the God of Israel, and had made an end of all these words,

2 She rose where she had fallen down, and called her maid, and went down into the house, in the which she abode in the sabbath days, and in her feast days,

3 And pulled off the sackcloth which she had on, and put off the garments of her widowhood, and washed her body all over with water,

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קָשׁוֹת, Gen. xlii. 7, 30) *against thy covenant.*] A similar phrase occurs in Dan. xi. 28, "His heart shall be *against the holy covenant*"—another indication that our author is writing in Maccabean times. Cf. also Ps. lxxxiii. 3 *sqq.*

the top of Sion.] This phrase, not found elsewhere, is like Num. xxiii. 28, "the top of Peor;" Amos i. 2, "the top of Carmel." Instead of κορυφὴ Σ. (ראשׁ, *caput*) the usual expression was ὄρος Σ. (הַר, *mons*), and so the Syriac here.

14. *And make every nation and tribe to acknowledge.*] Lit. And make upon (=in) every nation and every tribe knowledge, that it may know, &c. Fritzsche edits ἐπὶ παντὸς ἔθνους σου, confining the reference to the *Jewish* people. But the universal scope is surely much more appropriate; cf. 2 Kings xix. 19, when Hezekiah prays for deliverance, "that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou art the Lord God, even thou only." Cf. also Ps. lxxxiii. 18. Codd. 58, 248, 249, and the Old Lat. omit the pronoun. The common text, found also in Cod. x., is ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος κ.τ.λ. The Syriac has: "make thou unto all thy people and unto all the tribes, that they may know," &c. But the Vulgate: *Ut . . . . omnes gentes agnoscant quia tu es Deus, et non est alius praeter te.*

protecteth.] ὑπερασπίζων, for which see chaps. v. 20; vi. 5 *supra.*

CHAPTER X.

1. *Now after that.*] Lit. *and it came to pass when.* The narrative of chaps. x., xi. 1–5, is apparently modelled on the Greek Esth. v. 1–15.

made an end of all these words.] It is not necessary to supply λαλοῦσα or λαλῆσαι with συνετέλεσε: cf. 1 Sam. xxiv. 17; 2 Sam. xi. 19; 1 Chron. xvi. 2; 2 Chron. vii. 1. The verb here takes a direct accusative, as in Matt. vii. 28; Gen. ii. 2; 1 Kings vi. 9. The Vulgate omits the clause.

2. *She rose.*] The Greek is καὶ ἀνέστη; וַתָּקָם. Codd. 58, 44, al. and the Syriac and Old Lat. omit the conjunction.

where she had fallen down.] Lit. *from her fall*—ἀπὸ τῆς πτώσεως—*i.e.* her prostrate attitude (bodily posture, not local position). See ch. ix. 1. But the Syr. has ܡܢ ܕܪܡܝܐ ܗܘܬ, "from where she was prostrate;" and Vulg. *Surrexit de loco in quo jacuerat prostrata ad Dominum.*

went down.] From the roof: see ch. viii. 5.

the house.] Codd. x. 23, 55, 44, 58, and the Syriac and Old Lat. read "her house." Midrash J. ii. "*the palace* (היכל) of her house," which is suitable enough, if Judith is intended to suggest Salome the queen.

in the which she abode.] Greek, ἐν ᾧ διέτριβεν ἐν αὐτῷ. For this mode of expressing the relative, see note on ch. vii. 10. She used to spend the sacred festivals in her house; ch. viii. 5. The Vulgate omits "and went . . . feast days."

3. *pulled off.*] περιείλα(ε)το or περιεῖλε (Codd. 19, 108, 44, &c.). Cf. Hdt. ii. 151, π. τὴν κυνέην, "to take off one's helmet." The verb means "to strip off all round," not "to roll up" (Churton). Vulg. *abstulit a se cilicium.* So the Midrash. With the verse generally, cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 2; Ruth iii. 3.

she had on.] ἐνεδεδύκει, "she had put on." But Codd. iii. 52, 64, al. ἐνεδιδύσκετο, "she was wearing;" cf. ch. ix. 1.

washed her body all over.] A good rendering of περιεκλύσατο. The verb is classical; cf. Thucyd. vi. 3; Arist. 'Mirab.' 91. It occurs in Tobit vi. 2. The Syriac says *her face;* cf. ch. xvi. 9. Midr. *her body.*

and anointed herself with precious ointment, and braided the hair of her head, and put on a [1]tire upon it, and put on her garments of gladness, wherewith she was clad during the life of Manasses her husband.

[1] Gr. *mitre.*

4 And she took sandals upon her feet, and put about her her bracelets, and her chains, and her rings, and her earrings, and all her ornaments, and decked herself bravely, to allure the eyes of all men that should see her.

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precious ointment.] μύρῳ παχεῖ, "with thick oil, or unguent." Syriac, "and anointed (with) oil, with choice (oil);" cf. Wisd. ii. 7, where οἶνος πολυτελὴς is rendered "choice wine" (ܓܒܝܐ). Fritzsche quotes Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xiii. 2: "Prodigiosa cinnamomino pretia. Adjicitur cinnamo balaninum oleum . . .; unguentorum hoc crassissimum." Cf. Isa. xxviii. 1. Μύρον is probably the Heb. שֶׁמֶן: Amos vi. 6; Cant. i. 2. The reading of Codd. 19, 108, μύρῳ καλῷ, points to the שׁ׳ טוב of Ps. cxxxiii. 2. The Greek μύρον may be connected with the Heb. מֹר, *myrrh*, which was used in making ointment: Esth. ii. 12; Cant. v. 5. The Midrash actually has: "with ointment of myrrh."

braided.] *Arranged, ordered.* The Gk. is διέταξε; but Codd. 19, 108 have διεξέ(η)νατο, *pectinavit* (so Old Lat.), and Cod. x. διέξανε. The Old Lat. (cod. Corb.) has *discriminavit*—*i.e.* she *parted.* Midrash: ותקלע את קלעת שערותיה, "and she braided the braids of her hair." The Syriac repeats "she anointed," ܘܡܫܚܬ.

a tire.] An old English word, probably connected with German *zier*, "ornament;" *zieren*, "to adorn:" cf. Isa. iii. 18. The Greek is μίτρα (see ch. ix. 2), and probably the Heb. was פְּאֵר (Zech. iii. 5; Isa. iii. 20), though the Midrash has כתר. The woman's *turban* is meant. In classical Greek, μίτρα denotes *a headband*, or *snood*, with which females tied up their hair, and also a certain Persian headdress or turban: see Liddell and Scott, *s. v.*; cf. ch. xvi. 8 *infra.* The Syriac transposes this clause with the first clause of *v.* 4 (μίτρα = ܡܨܢܦܬܐ).

her garments of gladness.] Lit. *the garments of her gladness*, which is Hebrew idiom for *her festal garments;* cf. Isa. lxi. 3, 10. Instead of ἐστολίζετο, "she used to dress," Cod. x. has ἐκοσμεῖτο, "she used to deck herself." Heb. simply לָבֵשׁ, "to be clothed," as in Esth. iv. 4. (So the Midrash.)

4. *And she took sandals upon her feet.*] "Upon" should rather be "unto" or "for" (εἰς = לְ). As a mourner, she had not worn sandals in the chamber on the roof: cf. 2 Sam. xv. 30; Isa. xx. 2, 4. Those she now put on would naturally be a beautiful pair; see the special mention of "her sandal" in ch. xvi. 9.

put about her her bracelets.] Or *anklets.* The Greek word χλίδων (*not* χλιδών. See Dindorf *ad* Aristoph. Fragm. 309) may mean either. The list of female ornaments here may be compared with the much longer one in the prophetic satire, Isa. iii. 16–24. In that passage (*v.* 20) χλίδων = צְעָדָה, "a stepping-chain;" but in Num. xxxi. 50 χλίδων = אֶצְעָדָה, an armlet or bracelet, and so the Vulg. (*dextraliola*) and the Syriac (ܦܕܠܟܣܗ) here. The Old Lat. has *periscelides*, "anklets."

chains.] τὰ ψέλια (so Codd. iii. x.; vulgo, ψέλλια). In Isa. iii. 20, as here, this term follows τοὺς χλίδωνας. The word means *armlet* or *anklet.* Lat. *armilla.* In Num. xxxi. 50 ψέλιον = צָמִיד; cf. Gen. xxiv. 22, "*bracelets* for her hands." Syriac: ܫܒܪܝܗ; i.e. *periscelides* or *armillae ejus.*

earrings.] τὰ ἐνώτια. The Heb. נֶזֶם is so rendered by LXX. and Vulgate (*inaures*), even in Gen. xxiv. 47 and Isa. iii. 21, where it means a *nose-ring.* It may have had that meaning in the Heb. here. The Syriac has ܩܕܫܝܗ, *inaures ejus.* Midrash: עגילים.

ornaments.] Or *adornment*—κόσμος = עֲדִי. Exod. xxxiii. 4–6. Midrash: וכ״ד קשוטיה. "and her twenty-four ornaments" (*vid.* Isa. iii. 18 *sqq.*).

decked herself bravely.] Cf. Isa. iii. 18, "bravery" = finery. So Hamlet speaks of "This *brave* o'erhanging firmament." The Greek ἐκαλλωπίσατο σφόδρα, "adorned herself exceedingly," is classical; cf. Plat. 'Symp.' 174 A. Heb. הִתְיַפָּה: Jer. iv. 30; cf. Jer. x. 4. The Vulgate improves the text to this effect: *Cui etiam Dominus contulit splendorem: quoniam omnis ista compositio non ex libidine, sed ex virtute pendebat: et ideo D. hanc in illam pulchritudinem ampliavit, ut incomparabili decore omnium oculis appareret.*

to allure.] Greek εἰς ἀπάτησιν, "for beguiling;" cf. ch. ix. 13. But Cod. 58, εἰς ἁρπαγὴν; and so the Syriac, *ad arripiendos oculos hominum* (ܠܡܚܛܦܘ); and Old Lat.

5 Then she gave her maid a bottle of wine, and a cruse of oil, and filled a bag with parched corn, and lumps of figs, and with fine bread; so she [1]folded all these things together, and laid them upon her.

[1] Or, *wrapped*, or, *packed*.

6 Thus they went forth to the gate of the city of Bethulia, and found standing there Ozias, and the ancients of the city, Chabris and Charmis.

7 And when they saw her, that her countenance was altered, and her apparel was changed, they wondered at her beauty very greatly, and said unto her,

8 The God, the God of our fathers,

On the other hand, Codd. iii. x. εἰς ἀπάντησιν, "to meet," an easier reading. Ch. xvi. 9, "Her sandal *ravished* his eye" (ἥρπασεν), confirms ἁρπαγὴν here.

5. *a bottle of wine.*] ἀσκοπυτίνην οἴνου, *a leathern canteen* of wine: Antiph. Mel. i.; Menander Καρχ. 6, and LXX. Πυτίνη (ῐ) was a flask covered with plaited osier, like a Florence oil-flask. See Pollux, x. 73; vii. 174. Codd. x., 58, ἀσκόν. Vulg. *ascoperam* = ἀσκόπηραν, "a leather travelling-bag" (Suet. 'Nero,' 45). Old Lat. *ascopam.* Syriac, ܙܩܐ; *utrem.* Midrash: נאד חלב וחמת יין, "*a skin of milk* and a bottle of wine." The "skin of milk" may be a trace of an older narrative.

cruse of oil.] καψάκην (Codd. ii. iii. x. 71, 74, 76; vulgo, καμψάκην) ἐλαίου. The word is related to κάψα or κάμψα, and occurs in 1 Kings xvii. 12, 14, 16, as the rendering of Heb. צַפַּחַת, *ampulla*, "vial" or "cruse" for oil. Κάμψα is a *basket*, *casket* (Hesych.). Photius and Suidas write κάψα. Cf. Lat. *capsa*, *capsula.* Midrash: צלוחית.

a bag.] πήραν, "wallet:" Matt. x. 10; and ch. xiii. 10, 15 *infra.* (Fritzsche: *Reisebrotsack.*)

parched corn.] Greek ἀλφίτων, "peeled or pearl-barley," "barley-groats," or "barley-meal," the Lat. *polenta;* and so Old Lat. and Vulg. *polentam;* Syr. ܩܠܝܬܐ. The LXX. sometimes has this word for Heb. קָלִי, *tostum*, i.e. green ears of corn, wheat or barley, roasted and rubbed out in the hand—a practice still in vogue with the Arabs. See Gesenius, 'Thesaurus,' *s. v.* Fritzsche says, "Ἄλφιτον ist Gerstengraupen, τὰ ἄλφιτα die Brode daraus." But this is questionable, and "bread" is mentioned in the next line. Midrash: קמח, "meal."

lumps of figs.] Rather, *a cake of figs*—παλάθη = Heb. דְּבֵלָה; 1 Sam. xxv. 18. Codd. 74, 76, and the Syr. and Vulg. have plur. Cod. x. and Midrash omit.

fine bread.] Rather, *pure loaves.* "Καθαρῶν," says Fritzsche, "is wanting in 44, 71, 74, 76, Syr., Old Lat., Vulg., but is certainly genuine." Everything belonging to the heathen was considered "unclean:" cf. ch. xii. 1, 2; Dan. i. 8; Tobit i. 11; Gen. xliii. 32; Amos vii. 17 ("a polluted land," *i.e.* a heathen or foreign land).

so she folded all these things together.] Rather, *And she packed up all her vessels* or *things.* After the "pure loaves," Codd. 19, 108 add "and cheese;" so Vulg. *et caseum;* 58, "and she threw into it cheese" (so Syr. and Old Lat.). Heb. גְּבִינָה (Job x. 10, only); so the Midrash. "Packed up" is περιεδίπλωσε, for which Liddell and Scott refer to this passage only. The Syr. renders ܥܛܦܬ, "bound up," "tied round;" the Vulg. omits the whole clause.

6. *Thus they went forth.*] Codd. 19, 108, καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἀμφότεραι. Cod. 58, καὶ ἐξῆλθοσαν οἱ δύο ἅμα καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν. So Syr. and Old Lat. Cf. Gen. xxii. 6–8; 2 Kings ii. 6. For "the ancients," see ch. viii. 10.

7. The Greek of this verse stands thus in Fritzsche: Ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτήν, καὶ ἦν ἠλλοιωμένον τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, καὶ τὴν στολὴν μεταβεβληκυῖαν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐθαύμασαν κ.τ.λ. He explains the clause καὶ ἦν ἠλλοι. τὸ πρόσ. αὐτῆς as a parenthesis, giving the reason for the following ἐθαύμασαν. But the construction is in that case decidedly awkward, as τὴν στολὴν μεταβεβ. evidently depends on εἶδον, and is equally part of the reason for the elders' wonder. If ἦν be omitted, and μεταβεβ. αὐτῆς be transposed (according to Codd. x. 19, 108, 236, 76), we get the sense: "Now when they saw her, and her countenance altered and her apparel changed, they wondered, &c." The καὶ introduces the apodosis, as so often: see ch. v. 20. Μεταβεβλ. is passive; cf. the middle use in classical Greek, *e.g.* Plat. 'Rep.' 553 A; Hdt. viii. 109. The Syr. is: "And they saw the change of her countenance and the covering of her garments, and they wondered greatly at her beauty." Wolff says they did not expect to find her still so charming, as she was from thirty to forty-five years old (?).

8. *The God, the God of our fathers.*] The first ὁ θεὸς should be omitted, with Codd. ii. iii. x. 55, 58, 44, al., the Syr., and Old Lat.

give thee favour, and accomplish thine enterprizes to the glory of the children of Israel, and to the exaltation of Jerusalem. Then they worshipped God.

9 And she said unto them, Command the gates of the city to be opened unto me, that I may go forth to accomplish the things whereof ye have spoken with me. So they commanded the young men to open unto her, as she had spoken.

10 And when they had done so, Judith went out, she, and her maid with her; and the men of the city looked after her, until she was gone down the mountain, and till she had passed the valley, and could see her no more.

11 Thus they went straight forth in the valley: and the first watch of the Assyrians met her,

12 And took her, and asked her, Of what people art thou? and whence

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give thee favour.] So Codd. 58, 11, and the Syr. and Old Lat. (δῴη σοι χάριν). But Fritzsche rightly edits δῴη σε εἰς χάριν, "give (or make) thee into favour"—which represents a different Heb. phrase, viz. יִתֶּנְךָ לְרַחֲמִים; see Neh. i. 11 and ch. ix. 13 *supra*; Gen. xvii. 20, xlviii. 4.

enterprizes.] τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα = *studia, instituta*; Heb. מַעֲלָלִים, "actions," Deut. xxviii. 20. Syr. ܢܟܠܝܟܝ, "thy deed of craft." Vulg. *omne consilium tui cordis.*

to the glory.] εἰς γαυρίαμα, *i.e.* resulting in the "glory" or pride of Israel. For the word see ch. xv. 9, ix. 9 (the verb); Isa. lxii. 7. For ὕψωμα, "exaltation"—רוֹמֵמוּת—see ch. xiii. 6, xv. 9; Isa. xxxiii. 3. The Syr. has ܫܘܒܚܐ, "praise," and ܪܘܡܐ, "exaltation."

Then they worshipped God.] So Codd. 23, 44, 52, 55, al. But 58, Syr., Old Lat. refer the action to Judith only. She prob. bowed her head or prostrated herself in pious assent to the prayer of the Elders. Καὶ πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσεκύνησε (Cod. 58). Movers thinks the Greek translator mistook וַתִּשְׁתַּחוּ אֲלֵהֶם, "and she bowed herself unto them," *i.e.* to the elders, for וַתִּשׁ׳ לֵאלֹהִים, "and she bowed herself unto God." This is unlikely. Cf. ch. viii. 10 *seq.*, 28 *seq.*

9. *to accomplish the things whereof.*] εἰς τελείωσιν τῶν λόγων ὧν ἐλαλήσατε, "unto fulfilment of the words which ye have spoken." Cf. Luke i. 45.

as she had spoken.] Rather, *as they spake* (*i.e.* promised): see ch. viii. 35. "She spake" is the reading of Codd. iii. x. 64, al. and the Syriac. "She spake unto them:" Codd. 19, 108.

The Vulgate gives the passage *vv.* 6–9 thus: "And when they had come to the gate of the city, they found Ozias in waiting and the elders of the city, who, when they had seen her, were lost in admiration of her beauty; yet without asking her any questions, they let her pass through, saying: 'The God of our fathers give thee favour, and confirm all the purpose of thy heart with His courage, that Jerusalem may make her boast of thee, and thy name be in the number of the holy ones and the just.' And they that were there said all with one voice: So be it! so be it!"

10. *looked after her.*] *Were*, or, *continue looking*; ἀπεσκόπευον. Cod. 58 has καὶ ἐπεσκόπευσαν οἱ ἄνδρες κ.τ.λ. The forms in -εύω for -έω are post-classical: Lobeck, 'Phryn.' p. 591. Ἀποσκοπέω means *to look away from all things else and at a single object.* The word does *not* "contain the idea of looking down from above" (Bissell). Cf. Soph. 'Oed. Tyr.' 746; 'Oed. Col.' 1195.

and till she had passed.] The *and* is wanting in the Greek, except in Codd. 19, 108, 249, which read καὶ διῆλθε, omitting ἕως. Fritzsche explains διῆλθε—"bis sie hindurchging, hindurchzugehen anfing;" and this is doubtless right. The Heb. was probably an imperfect עַד אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲבֹר. See Gen. xxvii. 44, 45. The Syr. has: "And when the twain had come to the valley, they saw her no more." The incident of the townsfolk gazing after the departing heroine is highly dramatic; and the way in which "the mountain" and "the valley" are spoken of seems to indicate a real locality known to the author.

Cod. 58 reads: ὡς δὲ διήλθοσαν ἐπὶ τὸν πυλῶνα (an error for αὐλῶνα; repeated in Old Lat. *atrium*. The Syriac has it correctly).

11. *Thus they went straight forth.*] *And they were going straight on.* The phrase εἰς εὐθεῖαν, *i.e.* ὁδόν, occurs in Gen. xxxiii. 12; Jer. iii. 2. Cf. ch. xiii. 20: ἐπ' εὐθεῖαν.

the first watch.] *An outpost*, or *picket*, or *advanced guard.* Cod. 58, the Syr. and Old Lat. have: *and she met the advanced guard of the Assyrians.* Cf. ch. xiv. 2. This appears to be preferable; but cf. Gen. xxxii. 1.

12. *Of what people art thou?*] Syriac: "What is thy news?"

comest thou? and whither goest thou? And she said, I am a woman of the Hebrews, and am fled from them: for they shall be given you to be consumed:

13 And I am coming before Holofernes the chief captain of your army, to declare words of truth; and I will shew him a way, whereby he shall go, and win all the hill country, without losing the body or life of any one of his men.

14 Now when the men heard her words, and beheld her countenance, they wondered greatly at her beauty, and said unto her,

15 Thou hast saved thy life, in that thou hast hasted to come down to the presence of our lord: now therefore come to his tent, and some of us shall conduct thee, until they have delivered thee to his hands.

16 And when thou standest before him, be not afraid in thine heart, but shew unto him according to thy word; and he will entreat thee well.

17 Then they chose out of them an hundred men [1]to accompany her and her maid; and they brought her to the tent of Holofernes.

18 Then was there a concourse throughout all the camp: for her

[1] *Or, and they prepared a chariot for her.*

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a woman.] *A daughter.* Cf. the Syriac "sons of the city" = "men of the city," *v.* 10, and "sons of Asshur" = "Assyrians," *v.* 11. The old designation "Hebrews" is used in imitation of such passages as Gen. xl. 15, xli. 12; Exod. i. 15, ii. 6, iii. 18. See also Ewald, 'Hist. Isr.' iii. 2, 562.

am fled.] *I am running away*—ἀποδιδράσκω. Cf. Gen. xvi. 6–8, בָּרַח. This begins the ἀπάτη of which she spoke in ch. ix. 10 (cf. *v.* 13).

for they shall be given you, &c.] Lit. *Because they are about* (μέλλουσι) *to be given to you for food.* Cf. Num. xiv. 9; ch. vi. 3 *supra.*

13. *I will shew him a way.*] Lit., *I will shew before his face a way;* i.e. explain in his presence.

win.] κυριεύσει, "he shall become lord of," "gain possession of" (Polyb. i. 7, 11, &c.). Cf. 1 Macc. vi. 63; viii. 16; xi. 8; xv. 29.

without losing, &c.] This is a fair paraphrase of the Greek, which is sufficiently curious. Literally: "and there shall not be missing (or perish) of his men one flesh, nor yet (one) living spirit."

The verb διαφωνεῖν, "to be discordant," "to disagree," has in later Greek the further meanings, "to be missing or lost,"—*e.g.* of books, Diod. Sic. xvi. 3, ἐξ ὧν (βίβλων ὀκτὼ) πέντε διαφωνοῦσιν,—and "to fail," *deficere,* "breathe one's last," "die;" *e.g.* Clem. Rom. Hom. ix. 17, 18, xii. 4, &c. See 1 Sam. xxx. 19; Heb. לֹא נֶעְדַּר, "nothing was missing;" and the synonymous לֹא נִפְקַד in Num. xxxi. 49. In Josh. xxiii. 14, לֹא נָפַל, "there hath not fallen (to the ground)," is rendered οὐ διεφώνησεν. "Flesh" (σάρξ = בָּשָׂר) means "body," as in Gen. ii. 24.

"Living spirit," πνεῦμα ζωῆς = רוּחַ חַיִּים, Gen. vi. 17; vii. 15.

Syriac: "And there shall not be lost (ܢܛܥܐ, *errabit=peribit*) from him one of the sons of flesh, nor a spirit of life."

14. *beheld.*] κατενόησαν, "observed well;" either הִבִּיט or simply רָאָה.

they wondered greatly at her beauty.] Literally, "And it (*i.e.* her countenance) was before them (= in their sight) exceeding wonderful in beauty"—a sort of parenthesis —"then (καί) they said unto her." So Fritzsche: but it seems simpler to suppose the apodosis to begin with καὶ κατενόησαν. "Now when the men heard her words, they observed her countenance, and it was in their sight wonderful . . . . and they said." So the Syriac.

15. *Thou hast saved thy life.*] Mark iii. 4; Ps. lxxii. 13. Cod. 58 adds εἰς ἀγαθόν, "unto good;" Syriac ܠܛܒܬܐ. So Old Lat.

until they have delivered.] So Codd. ii. x. 19, 108. ἕως (Codd. 19, 108, ἂν) παραδῶσί σε. Fritzsche edits ἕως παραδώσουσι, "until they shall deliver," which is the Heb. construction.

16. *when . . . . shew.*] Rather, *if . . . . declare* (*v.* 13).

17. *an hundred men.*] This escort, as Fritzsche remarks, is somewhat large. But the writer may have intentionally named a large number, to suggest the idea of the multitude of the besiegers.

to accompany her.] Gk. καὶ παρέζευξαν αὐτῇ κ.τ.λ., "and they yoked them beside," *i.e.* "set them on either side of her and her maid." Cf. Eurip. 'Ion,' 22: φρουρῷ π. φύλακε σώματος. Old Lat. *adjunxerunt;* Syriac, "and they delivered her and her maid (unto

coming was noised among the tents, and they came about her, as she stood without the tent of Holofernes, till they told him of her.

19 And they wondered at her beauty, and admired the children of Israel because of her, and every one said to his neighbour, Who would despise this people, that have among them such women? surely it is not good that one man of them be left, who being let go might deceive the whole earth.

20 And they that lay near Holofernes went out, and all his servants, and they brought her into the tent.

21 Now Holofernes rested upon his bed under a canopy, which was woven with purple, and gold, and emeralds, and precious stones.

22 So they shewed him of her;

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them)." The margin is wrong; cf. ch. xv. 11. Bissell renders "they accompanied her," as if the verb were middle.

18. *was noised.*] διεβοήθη. Cf. Gen. xlv. 16: καὶ διεβ. ἡ φωνὴ εἰς τὸν οἶκον Φαραώ. Cod. 58 has διέπεσε, i.e. *got out*, *spread abroad*, *e.g.* εἰς τὸ στράτευμα (Plutarch, 'Galba,' 22).
Instead of ἐλθόντες ἐκύκλουν the same MS. has ἤλθοσαν καὶ ἐκύκλωσαν, which is the Heb. construction; and so Syr. and Old Lat.

19. *wondered at . . . admired.*] ἐθαύμαζον "they were admiring," both times. Cod. 58 has the aorist ἐθαύμασαν, and inserts καὶ παρεδέχοντο τοὺς λόγους αὐτῆς ὅτι ἦσαν ἀγαθοὶ σφόδρα. So the Syriac and Old Lat. "Admired the children of Israel because of her"—ἐθαύμαζον τοὺς υἱοὺς 'Ισ. ἀπ' αὐτῆς—is a construction found also in Greek writers of the silver age: *e.g.* Plut. 'Romulus,' 7, θαυμάζων ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τὸν νεανίσκον. In the classical period they wrote θαυμ. τινά τινος, or ἐπί τινι, or διά τι.

Who would despise.] τίς καταφρονήσει. The Heb. impf. may mean "would, or can, or could." With the sentiment of the verse, cf. the remark of the Trojan Elders about the beauty of Helen ('Il.' iii. 156–158).

surely it is not good.] ὅτι οὐ καλόν ἐστι κ.τ.λ. "because (כִּי) it is not good," &c.
Cod. 58 omits ὅτι . . . τὴν γῆν. The Syriac omits ὅτι, and renders καλόν ἐστι ܘܠܐ, *oportet*.

who being let go might deceive the whole earth.] The plur. (οἱ, ἀφεθέντες) refers to the preceding pronoun "them." "Let go," *i.e.* out of their present durance in the blockaded city.
"Might deceive," lit. "will be able to outwit (or trick) all the earth" (δυνήσονται κατασοφίσασθαι. Cf. ch. v. 11 *supra*. The Syr. here has the same verb, ܢܬܚܟܡܘܢ, as occurs in the Heb. of Exod. i. 10). They would cajole the world with the beauty of their women. Cf. the story of Samson and the Philistines; and Num. xxv. 1, 2, 18, xxxi. 16.

20. *they that lay near.*] οἱ παρακαθεύδοντες. "They that were wont to sleep beside . . ." *i.e.* to keep watch by . . . Trommius, and Liddell and Scott, refer to this passage only. Cod. 58 has πάντες οἱ παρεδρεύοντες, "all that were in constant attendance on H." So the Syr. ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܗܝ, "all his attendants;" Old. Lat. *omnes deservientes*.

21. *Now Holofernes rested.*] *And Holofernes was resting*. Cf. ch. viii. 33. It was night.

upon his bed under a canopy.] ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κωνωπείῳ. Instead of κλίνης Codd. 19, 108, 23, 44, 71, 74, al. have σκηνῆς, *i.e.* "in his tent on the conopēum;" a conopēum being (see Liddell and Scott) an Egyptian bed, or couch furnished with mosquito curtains. Cf. Hdt. ii. 95. But κωνωπεῖον appears to mean strictly the mosquito-net itself; and κλίνης being the better reading, the sense is: "on his bed (or divan) within the mosquito-curtain." Cf. Hor. 'Epod.' ix. 16:

> "Interque signa turpe militaria
> Sol adspicit conopium."

Juven. vi. 8; Propert. iii. 11, 45. The thing is mentioned again, ch. xiii. 9, 15; xvi. 19.

which was woven with . . . gold, &c.] Fritzsche edits: "which was (made) of purple (tissue), and gold, and emerald (Cod. 58, Syr. emeralds) and precious stones inwoven" (λίθων πολυτελῶν καθυφασμένων. Codd. x. 58, καθυφασμένον, and so the Syr., Old. Lat., and A.V.). See Exod. xxviii. 6, 17 (in the latter verse καθυφαίνειν = מִלֵּא, "to set"). With this state-bed of Holofernes, cf. the splendid couches on which Assurbanipal and his queen are enthroned, as represented on the sculptured slab in the British Museum. Cf. also Esther i. 6; Cant. iii. 7, 9, 10 (the state couches of Ahashwērosh and Solomon).

and he came out before his tent with silver lamps going before him.

23 And when Judith was come before him and his servants, they all marvelled at the beauty of her countenance; and she fell down upon her face, and did reverence unto him: and his servants took her up.

CHAPTER XI.

3 Holofernes asketh Judith the cause of her coming. 6 She telleth him how and when he may prevail. 20 He is much pleased with her wisdom and beauty.

THEN said Holofernes unto her, Woman, be of good comfort, fear not in thine heart: for I never hurt any that was willing to serve Nabuchodonosor, the king of all the earth.

2 Now therefore, if thy people that dwelleth in the mountains had not set light by me, I would not have lifted up my spear against them: but they have done these things to themselves.

3 But now tell me wherefore thou art fled from them, and art come unto us: for thou art come for safeguard; be of good comfort, thou shalt live this night, and hereafter:

4 For none shall hurt thee, but entreat thee well, as they do the servants of king Nabuchodonosor my lord.

5 Then Judith said unto him, Re-

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22. *before his tent.*] Lit. *into the proscenium*, or entry of the tent. Usually the word means the narrow stage in front of the *scena* of a Greek theatre.

Instead of *καὶ ἐξῆλθεν*, Cod. 58 has *ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐξῆλθεν*, and so the Syr. and Old. Lat.

with silver lamps going before him.] Cod. 58 adds: *πολλαὶ σφόδρα· καὶ εἰσήγαγον αὐτὴν πρὸς αὐτόν*. So Syr. and Old Lat. The detail that the lamps were numerous looks original. It was still night, as appears from ch. xi. 3, 5.

"Going before him" is *προάγουσαι αὐτοῦ*. In Matt. ii. 9 we read *ὁ ἀστὴρ .... προῆγεν αὐτούς*:

23. *was come.*] *Came*, *ἦλθε*, for which Cod. 58 has *ἔστη*, "stood;" and so Syr. and Old Lat.

before him.] *κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ* = לְפָנָיו: cf. 1 Sam. xvi. 8; 1 Kings iii. 15. Sometimes it = עַל־פְּנֵי, "over against," "opposite;" *e.g.* Deut. xxxii. 49. Cf. ch. xi. 5.

Midrash: "And when the king saw her beauty and the splendour of her adornment, the fire of passion burnt in him, and he desired her; and the king was sick with the sickness of passion (חשק); and (so were) all his servants the grandees (פרתמים) that sat before the king." I think that here and elsewhere this Midrash bears traces of a Chaldee original.

CHAPTER XI.

1. *hurt.*] *ἐκάκωσα*. Cod. 58, *ἐκακοποίησα*. The Heb. word in either case might be הרעתי; cf. Gen. xix. 9, xxxi. 7. Those who had submitted to Holofernes had not come off wholly without hurt: see ch. iii. 8; ii. 10 *supra*.

was willing.] *ᾑρέτικε*. The verb *αἱρετίζω*, *to choose, select*, is late Greek = *αἱροῦμαι*. It occurs as a deponent in Ctes. Pers. 9 (cf. the reading of 58). *Αἱρετέω* (Cod. x.) is unknown. Cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 4, 10 (the perf.); Ps. xxv. 12; cxix. 30, 172 (the aor. mid.) = בָּחַר.

2. *that dwelleth in the mountains.*] Rather, *the hill country*. Codd. 58, 23, 44, al. read *ὁ λαὸς .... οἱ κατοικοῦντες*, a *constructio ad sensum*, possible in Heb.

set light by me.] *ἐφαύλισε*. בָּזָה, Isa. xxxvii. 22. Cf. ch. i. 11; and *v.* 22 *infra*. Midrash: מאסוני.

lifted up my spear against them.] Cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 11, xx. 33; 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, 18.

3. *But now.*] Rather, *And now;* and so in *v.* 2. "Thou art fled," &c. should be "thou rannest away from them, and camest." "Art come"—*ἥκεις*—recurs immediately after.

for safeguard.] Or, *into safety*. Cf. Job xiii. 16.

4. *For none shall hurt thee.*] Rather, *For there is none who shall wrong thee*. In the next line "as they do" should be "*as befalleth*" (*γίνεται*). Instead of the brachylogy, "There is none who shall wrong thee, but (every one) shall treat thee well," Codd. 19, 108, 44, 71, 74, al. have the first person, "I will treat thee well." So the Syriac: "And I will do to thee as it is done to the servants of my lord." Similarly the Old Lat.

5. *Receive.*] *I.e.* favourably, Prov. iv. 10. In imputing the deliberate falsehoods and

ceive the words of thy servant, and suffer thine handmaid to speak in thy presence, and I will declare no lie to my lord this night.

6 And if thou wilt follow the words of thine handmaid, God will bring the thing perfectly to pass by thee; and my lord shall not fail of his purposes.

7 As Nabuchodonosor king of all the earth liveth, and as his power liveth, who hath sent thee for the upholding of every living thing: for not only men shall serve him by thee, but also the beasts of the field, and the cattle, and the fowls of the air, shall live by thy power under Nabuchodonosor and all his house.

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flatteries detailed in *vv.* 5–8 to his heroine, the author is evidently unconscious that such conduct is questionable in a moral point of view. He writes in accordance with ancient rather than modern standards of propriety: his belief is that the end justifies the means, and that an alien and an enemy has no rights. Even the modern world has been slow in attaining to the conviction that not everything is fair in war. Cf. Judg. iii. 20, iv. 18 *sqq.*; 1 Sam. xxi. 13 *sqq.*; and Esther's words in the Gk. Esth. v. 17 *sqq.* It is related of Balthazar Gerard, who killed William I., Prince of Orange, that "though he was a staunch Papist, he craftily behaved like a Protestant. He went to sermons and evening prayers; he had always Marot's Psalms in his hands, or some other Protestant book. He read also Du Bartas's 'Poetical Week,' and it was found that the place most worn out was the story of Judith murdering Holofernes" ('Hist. d'Alex. Farnese, duc de Parme,' iii. 205, quoted in Bayle's Dict. s. v. *Judith.*)

6. *God will bring the thing perfectly to pass by thee.*] *τελείως πρᾶγμα ποιήσει μετὰ σοῦ ὁ θεός*, "perfectly will God do a work with thee." Cf. the phrase *ποιεῖν ἔλεος μετά τινος*, 1 Sam. xx. 8, 14; and compare the Syriac text: "And if thou wilt hear my words, all that is in thy hands shall be fulfilled (to wit), all that God will do with thee." There appears to be a designed ambiguity in the words: "If Crœsus pass the Halys, a mighty empire will be overthrown." Vulg. *perfectam rem faciet Dominus tecum.*

fail of his purposes.] Lit. *fall from his enterprizes* (ch. x. 8). Ps. v. 10: "Let them fall from their purposes" (Heb. and LXX.). Syr.: "and my lord shall not fall from his designs (ܡ̈ܠܟܗ) as long as he liveth."

7. Judith confirms her words by an oath, swearing by the life of Nebuchadnezzar, "as Joseph swears by the life of Pharaoh in Gen. xlii. 15" (Churton). Cf. the oaths of Nebuchadnezzar himself, chaps. i. 12, ii. 12 *supra*; and Ittai's oath to David, "As the Lord liveth, and as my lord the king liveth," 2 Sam. xv. 21. There is, of course, an inner irony in Judith's oath. She professes to accept the heathen conception of Nebuchadnezzar as a god on earth, nay, as the sole god, and accordingly swears by him as the strongest possible confirmation of the truth of her words; but all the while she is keenly conscious that an oath by a deity whose deity is denied possesses neither binding force nor corroborative worth, and is moreover a gross mockery of those to whom it is offered.

As Nabuchodonosor . . . liveth.] Lit. *For Nabuchodonosor liveth . . . . and his power liveth.* The sense is, *By the life of Nebuchadnezzar and the reality of his power, I declare that* (ὅτι) not only do men serve him through thee, but also, &c. Cf. ch. xii. 4, xiii. 16, where the same construction recurs.

for the upholding of every living thing.] Rather, *for the correction* or *right ordering* (*εἰς κατόρθωσιν*) *of every soul.* Instead of *πάσης ψυχῆς*, Codd. 19, 108, 71, 74, 76, 236, read *πάσης τῆς γῆς*. "Soul" (ψυχὴ, נֶפֶשׁ) is not in O. T. usage restricted to man, but includes all animate beings: *e.g.* Gen. i. 20, 21, 24.

the beasts of the field . . . fowls of the air.] Cf. Dan. ii. 38: "And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all." Baruch iii. 16, 17: "Where are the princes of the heathen become, and such as ruled the beasts upon the earth; they that had their pastime with the fowls of the air . . . ?" The "hunting inscriptions" of Assurbanipal present a striking parallel with these passages. The Assyrian sovereigns delighted to record the conquests of the chase as well as those of the battlefield. The words of Judith, Oriental hyperbole apart, may contain a reminiscence of the fact that the Assyrian and Babylonian sovereigns were, like Nimrod, mighty hunters as well as warriors; and like the similar prophecies of Jeremiah (Jer. xxvii. 6; xxviii. 14), upon which they are doubtless partly based, their drift is an emphatic assertion of the absolute universality of Nebuchadnezzar's sway.

shall live by thy power under Nabuchodonosor and all his house.] The context requires

8 For we have heard of thy wisdom and thy policies, and it is reported in all the earth, that thou only art [1]excellent in all the kingdom, and mighty in knowledge, and wonderful in feats of war.

9 Now as concerning the matter, which [a]Achior did speak in thy council, we have heard his words; for the men of Bethulia [1]saved him, and he declared unto them all that he had spoken unto thee.

10 Therefore, O lord and governor, reject not his word; but lay it up in thine heart, for it is true: for our nation shall not be punished, neither can the sword prevail against them, except they sin against their God.

11 And now, that my lord be not defeated and frustrate of his purpose,

[1] Or, *in* *…vour.*

[a] ch. 5. 5.

[1] Or, *gat…* *…im.*

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this meaning. Fritzsche edits *ζήσονται ἐπὶ* N. *καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ*—a conjecture, the MSS. having *πάντα τὸν οἶκον*. Cod. x. lacks *ἐπὶ*; 19, 108, (*καὶ*) *διὰ τῆς ἰσχύος σου ζήσεται* N. *καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ*; cf. Old. Lat. *et per virtutem tuam sciet N. et omnis domus ejus*. The Syriac has: "shall know (or acknowledge) Nebuchadnezzar through thy power."

The sense of *ζῆν ἐπί τινος* appears to be "to live in dependence upon;" cf. the phrase *ὁρμεῖν ἐπ' ἀγκύρας*. But it is difficult to find a real parallel. Perhaps the classical sense of the construction is to be preferred: "shall live *in the time of Nebuchadnezzar* and of all his house."

Cod. 58 omits *vv.* 7 and 8. The Syriac omits: "And as his power liveth . . . living thing."

8. *For we have heard of thy wisdom.*] Cf. Acts xxiv. 2 *seq.* (Tertullus' flattery of Felix).

thy policies.] *τὰ πανουργεύματα τῆς ψυχῆς σου*. The word strictly means *crafty deeds, knaveries* = *πανουργίαι*, here perhaps military *tactics*. Cf. Ecclus. i. 6; xlii. 24. Codd. ii. ex. corr., iii. 55, read *πανουργήματα*. Cf. in general Pharaoh's estimate of Joseph, Gen. xli. 39 *seq.*; and Dan. i. 4, v. 12, vi. 3. The Syriac has the same word as in *v.* 6 (strictly = *insidiae, doli*).

thou only art excellent.] *ἀγαθὸς*, "good," *i.e.* here "able," as a commander.

wonderful in feats of war.] *θαυμαστὸς ἐν στρατεύμασι πολέμου*, *i.e.* either *wonderful in* (among) *the hosts of war*; or *wonderful in the campaigns of war* (Hdt. iii. 49). Syr. "mighty in wars." Like the Old Lat. (cod. Germ. 15) it transposes *θαυμαστὸς* with *δυνατός*. The latter has: *potens in militia belli et mirabilis in providentia et laudabilis in disciplina*.

9. *Now as concerning the matter.*] Lit. *and now the word*—a "nominative absolute." See for the thing spoken of, ch. v. 17–21. Cod. 58, Syriac, and Old Lat., *And now, my lord, &c.* Instead of "the men of B.," the Syr. has "the sons of the city."

saved.] *περιεποιήσαντο*, *kept* or *saved* him *for themselves* (Hdt. i. 110). The verb also has the meaning suggested in the margin: see Thucyd. i. 9. The Syr. has "received him," and so Old Lat. (c. Germ. 15). Old Lat. *circumierunt*. Cod. 58 omits the second half of the verse.

spoken unto thee.] Rather, *divulged* (*ἐξελάλησε*, but Codd. x. 74, 76, 19, 108, *ἐλάλ.*) *in thy presence* (*παρὰ σοί*).

10. *Therefore, O lord and governor.*] See note on ch. v. 20 *supra*. Cod. 58 omits *δέσπ. κύριε*.

reject.] Rather, *pass by, neglect, disregard*. Παρελθεῖν = עָבַר (so Syr.): Gen. xviii. 3; Deut. xxvi. 13; Luke xi. 42.

shall not be punished.] Lit. *is not punished*. Fritzsche edits *ἐκδικᾶται*, remarking that the form *ἐκδικάω* is sometimes found, *e.g.* Lev. xix. 18, Deut. xxxii. 43; and that it arose later out of the form in *-άζω*.

can prevail.] *Prevaileth*, or *doth prevail*. Οὐδὲ *κατισχύει* is the reading of Codd. x. 19, 44, al. The common text is simply *οὐ*. The personification of the sword is not uncommon: cf. Deut. xxxii. 42; 2 Sam. xi. 25; 1 Chron. xxi. 12.

except they sin against their God.] Or, *if they have not sinned, &c.* Cf. Lev. xxvi. 3, 8; Deut. xxxii. 30; 2 Chron. xxiv. 24.

11. *that my lord be not defeated and frustrate of his purpose.*] The Gk. is *ἵνα μὴ γένηται ὁ κ. μου ἔκβολος καὶ ἄπρακτος*. The term *ἔκβολος*, *cast out*, is used of an *exposed* babe (Eurip. 'Phoeniss.' 104). Perhaps it means *abortive, unsuccessful* here: cf. *ἐκβόλιμος*. As to the synonym *ἄπρακτος*, see Thucyd. ii. 59; iv. 61. Wahl unsuitably explains *ἔκβολος* as = *explosus*, "hissed off the stage," because *ἐκβάλλειν* may mean *explodere*. The Syriac has: "And now that my lord may not become *without effect*" (ܕܠܐ ܣܘܟܢܝ). Fritzsche renders, "damit mein Herr nicht ausgestossen, vertrieben werde;" cf. Mark i. 43, *ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν*.

even death is now fallen upon them.] Rather, *and that death may fall upon their face*. The

even death is now fallen upon them, and their sin hath overtaken them, wherewith they will provoke their God to anger, whensoever they shall do that which is not fit to be done:

12 For their victuals fail them, and all their water is scant, and they have determined to lay hands upon their cattle, and purposed to consume all those things, that God hath forbidden them to eat by his laws:

13 And are resolved to spend the firstfruits of the corn, and the tenths of wine and oil, which they had sanctified, and reserved for the priests that serve in Jerusalem before the face of our God; the which things it is not lawful for any of the people

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Greek is *καὶ ἐπιπεσεῖται θάνατος ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν*. After *καὶ* we must mentally supply *ἵνα* from the preceding clause. Its construction with the future indicative would, of course, be a solecism in classical Greek. Codd. x. 23 omit *καὶ*; 19, 108 read *γνῶθι ὅτι ἐπιπ.*; and 58 has *ἔπεσεν ὁ θάνατος πρὸ πρ.* (Syriac, *death has fallen before them.*) Old Lat. *cecidit enim timor super illos;* Vulg. *tremor tuus super ipsos est;* but Old Lat. (cod. Germ.) has *mors.*

and their sin hath overtaken them.] Rather, *a sin hath seized them;* not yet, however, in act but in will. The *καὶ* introduces the apodosis; see ch. v. 20. *καταλαμβάνω* often renders הִשִּׂיג, *to overtake:* e.g. Gen. xxxi. 24; Ps. xl. 12. Cod. 58, Syr., and Old Lat., *a great sin.*

whensoever, &c.] Gk. *ὁπηνίκα ἂν ποιήσωσιν ἀτοπίαν.* The term *ἀτοπία*, "absurdity," "eccentricity," is not found elsewhere in LXX. or N. T. The adjective *ἄτοπον*, "out of place," "odd," "absurd," occurs in a stronger ethical sense in Luke xxiii. 41, and elsewhere. Cf. Job xxxiv. 12, *ἄτοπα ποιήσειν* (= הִרְשִׁיעַ, *to do evil*); xxxv. 13, *ἄτοπα* (= שָׁוְא, *falsehood*); xxxvi. 21 (= אָוֶן, *vanity, wickedness*). Cod. 58 has *αὐτὸ, i.e. ἁμάρτημα*, instead of *ἀτοπίαν*; and so Syriac and Old Lat.

12. *For their victuals, &c.*] Lit. "For when the foods failed them, and every (sort of) water was scant, they determined, &c., and all things that God expressly charged them by his laws not to eat, they decided to consume." Instead of Γὰρ ἐξέλιπεν, Codd. iii. x. 19, 44, and many MSS. have *παρεξέλιπεν*,—"an example," says Fritzsche, "how well attested mere oversights often are." See ch. vii. 20. Ἐσπανίσθη, "was scanty," is a late use of the passive of *σπανίζω*, which itself means "to be rare, scarce, scanty," of things. The late use of the active form as transitive = "to make scarce," accounts for this use of the passive, which in classical writers means "to be in want of," *indigere.* Cf. Job xiv. 11; where "waters depart from the sea" is rendered by LXX.: *χρόνῳ σπανίζεται θάλασσα.* See ch. viii. 5 (*σπάνει*).

"Lay hands upon," *ἐπιβάλλειν* in the intransitive sense, found also in the classics: *to throw oneself upon, fall upon, attack,* irruere (1 Macc. iv. 2; cf. Gen. xxii. 12). After "their cattle" Old Lat. adds *et bibere sanguinem eorum;* and similarly the Vulg. Compare the Midrash, which, after making Judith state as the reason of her flight, "We have sinned before the Lord our God, and therefore He hath said by the hand of the prophets to the people that He will chastise them for their sins," makes her add that owing to thirst "the people have resolved to kill their sheep and to drink their blood, and have determined to loose the holy things (להתיר את הקדושים), from which they derive no benefit, in corn and in wine and in oil. And if they do this, they will perish, and thou wilt stand." See Lev. xvii. 10–14; 1 Sam. xiv. 31–34. "Expressly charged" is *διεστείλατο*: Mark v. 43.

by his laws.] In Heb. ב = *ἐν* would be expressed. Yet Fritzsche writes: "*ἐν* ante *τοῖς νόμοις* delevi, abest a ii. iii. x. 58." Surely inferior MSS. sometimes preserve a right reading. Cod. 58 and the Syriac omit *διέγνωσαν δαπανῆσαι*, "they had decided to consume." Cf. ch. xii. 4.

13. Verses 13–15 are wanting in Cod. 58. The Syriac and Old Lat. omit *the tithes.* The order of the Gk. text is thus: "And the first fruits of the corn, and the tithes of the wine and the oil, which they had carefully kept, having dedicated (them) for the priests who stand in Jerusalem before the face of our God (1 Kings xviii. 15), they have resolved to use up (*ἐξαναλίσκω*)." The last word might represent Heb. אָכַל, *to eat*, as in Deut. v. 22.

the which things.] *ἃ* is the Greek, where we should have expected *ὧν*. Lit. "which things not even with the hands was it proper (*καθῆκεν* impers.; Acts xxii. 22; cf. Ecclus. x. 26) that any of the people touch;" much less with the teeth. As to eating of things hallowed, see Lev. xxii., 1 Sam. xxi. 4–6, and our Saviour's comment upon that passage, Matt. xii. 3 *seq.* Volkmar observes that the extraordinary importance attached to the pay-

so much as to touch with their hands.

14 For they have sent some to Jerusalem, because they also that dwell there have done the like, to bring them a license from the senate.

15 Now when they shall bring them word, they will forthwith do it, and they shall be given thee to be destroyed the same day.

16 Wherefore I thine handmaid, knowing all this, am fled from their presence; and God hath sent me to work things with thee, whereat all the earth shall be astonished, and whosoever shall hear it.

17 For thy servant is religious, and serveth the God of heaven day and night: now therefore, my lord, I will remain with thee, and thy servant will go out by night into the valley, and I will pray unto God, and he will tell me when they have committed their sins:

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ment of first-fruits and tithes is a striking feature of the time after the second destruction of the Temple; and so no doubt it is, but not a peculiar feature, as his argument supposes.

14. *have done the like.*] The people of Jerusalem have already in former times of distress been driven to break the law concerning holy things. Cf. the case of the Maccabeans fighting on the Sabbath, 1 Macc. ii. 38 *sqq.*

to bring them a license from the senate.] Gk. *τοὺς μετακομίσοντας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἄφεσιν παρὰ τῆς γερουσίας*, "persons to bring them the (expected or necessary) permission from the Sanhedrin." How did this embassy evade the notice of the besiegers? Μετακομ., the reading of Codd. 64, 76, 236, Ald. (cf. *μετακομίσαντας*, Codd. 23, 52, al.), is doubtless right. The ordinary text, *μετοικίσαντας*, is meaningless. Codd. 19, 108, *τοῖς μετοική* (leg. *ί*)*σασιν αὐτοὺς λαβόντες κ.τ.λ.* "They also that dwell there did the like, *to* (*the advantage of?*) *those who carried them captive, having received the permission* from the senate." Old Lat.: *Qui transtulerunt in relationem senioribus;* but cod. Germ. 15, *qui abstulerunt eis illationem a senioribus.* Syriac: "those who brought them word unto the elders."

15. *Now when they shall bring them word.*] Lit. "And it shall come to pass, whenever one shall have reported (the permission) to them, and they have done accordingly (*καὶ ποιήσωσι*), they will be given unto thee for destruction on that day." Probably *ὡς ἂν ἀναγγείλῃ* is impersonal, a common Hebrew construction. Fritzsche makes the subject *ἡ γερουσία*, from the last verse. Syriac: "They will be given up to thee on that day, and thou shalt destroy them" (= *εἰς ὄλεθρον*; which is not therefore an *addition*, as Fritzsche writes).

16. *am fled from their presence.*] *Ran away from them.* Ἀπέδρων = Attic ἀπέδραν. See Lobeck, 'Phryn.' p. 737; Veitch.

to work things with thee.] *To do works* (along) *with thee.* See *v.* 6 *supra.* Cod. 58 and Old Lat., *to do a work*, as there. So Syriac, ܨܒܘܬܐ, *voluntas, res, negotium.*

astonished.] ἐκστήσεται. Classically the verb means *to be out of one's wits, to be distraught.* Here, as in Matt. xii. 23, Mark ii. 12, *to be amazed, astounded;* a stronger term than *θαυμάζω* (ch. x. 23), and equivalent to the Heb. שָׁמֵם (2 Chron. vii. 21; Isa. lii. 14); or תָּמַהּ, Gen. xliii. 34. (So Syriac.)

and whosoever.] Omit *and.* Ὅσοι ἐὰν refers to *πᾶσα ἡ γῆ*, by a *constructio ad sensum.*

it.] *αὐτά*, *them*, i.e. the works. Cf. 1 Sam. iii. 11. The irony of Judith's words is again evident: see note on *v.* 6. Her language is intentionally ambiguous, not, however, as some commentators have thought, because the author wished to save Judith's credit for veracity. He obviously holds up his heroine as, like Horace's Hypermnestra, "splendide mendax, et in omne virgo Nobilis aevum."

17. *religious.*] *θεοσεβής.* Job i. 1, 8; ii. 3. See note on *εὐσεβής*, ch. viii. 31. She alleges her extraordinary devotion as the ground of her selection by God for a great work.

by night.] *κατὰ νύκτα*, "night by night," "every night,"—a distributive formula. Midrash: "thrice a day."

valley.] Here *φάραγγα*, "ravine;" not *αὐλῶνα*, "glen," "hollow," as in ch. x. 10.

tell.] *ἐρεῖ*, for which Fritzsche edits *ἀναγγελεῖ*, "report," "bring back word," from Codd. iii. 19, 52, 58, 64, al., Old Lat. For *ἐποίησαν τὰ ἁμαρτ. αὐτῶν*, Codd. 19, 108 have *ποιήσουσι τὰ ἁμαρτ. αὐτ.*, and 58, *ποιήσει τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτ.* "When He shall cause their sin" (?) or punishment. Syriac: *when their sins are being done.* Cf. 2 Kings iv. 27; Amos iii. 7. Judith's representation of herself as a favourite of heaven, and privileged to receive divine communications, would be plausible enough, according to ancient ideas.

18 And I will come and shew it unto thee: then thou shalt go forth with all thine army, and there shall be none of them that shall resist thee.

19 And I will lead thee through the midst of Judea, until thou come before Jerusalem; and I will set thy throne in the midst thereof; and thou shalt drive them as sheep that have no shepherd, and [b]a dog shall not so much as [I]open his mouth at thee: for [I]these things were told me according to my foreknowledge, and they were declared unto me, and I am sent to tell thee.

[b] Exod. xi. 7.
[I] Or, *bark.*
[I] Or, *these things have I spoken.*

20 Then her words pleased Holofernes and all his servants; and they marvelled at her wisdom, and said,

21 There is not such a woman from one end of the earth to the other, both for beauty of face, and wisdom of words.

22 Likewise Holofernes said unto her, God hath done well to send thee before the people, that strength might be in our hands, and destruction upon them that lightly regard my lord.

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18. *shew it unto thee.*] προσανοίσω σοι, *I will bring back to thee.* The word is used by Polybius to render the Lat. *referre ad senatum.* Heb. probably וְאוֹדִיעֲךָ, "and I will inform thee." (So Syriac.)

there shall be.] *There is.*

19. *through the midst.*] διὰ μέσου τῆς 'Ιουδ., where μέσον is a neut. substant.=Heb. תָּוֶךְ. Cod. 58 has the better Greek, διὰ μέσης.

until thou come.] This is probably right. = Heb. עַד בֹּאֲךָ; so Cod. 19, and the Syriac. Cod. 58 has *until I come.*

I will set.] Codd. 19, 108, *thou shalt set.* "Thy throne" is τὸν δίφρον σου; but Codd. 23, 44, 74, 76, al. have θρόνον. Δίφρος represents Heb. כִּסֵּא, *sella,* in Deut. xvii. 18; 1 Sam. i. 9; 2 Kings iv. 10; 2 Macc. xiv. 21.

as sheep that have no shepherd.] "Or, an army whose leader is slain (1 Kings xxii. 17). Such in Judith's intention the Assyrians were soon to be" (Churton). Cf. also Matt. ix. 36; Num. xxvii. 17. *Shepherd* was an Assyrian as well as a Hebrew synonym of *king.*

a dog shall not so much, &c.] Lit. *and a dog shall not mutter* (γρύξει) *with his tongue against thee.* Γρύζω, which the Attic comedians use in the sense of *to mutter* or *grumble,* is Heb. חָרַץ, "to sharpen," Exod. xi. 7, where this proverbial expression first occurs. So Midrash. Cf. also Josh. x. 21. The meaning here is: Thou shalt meet with no resistance, not even of the feeblest kind. Pellicanus, annotating the Vulgate, wrote, "Ego adducam te; i.e. caput tuum. Non latrabunt contra te canes; non enim vives, sed potius illis cibus abjicieris."

told.] *Spoken* (ἐλαλήθη); *scil.* by the Deity, and therefore they must be true. Cod. 58, ἐμηνύθη, "were revealed:" 2 Macc. iii. 11. So Syriac, "these things were revealed in my knowledge;" and Old Lat.

according to my foreknowledge.] Codd. 19, 108 omit *my*; cf. ch. ix. 6. The meaning seems to be: *were spoken to me prophetically*; or as Gaab and De Wette put it, *durch Offenbarung,* "by (or in the way of) revelation." Fritzsche prefers to understand πρόγνωσις of Judith's natural foresight of the end, which was confirmed by a special revelation; but this is too artificial to be probable. Cf. the Vulg. "Haec mihi dicta sunt *per providentiam Dei.*" So Midrash: "All this was told me *in the visions of God,* and on account of the hot anger of the Lord am I sent to tell thee all this." The Syriac omits: "and they were declared unto me." Cf. Cod. 58, which has, instead of καὶ ἀπηγγέλη μοι κ. ἀπεστάλην, simply καὶ ἦλθον τοῦ.

I am sent to tell.] *I was sent to report (them)*; ἀπεστάλην ἀναγγεῖλαι.

20. *at her wisdom.*] Cod. 58, Syr., and Old Lat., *at her beauty and her wisdom.*

21. *from one end of the earth.*] Cf. Deut. xiii. 7; Matt. xxiv. 31. The Old Lat. has the curious variant: *a cacumine montium usque ad summum terrae.*

for beauty of face.] ἐν κάλλει προσώπου. So Fritzsche after Codd. 19, 52, 58, 64, 44, al., Syriac and Old Lat. The common text has (iii. ἐν) καλῷ προσώπῳ, which is certainly wrong.

22. *the people.*] Cod. 58, Old Lat., *thy people*; Syr. *the sons of thy people.*

that strength might be in our hands.] Cf. the phrase *to strengthen the hands* of one, Ezra vi. 22; Neh. vi. 9; Jer. xxiii. 14, and elsewhere. Assuming what she said to be true, Judith's mission to the Assyrians was a divine strengthening of their hands. But Holofernes' recognition of the fact clashes with his former assertion of the sole divinity of Nabuchodonosor (ch. iii. 8; vi. 2), as Pellicanus long ago observed. Cod. 58 has *in us* for *in our hands*; and the Syriac,

23 And now thou art both beautiful in thy countenance, and witty in thy words: surely if thou do as thou hast spoken, thy God shall be my God, and thou shalt dwell in the house of king Nabuchodonosor, and shalt be renowned through the whole earth.

CHAPTER XII.

2 Judith will not eat of Holofernes' meat. 7 She tarried three days in the camp, and every night went forth to pray. 13 Bagoas doth move her to be merry with Holofernes, 20 who for joy of her company drank much.

THEN he commanded to bring her in where his plate was set; and bade that they should prepare for her of his own meats, and that she should drink of his own wine.

2 And Judith said, I [a] will not eat thereof, lest there be an offence:

[a] Gen. 43. 32. Dan. 1. 8. Tobit 1. 11.

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that there might be in us help (leg. ܥܘܕܪܢ pro ܥܘܗܕܢ, *memoria*).

23. *beautiful.*] ἀστεῖα, "pretty," or "charming." Cf. Arist. 'Eth. Nic.' iv. 3. 5, οἱ μικροὶ ἀστεῖοι καὶ σύμμετροι, καλοὶ δ' οὔ. Cf. Exod. ii. 2 (= Heb. טוֹב, "goodly").

witty.] ἀγαθῇ, either "excellent" or "pleasing."

surely.] ὅτι, *because* or *for* (= כִּי). "(I say this) because, if, &c."

if thou do.] Codd. 19, 108: *if thy God do as thou hast said, he shall be, &c.*

thy God shall be my God.] Cf. Gen. xxviii. 21; 2 Kings v. 17; Ruth i. 16. In all good faith Holofernes declares that if Judith's God grant him the predicted triumph, he will adopt his worship. Judith's beauty and craft are completely successful.

dwell.] καθήσῃ, "sit." The Heb. יָשַׁב means both "to sit" and "to dwell." Cf. Lat. *sedes*, and our *seat*.

renowned through the whole earth.] ὀνομαστὴ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, *renowned above all the earth*, the comparative use of παρά. The earth is put for the inhabitants of it, as often.

CHAPTER XII.

1. *where his plate was set.*] *Where his silver vessels used to be put* or *laid* (ἐτίθετο). τὰ ἀργυρώματα recurs, ch. xv. 11; 1 Macc. xv. 32. Old Lat. *argentum*; cod. Corb., *pecunia*. Vulg. *thesauri*. "If the word *plate* were used, it should at least be limited by *silver*," remarks Dr. Bissell. *Plate*, however, is the Spanish *plata*, silver. Judith is led into the banqueting chamber. (Syr. omits "to bring . . . set").

prepare.] καταστρῶσαι, sternere; *to spread* a couch (κλίνην), or rather "soft skins" (*v.* 15), for her to recline upon at his table. The literal translation seems to be: *and he commanded to spread for her to drink of his dainties and his wine.* Πίνειν is connected by zeugma with ἀπὸ τῶν ὀψοποιημάτων, as well as with τοῦ οἴνου. Cf. "I will not eat" in *v.* 2, which, *vice versâ*, includes the wine as well as the viands. Syr.: "and he commanded that they should spread (a couch) for her, and that they should give her of his feast, and of the wine of his drink." It looks as if καὶ δοῦναι αὐτῇ had fallen out after αὐτῇ: Codd. 19, 108 have these words, and so Old Lat. (In that case πιεῖν, the reading of Codd. iii. 58, 76, al. is right.)

Ὀψοποίημα is a rare word, occurring besides only in the Geoponica (x. 18), in the sense of *preparation of food, cookery*. Here it means *dainty fare*. The verb ὀψοποιέω, "to cook daintily," and the noun ὀψοποιΐα, "fine cookery," as well as ὀψοποιός, "a cook," and ὀψοποιητική, "the art of cookery," are found in the classics.

2. *lest there be an offence.*] Gk. ἵνα μὴ γένηται σκάνδαλον. Cf. ch. v. 1, 19. Fritzsche says: "An offence not with men but with God, through eating of unclean foods forbidden in the Law, which would prove ruinous." Richard Arnald wrote: "It was the custom of ancient times to consecrate all that they did eat or drink to their gods, by putting part of it on the altar, or casting it into the fire; so that to eat of meats and drinks so consecrated was in effect to partake of things offered to idols." See 2 Macc. vi. 18 *sqq.* In Israel all foods were virtually consecrated by the offering of the first-fruits and sacrifices. See Lev. xvii. 3, xxiii. 14; Deut. xii. 21 *sqq.* Cf. 'Odyss.' iii. 5–68. Some MSS. read γένηταί μοι, and so the Syr. and Old Lat.; this accords with the general use of σκάνδαλον: "lest there arise a snare (or stumbling-block) to me." Cf. Judges viii. 27; Ps. lxix. 22; Matt. xviii. 7; Rom. xvi. 17; 1 Cor. viii. 13.

The writer lays great stress upon Judith's scruples about "unclean meats," and the tenderness of her conscience about such matters stands in startling contrast with her well-considered lying and calculated treachery. She belongs to her own age, not ours; an age which refined upon the Law itself, in its pursuit of ceremonial purity. Cf. Dan. i. 8; Tobit i. 11; 2 Macc. vi. 7, 18; also Ezek. iv. 13, 14; Hos. ix. 3, "They shall eat unclean things in Assyria;" Mark vii. 2–23; Acts x. 9–16.

but provision shall be made for me of the things that I have brought.

3 Then Holofernes said unto her, If thy provision should fail, how should we give thee the like? for there be none with us of thy nation.

4 Then said Judith unto him, As thy soul liveth, my lord, thine handmaid shall not spend those things that I have, before the Lord work by mine hand the things that he hath determined.

5 Then the servants of Holofernes brought her into the tent, and she slept till midnight, and she arose when it was toward the morning watch,

6 And sent to Holofernes, saying, Let my lord now command that thine handmaid may go forth unto prayer.

7 Then Holofernes commanded his guard that they should not stay her: thus she abode in the camp three days, and went out in the night into the valley of Bethulia, and washed herself in a fountain of water by the camp.

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provision shall be made .... brought.] Lit. *out of the things that have followed me it shall be provided.* For χορηγεῖσθαι in this sense, see Arist. 'Polit.' iii. 11. 2, iv. 1. 1; and cf. 'Eth. Nic.' i. 10, 15.

Cod. 58 has χορήγει μοι, "provide for me;" Codd. 23, 44, al. "I will be provided;" Syr. "sufficeth me that which came with me." Cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 10; Ecclus. i. 8, 23; 1 Kings iv. 7 (= כַּלְכֵּל).

3. *thy provision.*] τὰ ὄντα μετὰ σοῦ.

how should we give thee the like?] πόθεν ἐξοίσομέν σοι δοῦναι ὅμοια αὐτοῖς; "whence shall we bring forth (*i.e.* out of what stores), to give thee things like to them?" But Codd. iii. 19. 58, 23, 52, al. have πόθεν ἕξομεν, "whence shall we be able, &c." Syr. "whence (will it be) to us to give thee like it?"

for there be none with us of thy nation.] *For there is not with us* [*a man*; so Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat.] *of thy nation* [*who hath the like:* Syr., Old Lat.]. The Old Lat. (cod. Corb.) has: "non enim est nobiscum ex genere tuo *aliquid*;" a false explanation.

4. *As thy soul liveth.*] See ch. xi. 7; 1 Sam. i. 26; 2 Sam. xi. 11; Hos. iv. 15; Amos viii. 14. Cod. 58 omits the formula.

those things that I have.] τὰ ὄντα μετ' ἐμοῦ (*v.* 3). Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat. μετ' αὐτῆς. The solemn irony of Judith's reply is obvious to us who know the sequel of the story.

At the end the Syriac has: "that *I* have determined."

5. *till midnight.*] μεχρὶ μεσούσης τῆς νυκτός, a classical form of expression; cf. ἡμέρα μεσοῦσα, Hdt. iii. 104; θέρους μεσοῦντος, Thucyd. v. 57. See also Exod. xii. 29: ἐγενήθη δὲ μεσούσης τῆς νυκτός. Heb. בַּחֲצִי הַלַּיְלָה, "in the half of the night." So Syr.

toward the morning watch.] For πρὸς, "towards," Cod. iii. has περὶ, "about." Cf. Exod. xiv. 24, בְּאַשְׁמֹרֶת הַבֹּקֶר, "in the watch of the morning." It was the last night-watch before sunrise. See Judges vii. 19; 1 Sam. xi. 11; Matt. xiv. 25; Mark xiii. 35; Luke xii. 38.

6. *go forth unto prayer.*] Syr. *to pray.* The Mosaic Law nowhere prescribes early acts of devotion. Even Daniel was content to pray three times a day (Dan. vi. 10), according to the custom indicated in Ps. lv. 17, which specifies the hours of evening, morning, and noonday (cf. Acts iii. 1, x. 9; the sixth and ninth hours). But the zeal of earnest piety has never waited for prescription in such matters (Ps. cxix. 147, 148); and, apart from her habitual asceticism, Judith certainly had special reason to pray on the present occasion. Cf. also 1 Sam. xv. 11; Rev. iv. 8, vii. 15; 1 Macc. iii. 47, vii. 37.

7. *went out in the night.*] *Used to go forth every night and dip herself* (2 Kings v. 14). Midrash: לטבול את גופה, "to dip her body." The dipping was ceremonial: cf. Exod. xxx. 17–21; Ps. xxvi. 6; John xiii. 10; Heb. x. 22. Telemachos washed his hands in the sea before praying to Athena ('Odyss.' ii. 260). The Jewish προσευχαὶ, or oratories, were usually near water: cf. Acts xvi. 13; Juven. Sat. iii. 296: "Ede ubi consistas, in qua te quaero proseucha." Volkmar asserts that Judith would neither eat nor even pray until after she had taken a bath, and that this extreme scrupulousness goes beyond that indicated in Mark vii. 2, and belongs to a later time (viz. that of Trajan). But she did *not* bathe immediately before her evening meal; and it cannot be supposed that her fasting through the day was unaccompanied by prayer, or was itself determined, as Volkmar states, by the fact that she could only bathe once a day.

in a fountain of water by the camp.] Rather, *in the camp, at the fountain of water.* Cod. 58, the Syr., and Old Lat. omit *in the camp* (Gk. ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ). According to ch. vii.

8 And when she came out, she besought the Lord God of Israel to direct her way to the raising up of the children of her people.

9 So she came in clean, and remained in the tent, until she did eat her meat at evening.

10 And in the fourth day Holofernes made a feast to his own servants only, and called none of the officers to the banquet.

11 Then said he to Bagoas the eunuch, who had charge over all that he had, Go now, and persuade this Hebrew woman which is with thee, that she come unto us, and eat and drink with us.

12 For, lo, it will be a shame for

3, the Assyrians encamped by the fountain. When it is said in the verse before us that Judith used to go forth (from the camp) every night, the meaning must be that she went from Holofernes' headquarters at the centre of the camp to the far outskirts where the fountain was. But even after this explanation, the words *ἐν τῇ παρεμβ.* still wear a suspicious look. Movers suggested that the Gk. translator mistook מהנדה, "from the uncleanness," for במחנה, "in the camp." Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat. have *in the fountain.*

8. *came out.*] *ἀνέβη*, *went up*, sc. out of the water: Matt. iii. 16; Mark i. 10.

she besought.] *She used to* (or *would*) *beseech.* Ἐδέετο (Ionic form; Hdt. iii. 157), the imperfect, expresses what she did on each occasion.

to the raising up.] *εἰς ἀνάστημα* (Cod. iii. vulgo, *ἀνάστεμα*); see note on ch. ix. 10 *supra.* For the metaphor, cf. Ps. iii. 3; ix. 13; xviii. 48. The raising of Israel implied the bringing low of Assyria; Ps. xx. 8.

9. *So she came in clean, and remained in the tent.*] *And coming in clean she would remain, &c.* Bissell renders "she remained so" (*i.e.* clean), adding that the word "seems necessary to complete the sense." The Syriac has, "and when she came in, she would remain in purity in the tent." But the A. V. is preferable.

until she did eat her meat.] *μέχρις οὗ προσηνέγκατο* (Codd. 19, 108, *προσεφέρετο*) *τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῆς*, "until she took to herself her food." Cf. Xen. 'Cyrop.' iv. 2, 41; and the passive, *τὰ προσφερόμενα*, *meat* or *drink*, *food.* Wisdom xvi. 21: *τῇ τοῦ προσφερομένου ἐπιθυμίᾳ*, "to the appetite of the eater."

10. *And . . . Holofernes made.*] *καὶ ἐγένετο . . . ἐποίησεν* 'Ολ. ויהי . . . עשה; a common Heb. construction. Feast is *πότος*, *banquet*, מִשְׁתֶּה; cf. Esth. i. 5, 9.

to his own servants only.] *I.e.* his immediate attendants, his personal retinue and the officers of his household.

called . . . to the banquet.] *ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὴν κλῆσιν* (so Fritzsche after Codd. iii. 19, 58, 23, 52, 44, and many MSS.; vulgo *χρῆσιν*). The common reading appears meaningless. Κλῆσις properly means an *invitation* to a feast, *e.g.* Xenoph. 'Sympos.' i. 7. Here it denotes the *feast* itself—Old Lat. *ad cenam*—or *the persons invited*, the *guests*, or *company* (De Wette). The Heb. may have been מִקְרָא, Lev. xxiii. 2, 3, 4.

none of the officers.] *οὐδένα τῶν πρὸς ταῖς χρείαις*, "none of those in charge of affairs" (German, *die bei den Geschäften*): *i.e.* the various commanders of the army. Cf. 1 Macc. x. 37, *κατασταθήσεται ἐπὶ χρειῶν τῆς βασιλείας*, "shall be set over the affairs of the kingdom;" and xiii. 37, *γράφειν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν χρειῶν*. None of the army commanders were invited, because the occasion was not a public one. (Syriac: "and a man of the soldiers and officers he called not.")

11. *Bagoas.*] Vulg. Vagao; a name derived from the Persian: see Plin. 'Hist. Nat.' xiii. 4, 9; Quintil. v. 12, 21. Arnald quotes, "Quem penes est dominam servandi cura Bagoae" (Ovid, 'Amor.' ii. 2. 1). The name בִּגְוַי, *Bigwai* (Ezra ii. 2, 14), may be related to Bagoas (cf. Βαγωύας, Cod. 58 *passim*, and Old Persian *apâvya*, i.e. *sine testibus*). Eunuchs were employed by the ancient Assyrian as by other Oriental monarchs; but the name *Bagoas* indicates that the present passage belongs to post-Persian times. The Midrash writes הסרים, "the eunuch," instead of Bagoas.

12. *it will be a shame for our person.*] *αἰσχρὸν τῷ προσώπῳ ἡμῶν.* Heb. לְפָנֵינוּ בּוּשָׁה, Ezek. vii. 18 (or בֹּשֶׁת). The words put into the mouth of Holofernes are strikingly true to nature. Habitual sin of any kind, and sexual licence especially, may have the effect of falsifying the judgment and reversing the moral perceptions, so that a man will call evil good with entire sincerity, and glory in his own unspeakable shame.

"When we in our viciousness grow hard
(O misery on't!) the wise gods seel our eyes
In our own filth; drop our clear judgments; make us
Adore our errors; laugh at us while we strut
To our confusion."

Ant. and Cleop. iii. sc. 11.

our person, if we shall let such a woman go, not having had her company; for if we draw her not unto us, she will laugh us to scorn.

13 Then went Bagoas from the presence of Holofernes, and came to her, and he said, Let not this fair damsel fear to come to my lord, and to be honoured in his presence, and drink wine, and be merry with us, and be made this day as one of the daughters of the Assyrians, which serve in the house of Nabuchodonosor.

14 Then said Judith unto him, Who am I now, that I should gainsay my lord? surely whatsoever pleaseth him I will do speedily, and it shall be my joy unto the day of my death.

15 So she arose, and decked herself with her apparel and all her woman's attire, and her maid went and laid soft skins on the ground for her over against Holofernes, which she had received of Bagoas for her daily use, that she might sit and eat upon them.

16 Now when Judith came in and sat down, Holofernes his heart was ravished with her, and his mind was moved, and he desired greatly her company; for he waited a time to

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if we draw her not unto us.] ἐὰν ταύτην μὴ ἐπισπασώμεθα, *if we allure* (or *induce, persuade*) *not this woman.* The language is obviously euphemistic both here and in the next verse. Syr. ܐܠܐ ܢܩܦܝܗ̇, *nisi adhaeserimus ei.*

13. *drink wine, and be merry with us.*] Instead of πιεῖν (Codd. iii. 64, al.), Fritzsche edits πίεσαι, "thou shalt drink;" a change of construction which is immediately reversed in γενηθῆναι, for which, however, Codd. 19, 108 have the future γενήσῃ. Literally it is: "And thou shalt drink wine with us unto merriment" (εἰς εὐφροσύνην). Cf. Esth. i. 10 *sqq.*; Hdt. v. 18. 2 *sqq.* The indications of *vv.* 13–16 point to post-Persian times.

and be made this day, &c.] Lit., *and to become on this day as a daughter of the sons of Assur, who stand by, &c.* The *who* is feminine (αἵ), referring to an understood antecedent. Cod. 58 has: *and to become glorious* (ἔνδοξος) *as a daughter of the nobles* (μεγιστάνων). Syr.: "And thou shalt drink wine with us, and shalt rejoice, and shalt be to-day honoured as one of the daughters of the nobles of Assyria, who (masc.) stand, &c." The characteristic address of this Oriental Pandarus hardly veils a sinister meaning. But Judith's opportunity is now come, and she answers at once in a tone of deep humility and apparent gratification that must have greatly relieved the apprehensions of her wily tempter.

14. *surely.*] ὅτι, *because* or *for.* Judith says: "And who am I to gainsay my lord? Nay, for everything that shall be in his eyes pleasing, I will haste and do" (σπεύσασα ποιήσω, or according to Cod. 58, σπουδάσω καὶ ποιήσω).

it shall be my joy.] καὶ ἔσται τοῦτο ἀγαλλίαμα. But Codd. iii. 52, 58, al. μοι τοῦτο; and 23, 55, 44, al. τοῦτο μοι. Syr. *and it shall be to me a boast* (ܫܘܒܗܪܐ).

15. *decked herself.*] See ch. x. 3 *supra.* Codd. iii. 19, 108 omit καὶ παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ.

soft skins.] τὰ κώδια, *the sheepskins* or *fleeces* used for bedding (Arist. 'Frogs,' 1478); dimin. of κῶας; cf. 'Odyss.' iii. 37 *sq.* Cod. 58 omits τὰ κώδια . . . ἐπ' αὐτῶν; using ἔστρωσεν absolutely, as in *v.* 10.

for her daily use.] εἰς τὴν καθημερινὴν δίαιταν αὐτῆς. For the adjective καθημ., *quotidianus*, cf. Plut. 'Lyc.' 10; Luke xi. 3, τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν. Trommius cites Judith xii. 15 only. Δίαιτα means "*a way of living, mode of life*, with special reference to *food and dress, maintenance, board and lodging.* Lat. *cultus victusque*" (Liddell and Scott). The Syriac has: "to sleep on them."

sit.] *recline* (κατακλινομένην). Syr. *sit.*

16. *sat down.*] ἀνέπεσεν = ἀνεκεῖτο, "lay at table." The ancient Hebrew custom was to sit at table (1 Sam. xx. 24; Prov. xxiii. 1). Lying at table is mentioned as a mark of luxury by the prophets Amos (vi. 4) and Ezekiel (xxiii. 41). After the Return it became general.

was ravished with her.] ἐξέστη ἐπ' αὐτήν, *was amazed, beside itself with wonder, at her.* The more usual construction is, ἐπί τινι or ἐπί τινος. The present one recurs ch. xv. 1.

his mind was moved.] ἐσαλεύθη ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ. The soul was regarded as the seat of emotion. "His soul was shaken or agitated:" cf. 1 Macc. vi. 8; Luke xxi. 26.

and he desired greatly her company.] Fritzsche puts the stop before this clause, which appears to be closely connected with the following one: "Now he was ardently

deceive her, from the day that he had seen her.

17 Then said Holofernes unto her, Drink now, and be merry with us.

18 So Judith said, I will drink now, my lord, because my life is magnified in me this day more than all the days since I was born.

19 Then she took and ate and drank before him what her maid had prepared.

20 And Holofernes took great delight in her, and drank much more wine than he had drunk at any time in one day since he was born.

CHAPTER XIII.

2 Judith is left alone with Holofernes in his tent. 4 She prayeth God to give her strength. 8 She cut off his head while he slept, 10 and returned with it to Bethulia. 17 They saw it, and commend her.

NOW when the evening was come, his servants made haste to depart, and Bagoas shut his tent without, and dismissed the waiters from the presence of his lord; and they went to their beds: for they were all weary, because the feast had been long.

2 And Judith was left alone in the tent, and Holofernes lying along upon his bed: for he was filled with [a]wine.

[a] Ecclus. 31. 20, 23.

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desirous of intercourse with her, and was watching for an opportunity of beguiling her, from the day that he saw her." Κατεπίθυμος is a ἅπαξ λεγ. Cod. 58 reads: ἐζήτει καιρὸν ἀπαντῆσαι αὐτῇ, "He was seeking an opportunity to meet her." Syr. *et quaerebat sibi tempus quo cognosceret eam.*

18. *I will drink now.*] πίομαι δή. אֶשְׁתֶּה נָּא, "Let me drink, I pray." Cod. 58, 44, al. omit the precative particle, which occurred in *v.* 17 (πίε δέ). She wishes to drink her own wine, not his.

my life is magnified in me this day.] She is thinking of the exploit which that day would witness, and her heightened feeling finds natural expression in lofty language.

more than all the days, &c.] Lit., *above all the days of my birth*; cf. the vulgar English, "all my *born* days," *i.e.* my entire life. But Judith's words might be understood to mean that the occasion was more joyful than all her birthdays; cf. Gen. xl. 20 (ἡμέρα γενέσεως = הֻלֶּדֶת).

19. *had prepared.*] Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat. add *for her*. It was her usual evening meal, after the day's fasting.

20. *took great delight in her.*] ηὐφράνθη ἀπ' αὐτῆς. The construction, which is also classical, signifies that she was the *source* of his delight: cf. Prov. v. 18; 2 Chron. xx. 27. Heb. שָׂמַח מִן. Codd. 58, 19, 52, 44, al. have the more usual ἐπ' αὐτῇ; Old Lat. *super eam.*

and drank much more wine.] The prophet Habakkuk inveighs against the drunken carousals of the Chaldean oppressors of his people: Hab. ii. 5, 15, 16. Holofernes is represented as goaded by lust into an inebriety which defeated his evil designs upon Judith. The entire portrait of him resembles that of an effeminate Persian satrap like Tissaphernes, or a luxurious Syro-Grecian like Apollonius or Gorgias, rather than that of an Assyrian warrior of the olden time.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. *made haste to depart.*] "To depart" is ἀναλύειν; properly, "to loose from the moorings," "weigh anchor:" cf. Polyb. iii. 69. 14; Philipp. i. 23, "having the desire to depart," *i.e.* to die (ἀναλῦσαι). Cod. 58, ἀπελθεῖν; Lat. *abire*. Syr., "rose to go away."

without.] *I.e.* from the outside; ἔξωθεν. This would have prevented Judith's escape, had not her maid been waiting for her outside the tent (*v.* 3).

dismissed the waiters.] Lit., *shut out those who were standing by*. The attendants of Holofernes are meant by οἱ παρεστῶτες. The guests are called his "servants" (δοῦλοι; ch. xii. 10). Cod. 23, 44, 64, al. needlessly correct ἀπέκλεισε into ἀπέλυσε; Old Lat. *dimisit.*

they went.] ἀπῴχοντο, *went off*. Cod. 58, Old Lat. add *all*. Instead of "to their beds," Syr. has, "each into his tent;" and concludes, "for they were weary with the greatness of the drinking that had been."

2. *lying along.*] Or *fallen forward* (προπεπτωκώς). He was helplessly drunk; or as the Gk. text has it, "the wine was poured all over him," or "had drenched him" (ἦν περικεχυμένος αὐτῷ); he was *vino madidus*. Syr. [illegible]. Midrash: "H. the king on his bed slept like one dead."

3 Now Judith had commanded her maid to stand without her bedchamber, and to wait for her coming forth, as she did daily: for she said she would go forth to her prayers, and she spake to Bagoas according to the same purpose.

4 So all went forth, and none was left in the bedchamber, neither little nor great. Then Judith, standing by his bed, said in her heart, O Lord God of all power, look at this present upon the works of mine hands for the exaltation of Jerusalem.

5 For now is the time to help thine inheritance, and to execute mine enterprizes to the destruction of the enemies which are risen against us.

6 Then she came to the pillar of the bed, which was at Holofernes' head, and took down his fauchion from thence,

7 And approached to his bed, and

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3. *Now Judith had commanded.*] Before she went into the banqueting chamber (cf. ch. xii. 15).

her bedchamber.] Cod. 58 and Syr. *the bedchamber.*

wait for.] *Look out* or *watch* for; cf. Thucyd. v. 37: Ἀργείων δὲ δύο ἄνδρες . . . ἐπετήρουν ἀπιόντας αὐτούς. Trommius does not give the word.

and she spake.] The Gk. implies a Heb. plupf., *and she had spoken.*

4. *So all went forth.*] After the parenthesis, *v.* 3, the narrative is resumed with a virtual repetition of the first statement of *v.* 2—a common feature of Hebrew style. The Gk. adds, *from her* (Codd. iii. 23, 52, 71, al.), or *from his* (44, 74, 76, 106) *face.* Cod. 58, *from Holofernes' face;* Syr. *from thence.* Cf. *v.* 1; Heb. probably מִלְּפָנָיו, *from before him.*

neither little nor great.] Lit. *from small unto great:* Gen. xix. 11; 1 Sam. v. 9; and often in O. T. See also *v.* 13; Baruch i. 4. Cod. 58, *in his bedchamber, small or great.* Syr. *great or small.*

by his bed.] Cod. 58, κεφαλήν. Syr. *near the head of Holofernes.* So Old Lat.

said in her heart.] *I.e.* said to herself, mentally—a Heb. phrase, Ps. xiv. 1. The διανοίᾳ (for καρδίᾳ) of Cod. 58 is a correct paraphrase. Vulg. *Stetitque Judith ante lectum, orans cum lacrymis et labiorum motu in silentio;* a reminiscence of Hannah, 1 Sam. i. 13: "Now Hannah, she spake in her heart; only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard." The Midrash agrees.

O Lord.] Cod. 58, κύριε, κύριε. So Syr.

look upon.] *I.e.* look favourably upon, grant success to my endeavours; cf. Ps. xc. 17, and note on ch. vi. 19. For the final phrase, see ch. x. 8. Vulg.: *respice in hac hora ad opera manuum mearum, ut sicut promisisti Jerusalem civitatem tuam erigas; et hoc quod credens per te posse fieri cogitavi perficiam.* Cf. the Midrash: "Strengthen me, O Lord God of Israel, and let me exact the vengeance of thy servants; to strengthen the bars of the gates of Jerusalem, the city of thy sanctuary. Uphold me by thy word, and let me not be disappointed of my hope, by the power of thy strength."

5. *For now is the time.*] She was not *prescribing* a time and so tempting God, ch. viii. 15 *sqq.* Her enterprise had prospered thus far, and she stood within sight of its completion. She simply prays the Almighty to nerve her arm for the decisive stroke. As to the language, see ch. ix. 12; Luke i. 54; see also Ps. cii. 13, "Thou shalt arise and have mercy upon Zion: for the time to favour her, yea the set time, is come."

to execute mine enterprizes.] Gk. *my enterprize*, singular. Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat., *execute thou* (ποίησον, pro ποιῆσαι). The word rendered "destruction" is doubtful. Fritzsche edits θραῦμα. Codd. iii. 64, al. give the alternative spelling, θραῦσμα; "fragment" here = "breaking," "wreck" (= 19, 44, θραῦσιν). Cod. 58 has τραῦμα, "wound;" but Syr. "and do thou the designs of my heart, to the *breaking* of the peoples that have risen against us." Cf. ch. vii. 9.

6. *the pillar.*] Κανών, *pole*, is the word edited by Fritzsche, with the remark that the external evidence is harmonious in its favour; but see the Syriac. It may have been a pole from which the mosquito curtain was suspended. Badwell, however, conjectured κίων, "pillar." Cf. Judges xvi. 25. So the Syriac, ܥܡܘܕܐ; and probably the Heb.

his fauchion.] Or *falchion.* The Greek ἀκινάκης is defined by Suidas as μικρὸν δόρυ Περσικόν, a small Persian *spear*. It was a *short straight sword*, according to Liddell and Scott. Others say a *crooked* sword, or *scimetar.* Cf. Hdt. vii. 54: καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. Hor. 'Od.' i. 27. 5: "Vino et lucernis, Medus acinaces Immane quantum discrepat." Plat. 'Republ.' viii. 553: μέγαν βασιλέα . . . τιάρας καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ ἀκινάκας παραζώννυντα. The Syr. has, *and drew his*

took hold of the hair of his head, and said, Strengthen me, O Lord God of Israel, this day.

8 And she smote twice upon his neck with all her might, and she took away his head from him,

9 And tumbled his body down from the bed, and pulled down the canopy from the pillars; and anon after she went forth, and gave Holofernes his head to her maid;

10 And she put it in her bag of meat: so they twain went together according to their custom unto prayer: and when they passed the camp, they compassed the valley, and went up the mountain of Bethulia, and came to the gates thereof.

11 Then said Judith afar off to the watchmen at the gate, Open, open now the gate: God, even our God, is with us, to shew his power

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dirk (ܣܦܣܝܪܗ); a curious word, which recurs in *v.* 8 and ch. xvi. 9, according to the evidence of MS. Add. 14,447 (Brit. Mus. Coll.).

7. *took hold of the hair.*] To make the blow certain. For δράσσομαι, cf. Lev. ii. 2.

and said.] To be understood of a mental or at least suppressed ejaculation. In Heb. "to say" often means "to think," even when "in the heart" is not added, *e.g.* Exod. ii. 14; cf. *v.* 4. So λόγος is (1) thought, (2) speech. Cf. Samson's last prayer: Judges xvi. 28.

8. Lit. *And she smote into* (or *against*, εἰς = ἐπί) *his neck twice with her might.* Instead of *with her might*, Cod. 58 has *with the dirk* (παραξιφίς, "a knife worn beside the sword"). "Bis vero percussit pro fragilitate sexus" (Pellicanus).

took away his head.] Cf. ch. xiv. 15. In like manner David beheaded the Philistine with his own sword, 1 Sam. xvii. 51: cf. also 1 Macc. vii. 47; 2 Macc. xv. 30; Esth. vii. The really historic Jael was no doubt in part the prototype of Judith, Judges iv. 21; v. 26. While composing his Haggada, the author may also have remembered the assassination of Eglon by Ehud, Judges iii. 19 *sqq.* The death of Attila is in some respects a parallel to that of Holofernes. He had married a beautiful girl named Ildico. "Their marriage was celebrated with barbaric pomp and festivity . . . and the monarch, oppressed with wine and sleep, retired at a late hour from the banquet to the nuptial bed. His attendants continued to respect his pleasures or his repose the greatest part of the ensuing day, till the unusual silence alarmed their fears and suspicions; and after attempting to awaken Attila by loud and repeated cries, they at length broke into the royal apartment." "They found the trembling bride sitting by the bedside, hiding her face with her veil, and lamenting her own danger, as well as the death of the king, who had expired during the night." (Gibbon, chap. xxxv.) He had broken a blood-vessel, and rumour falsely ascribed his death to the knife of Ildico.

9. *tumbled his body down.*] *Rolled his body off*; acting as a triumphant enemy, by way of a last indignity: cf. ch. xiv. 15. The Midrash improves on this: "She took his weapons of war, which were hung on the pillars, and smote all his body: from the sole of the foot even unto the head there was no soundness in it" (Isa. i. 6).

pulled down the canopy.] *Took the mosquito-net off from the pillars* (στῦλοι). This piece of finery, with its "purple and gold and precious stones" (ch. x. 21), attracted her woman's eye. It was, moreover, a splendid trophy. It is not *said* that she wrapped the head up in it (Fritzsche; cf. *v.* 15). The Syr. renders στῦλοι by ܥܛܘܕܐ, a word otherwise unknown. Bernstein is hardly right in making it a corruption of ܥܡܘܕܐ.

anon after.] μετ' ὀλίγον, "after a little while," "presently." Cod. 58, μετὰ μικρόν. Cf. Matt. xiii. 20; Mark i. 30.

10. *meat.*] *Foods* or *victuals* (βρωμάτων). The wallet or "victuals-bag" was now empty.

unto prayer.] So Codd. iii. x. 19, 23, 52, 58, al. (ἐπὶ τὴν προσευχήν). Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat. ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν προσευχήν, "as if unto prayer." Fritzsche omits the words, simply remarking "der Zusatz fehlt bevor und wird auch nicht ursprünglich sein." Why? Syr., "as at the time of prayer."

they compassed the valley.] *Went round, made the circuit of, that glen* (or *all that glen*; Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat.). Cf. ch. x. 10.

the mountain of Bethulia.] Rather, *the mountain unto Betylua.* Βετυλοῦα is the accusative after the verb of motion. Cod. x. adds πρὸς, and 58 εἰς, which makes this evident. The προς- of the verb implies the same. So Syr., *and went up to the city.* Judith takes the Assyrian's head to Bethulia, as "David took the Philistine's head and brought it to Jerusalem," 1 Sam. xvii. 54.

yet in Jerusalem, and his forces against the enemy, as he hath even done this day.

12 Now when the men of her city heard her voice, they made haste to go down to the gate of their city, and they called the elders of the city.

13 And then they ran all together, both small and great, for it was strange unto them that she was come: so they opened the gate, and received them, and made a fire for a light, and stood round about them.

14 Then she said to them with a loud voice, Praise, praise God, praise God, I say, for he hath not taken away his mercy from the house of Israel, but hath destroyed our enemies by mine hands this night.

15 So she took the head out of the bag, and shewed it, and said unto them, Behold the head of Holofernes, the chief captain of the army of Assur, and behold the canopy, wherein he did lie in his drunkenness; and the Lord hath smitten him by the hand of a woman.

16 As the Lord liveth, who hath kept me in my way that I went, my countenance hath deceived him to his destruction, and yet hath he not committed sin with me, to defile and shame me.

17 Then all the people were wonderfully astonished, and bowed themselves, and worshipped God, and said with one accord, Blessed be thou, O our God, which hast this day brought to nought the enemies of thy people.

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11. *to the watchmen at the gate.*] τοῖς φυλάσσουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν. Cod. 58 and Syr. omit ἐπὶ τῶν π.; 19 reads ἐπὶ τ. τειχῶν. Old Lat. *in turribus*; Vulg. *custodibus murorum*. "Open" occurs but once in Codd. 58, 19; and "God" is omitted by 58, Syr., Old Lat. But the emotional repetitions are probably original.

God is with us.] μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός, Isa. viii. 14; vii. 10.

to shew his power . . . and his forces.] Lit. *to do strength* [*i.e.* strong deeds] . . . *and force* [*i.e.* forceful deeds]. Instead of ποιῆσαι ἔτι, Codd. 19, 108 read ὃς ἐποίησεν; 58, Syr., Old Lat. ὃς ἔδωκεν. The concluding ἐποίησε not suiting this, the Syr. omits it; but Old Lat. ends with *sicut hodie fecit et facturus est*. For the phrase, cf. Luke i. 51, ἐποίησε κράτος ἐν βραχίονι αὐτοῦ.

13. Instead of μεγάλου, "great," Cod. 58 curiously has πρεσβυτέρων, "elders."

it was strange unto them that she was come.] Or, *her coming was to them beyond expectation* (παράδοξον). They had given her up. Vulg. *quoniam sperabant eam jam non esse venturam*.

received.] *Welcomed.* ὑπεδέξαντο (Cod. x. εἰσεδ.).

for a light.] εἰς φαῦσιν. Gen. i. 15; Ps. lxxiv. 16. A LXX. term = Heb. מָאוֹר, *light-giver* or *luminary*. The scene is natural and graphically sketched.

14. *Praise, praise God, praise God, I say.*] There may be an allusion to the popular etymology of her own name *Judith*, "Jewess," as if it meant *laudanda*. Cf. Gen. xlix. 8. "Judah (*Tĕhûdāh*), thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise" (*yôdû*). So Syr. The phrase which follows occurs in 2 Sam. vii. 15. "Destroyed" is lit. "broken" or "wrecked" (ἔθραυσε): cf. the noun in *v.* 5 *supra*.

15. *drunkenness.*] *Drinking-bouts, carousals* (μέθαι); Plat. 'Phaedr.' 256 C. The sing. = *drunkenness*. Cod. 58 omits *and the Lord, &c.* Cf. ch. ix. 10.

16. *As the Lord liveth.*] Cf. her former oath, ch. xi. 7. The Vulg. amplifies the verse, but the Greek is clearly more original. Cf. especially the words: *sed sine pollutione peccati revocavit me vobis gaudentem in victoria sua, in evasione mea, et in liberatione vestra.*

to defile and shame me.] εἰς μίασμα καὶ αἰσχύνην. Syr. ܒܛܥܡܬܐ ܕܒܗܬܬܐ, "with taste (or feeling) of shame." Cod. 58, εἰς μιασμὸν αἰσχύνης.

17. *bowed themselves, and worshipped.*] Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 20; Gen. xliii. 28; and other passages. So the Syr. ܘܢܦܠܘ ܘܣܓܕܘ, "and they fell down and worshipped" (*not* "they prostrated themselves with their faces to the earth," as Churton gives it: cf. Gen. xlviii. 12; 2 Chron. vii. 3). The rest of the verse is omitted by Codd. 58, 71.

brought to nought.] The Gk. ὁ ἐξουδενώσας means *who didst* (or *hast*) *set at nought*. Cf. the cognates ἐξουθενέω, Luke xxiii. 11, and ἐξουδενέω, Ezek. xxi. 10. It renders the Heb. בָּזָה *contempsit*, 2 Sam. vi. 16, and מָאַס *rejecit*, *sprevit*, 1 Sam. x. 19: sometimes

18 Then said Ozias unto her, O daughter, blessed art thou of the most high God above all the women upon the earth; and blessed be the Lord God, which hath created the heavens and the earth, which hath directed thee to the cutting off of the head of the chief of our enemies.

19 For this thy confidence shall not depart from the heart of men, which remember the power of God for ever.

20 And God turn these things to thee for a perpetual praise, to visit thee in good things, because thou hast not spared thy life for the affliction of our nation, but hast revenged our ruin, walking a straight way before our God. And all the people said, So be it, so be it.

CHAPTER XIV.

8 Achior heareth Judith shew what she had done, and is circumcised. 11 The head of Holofernes is hanged up. 15 He is found dead, and much lamented.

THEN said Judith unto them, Hear me now, my brethren,

בוס, *conculcare*, Ps. cviii. 13 (*αὐτὸς ἐξουδενώσει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν*). Syr. *hath broken*, as in *v.* 14.

18. *blessed . . . of the most high God, &c.*] This blessing is modelled on the Blessing of Abram by Melchizedek, king of Salem and priest of "the most high God" (Gen. xiv. 19, 20), as may be seen by comparing the text of the LXX. with the Gk. here: Εὐλογημένος Ἄβραμ τῷ θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ ὃς ἔκτισε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. καὶ εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὕψιστος, ὃς παρέδωκε κ.τ.λ.

blessed art thou . . . above all the women.] Or *be thou*. This does not mean merely that "she should be praised and renowned for her courage and devotion, like Jael in Judges v. 24." As Deborah invoked a blessing upon the treacherous woman who slew Sisera—"Blessed above women be Jael"—so the elder Ozias (whom the Midr. calls "Uzziah the *nasi*, i.e. prince, of Israel") is represented as imprecating the blessing of the Most High upon Judith, on account of a similar deed. The construction *εὐλογητὴ τῷ θεῷ*—Heb. ברוך לאל—"blessed to Godward"—means "blessed in the highest degree."

to the cutting off.] Rather, *to the wound* (*τραῦμα*). Cf. Ps. lxviii. 21; cx. 6. The Syr. has: *who directed thee, that thou mightest take off the head of the chief of our enemies.* But "wound of the head" means a *deadly* wound. Cod. 58 has the strange reading, *who directed thee unto* (or *against*) *the head of the chief of the heathen* (*εἰς κεφαλὴν ἄρχοντος ἐθνῶν*). Deut. xxxii. 42.

19. *For this thy confidence.*] *Because thy hope.* This seems to mean: "I bless thee, because thy wonderful trust in God will never be forgotten; but will always be present in the memory of thy people to inspire them with the like endurance, and to save them from despair."

The Syr. has: "Because *thy praise* will not depart out of the heart of the sons of men, who will remember the power of God for ever;" reading *ὁ ἔπαινος* (with Cod. 58) for *ἡ ἔλπις*. So Old Lat.

20. *praise.*] *ὕψος* = רוּם, Isa. ii. 11; or הָדָר, Isa. xxxv. 2. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 40.

to visit thee in (*with*) *good things.*] See ch. iv. 15. Cod. 58 omits.

but hast revenged our ruin.] The Gk. is *ἀλλ' ἐπεξῆλθες τῷ πτώματι ἡμῶν*, "but thou wentest forth to meet our fall;" *i.e.* to help us up, when we were fallen (Fritzsche). Syr. *but wentest forth on account of our fall.* Ἐπεξέρχομαι usually bears a hostile significance: *to go out against*, i.e. to battle (Thucyd. iii. 26; v. 9); and perhaps it may be so understood here, "thou wentest out to battle with, to resist our fall;" personifying *τὸ πτῶμα*, as an enemy to be overcome.

walking a straight way.] *ἐπ' εὐθεῖαν πορευθεῖσα.* Codd. 19, 108, *ἐπ' εὐθείᾳ.* Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 12; and ch. x. 11 *supra.* The Heb. may have been וַתְּיַשְּׁרִי דַּרְכֵּךְ, *and thou madest thy way straight:* i.e. *proba fuisti.* Cf. Prov. ix. 15. The highest moral excellence is thus attributed to the deed of Judith.

So be it, so be it.] Gk. *γένοιτο γένοιτο.* Heb. אָמֵן וְאָמֵן, *Amen and Amen!* The people signify their assent to the solemn blessing upon Judith. Cf. ch. xv. 10; Deut. xxvii. 15; 1 Chron. xvi. 36; Ps. xli. 13. The Vulgate here adds Judith's interview with Achior (ch. xiv. 5 *sqq.*): *Porro Achior vocatus venit*, &c. The words "But before ye do these things" (xiv. 5) suggest that the order of the Vulgate is right.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. *upon the highest place.*] *Upon the parapet*, or *line of battlements* (*ἔπαλξις*); Thucyd. ii. 13. This may have been suggested by the

[a] 2 Mac. 15. 35.

and take this [a]head, and hang it upon the highest place of your walls.

2 And so soon as the morning shall appear, and the sun shall come forth upon the earth, take ye every one his weapons, and go forth every valiant man out of the city, and set ye a captain over them, as though ye would go down into the field toward the watch of the Assyrians; but go not down.

3 Then they shall take their armour, and shall go into their camp, and raise up the captains of the army of Assur, and they shall run to the tent of Holofernes, but shall not find him: then fear shall fall upon them, and they shall flee before your face.

4 So ye, and all that inhabit the coast of Israel, shall pursue them, and overthrow them as they go.

5 But before ye do these things, call me Achior the Ammonite, that he may see and know him that despised the house of Israel, and that sent him to us, as it were to his death.

6 Then they called Achior out of the house of Ozias; and when he was come, and saw the head of

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incident recorded in 2 Macc. xv. 35, where Judas Maccabaeus hangs Nicanor's head from the tower, "an evident and manifest sign unto all of the help of the Lord."

2. *so soon as the morning shall appear.*] The phrase occurs Judges xvi. 2 (διαφαύσκω = אוֹר, *illuxit*). Cf. Hdt. iii. 86. With what follows, cf. Ps. xix. 4–6.

take ye every one his weapons.] The imperatives are all futures in the Greek. The Heb. *imperfect* (often miscalled the *future*) may have an imperative force. For the plur. *take ye, &c.*, see Deut. i. 41. Here as there the Heb. may have had the verb חָגַר, *to gird on.*

set ye a captain over them.] Lit. *ye shall give* (or *put, set*) *a leader unto them* (*for them*): δώσετε ἀρχηγὸν εἰς αὐτούς = תִּתְּנוּ רֹאשׁ לָהֶם, Num. xiv. 4.

as though ye would go down.] ὡς καταβαίνοντες. In classical Gk. the ptcp. would have been future. But Heb. has only one ptcp., which may be used in relation to either present, past, or future time. The meaning is *as if intending to go down*, ὡς καταβησόμενοι. Cf. Thucyd. ii. 7: οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς πολεμήσοντες. Judith advises a feint of attack upon the Assyrian outposts.

3. *Then they shall take their armour.*] For *shall* read *will* throughout the verse. *They* (οὗτοι) are the advanced guard of the Assyrians, who will be alarmed by the show of attack.

Their "armour" is the "whole armour" of Eph. vi. 13 (τὰς πανοπλίας αὐτῶν). Cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 29; 2 Sam. ii. 21.

raise up the captains.] *Wake* or *rouse the generals.* Instead of *Assur*, Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat. have a pronoun (αὐτῶν), which is probably original. *Assur* removes an ambiguity common enough in Hebrew.

4. *the coast.*] *Every border* (πᾶν ὅριον).

overthrow them as they go.] Rather, *lay them low in their ways.* Καταστρώσετε (Codd. iii., x., 58, 71, 249; for which Fritzsche edits καταστρώσατε) may either mean this (cf. Hdt. ix. 76) or *strew them in their ways*, strew their corpses about in the various paths by which they will fly. (So Fritzsche, comparing ch. xv. 2.) Syr. *ye shall prostrate and throw them in the ways.*

5. *the Ammonite.*] Fritzsche edits Ἀμμανίτην. The ordinary Heb. term is עַמּוֹן, LXX. Ἀμμών, but in the Pentateuch Ἀμμάν, Ἀμμανῖται. The present name is عمّان *Ammân*; and that this is the oldest form is clear, not only from the fact that an original long *â* generally becomes *ô* in Heb., but also from the spelling on the Assyrian monuments, *Ammânu, Ammâna, Ammanâ'a.*

know.] *Know again, recognize* (ἐπιγνῷ). She wishes to prepare a triumph for herself and for Achior (Fritzsche).

6. *out of the house of Ozias.*] Cf. ch. vi. 21. Arnald supposes that Achior had hitherto been kept in some sort of confinement; or perhaps he had not immediately heard of Judith's return. Fritzsche observes that the special summons to Achior lends more dramatic force and solemnity to the scene. It seems trivial to object with Bissell to the leading part which Judith plays in the assembly upon her triumphant return. If we cannot find a "Joan of Arc" in Hebrew history, we can point to women who, like Deborah in the times of the Judges, and like Huldah in the reign of Josiah, exerted a leading influence in the state. Cf. also 2 Sam. xx. 16 *sqq.* Though Judith is not made a prophetess in an age when prophecy was extinct (1 Macc. iv. 46; ix. 27; xiv. 41), yet she is represented as enjoying a peculiar

Holofernes in a man's hand in the assembly of the people, he fell down on his face, and his spirit failed.

7 But when they had recovered him, he fell at Judith's feet, and reverenced her, and said, Blessed art thou in all the tabernacle of Juda, and in all nations, which hearing thy name shall be astonished.

8 Now therefore tell me all the things that thou hast done in these days. Then Judith declared unto him in the midst of the people all that she had done, from the day that she went forth until that hour she spake unto them.

9 And when she had left off speaking, the people shouted with a loud voice, and made a joyful noise in their city.

10 And when Achior had seen all that the God of Israel had done, he believed in God greatly, and circumcised the flesh of his foreskin, and was joined unto the house of Israel unto this day.

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reputation for holiness, practical wisdom, and effectual prayer (ch. viii. 5, 29, 31); and if she had just succeeded, as the story relates, in her extraordinary enterprise, her political influence would naturally become great, if not paramount.

his spirit failed.] Or, *fainted, gave way* (ἐξελύθη): Vulg. *aestuavit anima ejus.* Bissell asks, "Is this the Achior who is elsewhere called 'the leader of all the sons of Ammon,' and who dared to tell the dreadful Holofernes to his face the truth about Israel?" Fritzsche's remark does more justice to the author's merits: "The sight was too unexpected and extraordinary, while at the same time the question about his own life was in consequence decided." So Churton.

7. *when they had recovered him.*] ὡς δὲ ἀνέλαβον αὐτόν. Cf. Xenoph. 'Hellen.' vi. 5, 21: ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς πρόσθεν ἀθυμίας. Syr. *when they had taken hold of (and) raised him.* So Fritzsche would explain the text: "*Als sie ihn in die Höhe gehoben, aufgenommen hatten.*"

But the variant ἀνέλαβεν αὐτὸν (leg. potius αὑτόν) in Codd. iii. 19, 108, 23, 55, appears preferable. So the Old Lat. *Sed postquam resumpsit vires* (but cod. Germ. 15, Pech. *et refocillaverunt eum,* "and they revived him"). Ἀναλαμβ. ἑαυτόν, *to recover oneself, regain strength, revive,* is a classical phrase: cf. Thucyd. vi. 26; and abs. ἀναλαβεῖν, Plat. 'Rep.' 467 B, and in medical writers.

reverenced her.] *Did obeisance before her* (προσεκύνησαν τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτῆς).

Blessed, &c.] *Blessed be thou* (or *shalt thou be*) *in every tent* (σκήνωμα, Gen. ix. 27) *of Judah, and in every nation, &c.* Cf. Judges vi. 24: "Above women in the tent shall she be blessed."

which hearing thy name, &c.] οἵτινες ἀκούσαντες τὸ ὄνομά σου ταραχθήσονται. The plural, because the reference is to παντὶ ἔθνει. "Astonished" should be "dismayed."

Syr. "Blessed (be) thou in all peoples who shall hear thy name and shall fear."

8. *until that hour she spake unto them.*] *Until she was speaking, &c.* Codd. 19, 108, λαλεῖ μετ' αὐτῆς, referring to Achior.

9. *shouted.*] ἠλάλαξεν. Cf. ch. xvi. 19; Josh. vi. 20. Heb. הֵרִיעַ.

made a joyful noise.] ἔδωκε φωνὴν εὐφρόσυνον. Codd. 58, 19, 23, 55, al. ἔδωκαν, which is agreeable to Heb. idiom, which makes the first verb with a collective noun singular, and the second plural, *e.g.* Josh. vi. 20. Instead of εὐφρόσυνον, Codd. iii. 58, Old Lat. εὐφροσύνης. Cf. Jer. vii. 34, xvi. 8, xxv. 10; 1 Chron. xv. 16. The Heb. was probably וַיִּתְּנוּ קוֹל שִׂמְחָה, *et ediderunt vocem laetitiae.* For נָתַן קוֹל, *vocem edere,* cf. Gen. xlv. 2; Num. xiv. 1.

10. *all that the God of Israel had done.*] Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat., *all that the Lord had done for Israel.*

he believed in God greatly.] He believed in the God of Israel as the only true God; gave Him his undivided trust and allegiance. Achior became a Jew, contrary to the law of Deut. xxiii. 3 *sqq.*, which excludes an Ammonite or a Moabite from the congregation of the Lord unto the tenth generation. With what follows, cf. Gen. xvii. 23 *sqq.*, and Isa. xiv. 1: "And the strangers shall be joined with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob." The conversion of Achior has its parallel in Esth. viii. 17. But Volkmar lays too great stress upon the proselytising of an individual, and that under altogether peculiar circumstances.

unto this day.] This does not mean that Achior was still living; it refers to his Jewish descendants. The Vulgate fills up the sense correctly: "et appositus est ad populum Israel, *et omnis successio generis ejus* usque in hodiernum diem." (The words in Italics, which are not found in Old Lat., may be due to S.

11 And as soon as the morning arose, they hanged the head of Holofernes upon the wall, and every man took his weapons, and they went forth by bands unto the [1]straits of the mountain.

[1] Or, *ascents.*

12 But when the Assyrians saw them, they sent to their leaders, which came to their captains and tribunes, and to every one of their rulers.

13 So they came to Holofernes' tent, and said to him that had the charge of all his things, Waken now our lord: for the slaves have been bold to come down against us to battle, that they may be utterly destroyed.

14 Then went in Bagoas, and knocked at the door of the tent; for he thought that he had slept with Judith.

Jerome's Chaldee MS.) The identification of the (real or supposed) founder of a family or race with his posterity is a common form of Hebrew thought.

11. *And as soon as the morning arose.*] Lit. *but when the dawn went up;* a Heb. phrase: Josh. vi. 15 (A. V. "about the dawning of the day"). Cod. 58 omits.

they hanged.] καὶ ἐκρέμασαν, according to Heb. idiom. Cf. note on ch. v. 20. (Codd. iii. 44, al. omit.)

upon the wall.] So Codd. 19, 58, ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους; Old Lat. *in muro,* and *super muros.* But Fritzsche edits ἐκ τοῦ τείχ., *from the wall* —a classical construction. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10. Syr. *outside of the wall.*

by bands.] κατὰ σπείρας, *manipulatim,* Polyb. iii. 115. 1. The term σπεῖρα represents Lat. *manipulus* and *cohors,* 2 Macc. viii. 23; xii. 20. The Heb. probably was וַיֵּצְאוּ גְדוּדִים, 2 Kings v. 2. Cf. also Acts xxvii. 1, x. 1; John xviii. 3, 12.

the straits.] Lit. *ascents,* i.e. passes.

12. *their leaders.*] *I.e.* the inferior officers, who in turn apprised the στρατηγοί, superior officers, and χιλίαρχοι, captains of thousands, and in general, "every commander (ἄρχων) of them." Cod. 58 omits αὐτῶν . οἱ δὲ ἦλθον ἐπὶ στρατηγούς. So Syr. *they sent to their magnates and captains of thousands and to all their officers;* and Old Lat.

13. Vulg.: *Quod videntes exploratores, ad tabernaculum Holofernis cucurrerunt. Porro hi qui in tabernaculo erant, venientes et ante ingressum cubiculi perstrepentes, excitandi gratia, inquietudinem arte moliebantur, ut non ab excitantibus sed a sonantibus Holofernes evigilaret. Nullus enim audebat cubiculum virtutis Assyriorum pulsando aut intrando aperire.* This is not, as might be suspected, mere arbitrary expansion of the original text. S. Jerome must have found a warrant for it in his Chaldee codex. The curious expression *cubiculum virtutis Assyriorum* suggests the Chaldee אידרון בית משכבא דרב חילא דאתור.

to him that had.] Codd. 44, 58, Syr., Old Lat. *to Bagoas that had.* Cf. ch. xii. 11. Bagoas was his *major-domo,* or grand chamberlain.

the slaves.] Movers plausibly suggested that the Gk. translator here mistook הָעִבְרִים, "the Hebrews," for הָעֲבָדִים, "the slaves." The difference is very slight—the "one κεραία" of which our Lord speaks, Matt. v. 18; but the addition of one letter gives הָעַכְבָּרִים, "the mice,"—the reading of the Midrash and the Vulgate, which is probably original (*quoniam egressi mures de cavernis suis ausi sunt provocare nos ad praelium.* Cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 11). See 1 Sam. xiii. 3 (LXX.). The Old Lat. has *filii Israel* or *Judaei,* which Fritzsche calls an arbitrary alteration, and the Syr. ܓܒܪ̈ܐ, *men,* which he says must be corrected into ܥܒܕ̈ܐ, *slaves* (why not into ܥܒܪ̈ܝܐ, *Hebrews?*). Fritzsche would however accept Movers' suggestion were it not that in *v.* 18 οἱ δοῦλοι and τῶν Ἑβραίων both occur; and, besides, οἱ δοῦλοι is appropriate in the mouth of the disdainful Assyrians.

that they may be utterly destroyed.] ἵνα expresses the assumed *intention* of the Jewish sortie. It is a *suicidal* folly. "Utterly" is εἰς τέλος, which often renders Heb. לָנֶצַח, *for ever;* e.g. Job xiv. 20. But cf. also Amos ix. 6; 2 Chron. xii. 12 (= לְכָלָה *ad consummationem,* i.e. *prorsus, plane*); 2 Chron. xxxi. 1. Also ch. vii. 30 *supra.*

14. *the door.*] Rather, *the curtain*—αὐλαίαν. Heb. יְרִיעָה, Exod. xxvi. 1 *sqq.* Lat. *aulaeum.* "The tent" here means the inner compartment which served as a sleeping place (ch. xiii. 2, 3). Codd. 19, 108 read ἐκρότησε τῇ χειρὶ ἐν τῇ αὐλαίᾳ. Cf. the Vulgate: *tunc ingressus Vagao cubiculum ejus stetit ante cortinam, et plausum fecit manibus suis.* Codd. iii. 64, al. read τὴν αὐλήν, *the court* or *hall,* instead of τ. αὐλαίαν.

for he thought, &c.] *For he was supposing*

15 But because none answered, he opened it, and went into the bedchamber, and found him cast upon the floor dead, and his head was taken from him.

16 [1 Then.] Therefore he cried with a loud voice, with weeping, and sighing, and a mighty cry, and rent his garments.

17 After he went into the tent where Judith lodged: and when he found her not, he leaped out to the people, and cried,

18 These slaves have dealt treacherously; one woman of the Hebrews hath brought shame upon the house of king Nabuchodonosor: for, behold, Holofernes *lieth* upon the ground without a head.

19 When the captains of the Assyrians' army heard these words, they rent their coats, and their minds were wonderfully troubled, and there was a cry and a very great noise throughout the camp.

CHAPTER XV.

1 *The Assyrians are chased and slain.* 8 *The high priest cometh to see Judith.* 11 *The stuff of Holofernes is given to Judith.* 13 *The women crown her with a garland.*

AND when they that were in the tents heard, they were astonished at the thing that was done.

2 And fear and trembling fell upon them, so that there was no man that durst abide in the sight of his neighbour, but rushing out altogether, they fled into every way of the plain, and of the hill country.

3 They also that had camped in the mountains round about Bethulia fled away. Then the children of

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(ὑπενοεῖτο) *that he* (Holof.) *was sleeping with J.* Cod. 58 and Old Lat. make the sense clearer by adding ἔτι, *still.*

15. *answered.*] Strictly, *listened, gave ear* (ἐπήκουσε. Codd. iii. 58, al. ὑπήκ.). Syr. *answered him.*

opened.] *Put it asunder, pulled it aside* (διαστείλας). Syr. *he opened.*

upon the floor.] The Gk. word χελωνὶς is defined by Hesychius, οὐδὸς τῆς θύρας τῆς σκηνῆς, *threshold of the tent-door*, with evident reference to the present passage. But as Fritzsche points out, this definition does not suit. Judith rolled the corpse off the bed (ch. xiii. 9), and left it not upon the *threshold*, but upon the *footstool* used for getting up into the bed. This sense of χελωνὶς is found in Sextus Empiricus. The primary word χελώνη, *testudo*, also means *footstool.*

18. *These (the) slaves have dealt treacherously.*] The verb is ἠθέτησαν. 'Αθετέω prop. means *to set aside, disregard* an oath, treaty, promise, law. Cf. Mark vii. 9; Isa. xxiv. 16 (οἱ ἀθετοῦντες τὸν νόμον). In the LXX. the word chiefly represents Heb. בָּגַד, *perfide egit*; מָעַל, *id.* 1 Chron. v. 25, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14,—a meaning which would suit here; and פָּשַׁע, *rebellavit, descivit,* 2 Kings i. 1; מָרַד, *id.* 2 Kings xviii. 7, 20. Syr. *the slaves have wronged* or *cheated* (ܥܠܒܘ) *their lords;* Old Lat. "*neglexerunt* heri servi ejus" (al. *peccaverunt servi*). Judith was faithless to her promise set forth in ch. xi. 18, 19.

without a head.] Lit. *and the head is not upon him*—וְאֵין רֹאשׁ עָלָיו.

19. *When.*] *But when:* ὡς δέ. "Their minds" should be *their soul* (Codd. 19, 108, *their souls*). The Syr. concludes thus: *they rent their tunics, and their soul was greatly troubled in the midst of the camp.* The Gk. says: *and their cry arose, and a very great shouting in the midst of the camp.* Cf. 1 Sam. iv. 14.

CHAPTER XV.

1. *they were astonished at the thing that was done.*] ἐξέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸ γεγονός. Cf. the same construction in ch. xii. 16. Syr.: *They wondered what had happened* (= Cod. 58, τί ἦν τὸ γεγονός). So Old Lat. But Vulg. *fugit mens et consilium ab eis.*

2. *And fear . . . upon them.*] Cf. ch. iii. 1; Ps. xlviii. 6. "That durst abide" is μένων; *abiding* = עֹמֵד, *stans.* Syr. *and they continued not a man by his neighbour.* The Gk. adds ἔτι, *any longer.* "Rushing out" is ἐκχυθέντες, lit. *effusi;* a verb recurring in *vv.* 3, 4. *Having poured out* (of the tents or camp), *they were fleeing upon every road.* The Vulg. interpolates a reason for this wild flight: *evadere festinabant Hebraeos, quos armatos super se venire audiebant;* cf. 2 Kings vii. 6, 7.

3. *in the mountains.*] *In the hill country.* The Edomites and Ammonites had encamped there: ch. vii. 18 *supra.*

fled away.] *Turned to flight.* The καὶ before ἐτράπησαν in the Gk., which Fritzsche

Israel, every one that was a warrior among them, rushed out upon them.

4 Then sent Ozias to Betomasthem, and to Bebai, and Chobai, and Cola, and to all the coasts of Israel, such as should tell the things that were done, and that all should rush forth upon their enemies to destroy them.

5 Now when the children of Israel heard it, they all fell upon them with one consent, and slew them unto Chobai: likewise also they that came from Jerusalem, and from all the hill country, (for men had told them what things were done in the camp of their enemies,) and they that were in Galaad, and in Galilee, [1]chased them with a great slaughter, until they were past Damascus and the borders thereof.

6 And the residue, that dwelt at

[1] Or, *overcame.*

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pronounces the genuine reading but an awkward expression, may represent a Heb. *waw conversive* (of the imperfect). But the reading of Codd. 19, 44, al. is *καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐτρ.* (וְהֵמָּה יָנוּסוּ): "And they that had encamped . . . *they also* turned and fled." Cf. with the narrative of this chapter, that of 1 Macc. iv. 1–25 (the defeat of Gorgias by Judas Maccabaeus), and that of 1 Macc. vii. 43 *sqq.* (the defeat and death of Nicanor). Some of the colours of the picture are derived from 1 Sam. xvii. (David's victory over Goliath), as Volkmar points out. When he adds that the victory, the slaughter of the fugitives, and the immense booty are due to the soaring flight of Jewish fancy, which thus exaggerated the sudden withdrawal of the Roman forces from Palestine, we see that the data of the story are fatal to his theory. The Vulg. adds: *descenderuntque clangentes tubis et ululantes post ipsos.* Cf. Judg. vii. 18 *sqq.*

4. *Betomasthem.*] Βαιτομασθαίμ, ch. iv. 6.

and to Bebai.] So Codd. iii. 243, al. and Fritzsche. The name is otherwise unknown. Cod. x. has καὶ Ἀβελβαίμ, and Codd. 19, 108 have κ. Ἀβελμαείν; i.e. *Abel-main*, which appears to be right. Cf. ch. iv. 4 for this, and for *Chobai* or *Choba* (Codd. x. 23, and *v.* 5 *infr.*). Vulg. omits the local names of this and the next verse.

Cola.] The Greek is Χωλά, *Chola;* al. Κωλά or Κειλά. An unknown place; perhaps the *Holon* of Josh. xv. 51.

The Syriac version, which is less exact in this chapter than elsewhere, omits the proper names, and renders: "And Uzziah sent to all the borders of Israel (men), to make them know what had happened."

and that all.] The ἵνα depends on the notion of *bidding, ordering,* implied in τοὺς ἀπαγγέλλοντας. *Ozias sent . . . men who brought tidings concerning the things that had been accomplished* (συντετελεσμένων), *and* (*bade*) *that all, &c.*

rush forth upon their enemies.] ἐπεκχυθῶσι τοῖς πολεμίοις, instead of which Codd. 19, 108 have ἐπεκχυθέντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιθῶνται, *rush forth and set upon the enemy.* In *v.* 2 ἐκχυθῆναι is used absolutely, and in *v.* 3 it is followed by ἐπ' αὐτούς, *after* or *against them.*

5. *slew them unto Chobai.*] Lit. *were smiting them unto Choba.* Cf. 1 Sam. viii. 11. To *smite* an army is to rout it utterly and to slay the fugitives, Deut. xxix. 7. Cf. Josh. xi. 8: "Israel smote them and chased them unto great Zidon, and unto Mishrephoth-maim, and unto the valley of Mizpeh eastward." *Choba* is perhaps the modern *el-Mekhobbi*, a ruin with a cliff beside it called '*Arrak Khobbi*, 12 miles south of *Beisân.* But the Midrash has: "they pursued them unto *Hormah.*" חרמה and חובה might easily be confused.

likewise also they that came from Jerusalem.] The Gk. says: *likewise also they of Jerusalem arrived, and of all the hill country* (ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ—*not* οἳ—ἐξ Ἱερουσ. παρεγενήθησαν καὶ ἐκ πάσης κ. τ. λ.). Codd. x. 58 and Old Lat., *they in Jerusalem.* But the Syr.: *likewise the sons of Jerusalem, who came from all the mountains.*

what things were done in.] Rather, *what things had befallen.*

chased.] Rather, *outflanked* (ὑπερεκέρασαν). Ὑπερκερᾶν is a military term: cf. Polyb. xi. 23. 5; equivalent to περικερᾶν, Polyb. xi. 1, 5. Gk. κέρας, *horn* = Lat. ala, *wing* of an army. Cf. 1 Macc. vii. 46. Trommius wrongly refers the word to ὑπερκεράννυμι (!), *supermisceo, confundo.* The reading of Codd. 58, 19, 108 is ὑπερεκράτησαν (58, ὑπεκράτησαν αὐτούς, a mere mistake) αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπάταξαν αὐτοὺς ἐν πληγῇ μεγάλῃ (58, πληγὴν μεγάλην, a cogn. accus.). *They overpowered them and smote them* (*with*) *a great smiting.* Cf. Num. xi. 33; 1 Sam. viii. 11; 1 Kings xvi. 22. This may well have been the language of the Heb. Cf. the Syr.: *And they that were in Galaad and in Galilee came out against them, and smote them a great smiting;* and the Old Lat. *consecuti sunt eos, et interfecerunt illos plaga magna.*

they were past.] *They* (*i.e.* the Assyrian fugitives) *had past.*

6. *And the residue, that dwelt at Bethulia.*] The Gk. is οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες

Bethulia, fell upon the camp of Assur, and spoiled them, and were greatly enriched.

7 And the children of Israel that returned from the slaughter had that which remained; and the villages and the cities, that were in the mountains and in the plain, gat many spoils: for the multitude was very great.

8 Then Joacim the high priest, and the ancients of the children of Israel that dwelt in Jerusalem, came to behold the good things that God had shewed to Israel, and to see Judith, and to salute her.

9 And when they came unto her, they blessed her with one accord, and said unto her, Thou art the exaltation of Jerusalem, thou art the great glory of Israel, thou art the great rejoicing of our nation:

10 Thou hast done all these things by thine hand: thou hast done much good to Israel, and God is pleased therewith: blessed be thou of the

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Βετυλούα. Fritzsche explains "Die Bewohner von Betylua die noch übrig da waren." The sense appears to be: But the remaining folk, who lived in Bethulia and stayed in the town, instead of joining in the pursuit of the enemy (*v.* 5), fell upon the deserted camp. Cf. Vulg.: "*reliqui autem qui erant in Bethulia*, ingressi sunt castra Assyriorum." Syr. wrongly: *and the rest of the inhabitants of Bethulia.*

spoiled them.] *I.e.* the Assyrians. Syr. *plundered and carried off captives;* Cod. 58, *plundered it* (the camp) *and took spoils* (ἐσκύλευσαν).

7. *And the children of Israel that returned, &c.*] *But the Israelites, having returned from the slaughter* (κοπή; see Gen. xiv. 17), *possessed themselves of the things remaining:* i.e. whatever valuables the Bethulians had not already carried off. But the Syr. has: *And the sons of Israel returned from the battle, and possessed themselves of the remainder of the cities which were in the mountains, and in the valleys, and took much spoil.* "The villages and the cities that were in the mountains and in the plain" (lit. *in the hill country and plain country*) is the reading of Codd. iii. x. 19, 23, 58, al. Fritzsche edits *the villages and farmsteads* (ἐπαύλεις for αἱ πόλεις). "Gat" is ἐκράτησαν, for which Cod. 58 gives ἐκυρίευσαν. For "spoils"—λάφυρα—see 1 Chron. xxvi. 27 (= שָׁלָל).

for the multitude, &c.] Rather, *for there was a very great quantity*, viz. of objects to carry off. Codd. 58, 106, Syr. omit.

After the flight of Gorgias, "Judas returned to spoil the tents, where they got much gold, and silver, and blue silk, and purple of the sea, and great riches" (1 Macc. iv. 23).

8. *Joacim.*] A high priest of this name was the son and successor of Jeshua or Joshua, the High Priest who, along with Zerubbabel, conducted the First Return (B.C. 536—515). See Neh. xii. 10: "And Jeshua begat Joiakim."

the ancients.] The Sanhedrin or Senate of Elders (ἡ γερουσία). "That dwelt in Jerusalem" is in apposition with "Joacim and the senate." The Vulg.—*cum universis presbyteris suis*—seems to turn the elders into clergy.

God had shewed to.] Rather, *the Lord had done for.*

to salute her.] Lit. *to speak peace with her.* Cf. Jer. ix. 8; Ps. xxviii. 3.

9. *And when they came unto her.*] Instead of εἰσῆλθον πρὸς αὐτήν, Codd. 58, 19, 108 give ἐξῆλθε πρὸς αὐτούς. It appeared more appropriate for Judith to go out to meet the rulers of her nation. So also Syr. and Old Lat., and Vulg. But cf. ch. viii. 10, 11 *supra.*

the exaltation of Jerusalem.] Cf. ch. x. 8, where ὕψωμα and γαυρίαμα ("glory") both occur: also xiii. 4, xvi. 8; Ps. iii. 3. "Rejoicing" is καύχημα, *boast:* cf. Rom. iv. 2; Deut. x. 21; 1 Chron. xvi. 27, xxix. 11. Syr. *praise;* and so the Midrash (תהלה).

10. *thou hast done much good to Israel.*] ἐποίησας τὰ ἀγαθὰ μετὰ Ἰσραήλ. Syr. *and hast done good with Israel.* Cf. Num. x. 32; 1 Chron. xvii. 26. Cod. 58, καὶ ὅτι ἐποίησας ἀγαθὰ ἐν Ἰσρ.

God is pleased therewith.] So Codd. iii. x. 19, 23, 52, 55, al. (εὐδόκησεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, *was well pleased at them*, i.e. τὰ ἀγαθά). Fritzsche edits εὐδοκήσαι, the optative: *may God be well pleased!*

The Vulgate substitutes for this verse the following: "Quia fecisti viriliter, *et confortatum est cor tuum*, eo quod castitatem amaveris, et post virum tuum alterum nescieris: *ideo et manus domini confortavit te, et ideo eris benedicta in aeternum.*" This may reflect the exaggerated value set by S. Jerome and his contemporaries upon the state of celibacy. Salome, however, did not marry again; and the Midrash partly supports the Vulg.: "Thou, Judith, art a mother in Israel, thou art the praise of Jerusalem, thou art the rejoicing (שמחה) of Israel, thou art the

Almighty Lord for evermore. And all the people said, So be it.

11 And the people spoiled the camp the space of thirty days: and they gave unto Judith Holofernes his tent, and all his plate, and beds, and vessels, and all his stuff: and she took it, and laid it on her mule; and made ready her carts, and laid them thereon.

12 Then all the women of Israel ran together to see her, and blessed her, and made a dance among them for her: and she took branches in her hand, and gave also to the women that were with her.

13 And they put a garland of olive upon her and her maid that was with her, and she went before all the people in the dance, leading all the women: and all the men of Israel followed in their armour with garlands, and with songs in their mouths.

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glory of our people. For thou hast done it with might, *and thine heart was strong and firm, and the hand of the Lord was with thee to strengthen thee; and blessed shalt thou be for evermore.*" This is certainly more original than the Greek text.

blessed . . . of (*with*) *the Almighty Lord.*] Cf. Gen. xiv. 19. "For evermore" is εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον, a curious phrase rendering Heb. לָנֶצַח, לְעוֹלָם, and עַד־עוֹלָם in Isa. xiii. 20, xiv. 20, xxxiv. 17. Cf. Baruch iii. 13.

11. *And the people . . . thirty days.*] Syr. *and the people were carrying off* (ܡܒܙܒܙܝܢ) *the camp of the Assyrians unto three days:* cf. 2 Chron. xx. 25, "And they were three days in gathering of the spoil, it was so much." Vulg.: *Per dies autem triginta vix collecta sunt spolia Assyriorum a populo Israel.*

spoiled.] ἐλαφύρευσε. Codd. 23, 44, al. ἐλαφύρησε. Both verbs are ἅπαξ λεγόμενα. Cod. 58, ἐλαφυραγώγησεν, a word found in Strabo, Plutarch, &c. Old Lat. *spolia collegit multa.*

his plate.] See ch. xii. 1. "Vessels"—τὰ ὅλκια (Codd. 58, 71, 106, Old Lat. omit; iii. x. τὰ ὁλκεία)—large *bowls* or *basins* for washing cups. The word occurs in the fragg. of the Comic Poets. Ὁλκεῖα appears to be the right spelling. Casaubon, quoted by Fritzsche, calls these vessels *labra ampla ad instar magnorum craterum efficta.* He continues, "Ita describit Hesychius; et confirmant auctorum loci. Ex iis etiam claret holciorum *in balneis fuisse usum*" (Casaub. 'Animadv. in Athen.' p. 343). "Stuff" is σκευάσματα, a true equivalent of κατασκευάσματα, Ecclus. xxxv. 6. The Syr. gives *jumenta ejus* (or *caballos ejus*; cf. Neh. ii. 12), apparently a bad guess.

her mule.] Codd. 58, 19, 108, Syr., Old Lat. *her mules.* καὶ λαβοῦσα αὐτὰ (x. 19, 44, al. Syr.) is certainly a better reading intrinsically than καὶ λαβοῦσα αὔτη. Sense and usage may sometimes outweigh external evidence.

made ready . . . laid them.] Lit. *yoked . . . heaped*—coacervavit. Cod. 58 omits.

12. Codd. 44, al. begin thus: καὶ συνήχθη πᾶσα συναγωγὴ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. "All the women" should be *every woman* (πᾶσα γυνή).

made a dance among them for her.] αὐτῇ, *i.e.* in her honour. Cf. Judg. xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6. The Syr. gives the verse thus: "And all the women of Israel ran unto her and surrounded her; and she chose out of them a company of singers (lit. praisers), and took palm branches in her hand," &c. The Gk. for "branches" is θύρσους (cf. 2 Macc. x. 7), a word which recalls the old Hellenic processions in honour of Bacchus, whose votaries carried wands wreathed in ivy and vine-leaves, and tipped with a pine-cone. Cf. Eurip. 'Bacch.' 80; 'Cyclops,' 64.

13. *And they put a garland . . . with her.*] The best Gk. text is: καὶ ἐστεφανώσαντο τὴν ἐλαίαν αὔτη καὶ αἱ μετ' αὐτῆς, *And they crowned themselves with the olive, she and the women with her.* Syr. "and she put a crown of olive on her head—she and her companions." For αὔτη, Codd. 44, 108, 236, 248, Co. read αὐτῇ; and for αἱ μετ' αὐτῆς, 248, Co. give τῇ μετ' αὐτῇ. Hence the A.V. Fritzsche does not notice the variants: "Der Oelzweig ist das Zeichen des Friedens und der Freude." But the wearing of olive garlands was not a Jewish, but a Greek custom. This again points to the Grecian period.

all the men of Israel followed.] Lit. *every man of Israel was following.* But *man* is collective, as the next term shews—"In their armour with garlands"—ἐνωπλισμένοι μετὰ στεφάνων (or ἐστεφανωμένοι, 58). The men wore their armour in the procession, as celebrating a military triumph.

and with songs in their mouths.] καὶ ὕμνων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν. But Codd. x. 19, 108, 23, 44, al. read καὶ ὕμνουν κ.τ.λ., *and they were chanting with their mouths.* Cod. 58: καὶ ὕμνος κ.τ.λ., *and a psalm* (was) *in their mouth.* Syr.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 *The song of Judith.* 19 *She dedicateth the stuff of Holofernes.* 23 *She died at Bethulia a widow of great honour.* 24 *All Israel did lament her death.*

THEN Judith began to sing this thanksgiving in all Israel, and all the people sang after her [1]this song of praise.

[1] Or, *this praising.*

2 And Judith said, Begin unto my God with timbrels, sing unto my Lord with cymbals: tune unto him a [1]new psalm: exalt him, and call upon his name.

[1] Or, *psalm and praise.*

3 For God breaketh the battles: for among the camps in the midst of the people he hath delivered me out of the hands of them that persecuted me.

4 Assur came out of the moun-

"and there came all the lords of the house of Israel, and all the ladies of Israel, and all the sons of Israel were coming with them, armed and wearing garlands, and a hymn (was) in their mouths." The original Heb. probably specified the song. Cf. the Midrash: "And all the congregation of Israel were glad and rejoicing with Judith; and all the women went forth after her with timbrels and dances, saying, 'O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.'" The way in which this refrain is used in Chronicles and Ezra makes its occurrence here very probable (1 Chron. xvi. 34, 41; 2 Chron. v. 13, vii. 3, 6, xx. 21; Ezra iii. 11).

CHAPTER XVI.

1. *Then Judith began to sing this thanksgiving in all Israel.*] Gk. καὶ ἐξῆρχεν Ἰ. τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν ταύτην ἐν παντὶ Ἰσρ., *And Judith led off this hymn of thanksgiving among all Israel.* The verb is so used in the classics, *e.g.* Arist. 'Poet.' iv. 14, ἐξαρχ. τὸν διθύραμβον; Xen. 'Anab.' v. 4, 14. In the LXX. it renders Heb. עָנָה *cecinit*, 1 Sam. xviii. 7, xxi. 12; Exod. xv. 21, xxxii. 17, 18. In Ps. cxlvii. 7 both the verb and the noun occur (ἐξομολόγησις = Heb. תּוֹדָה, *confession, acknowledgment*, especially of benefits received, and so *thanksgiving, hymn of thanksgiving*, Lobgesang). For "this thanksgiving," Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat. have "her thanksgiving." But cf. Exod. xv. 1, with which the Midrash agrees.

sang after her.] Fritzsche edits ὑπερεφώνει (Codd. ii. iii. x. 19, 64, al.). But in his commentary he justly remarks, "ὑπερφωνεῖν wäre überrufen, überschreien, was hier nicht passend erscheinen könnte." The common reading ὑπεφώνει, *was singing in answer*, is right. Syr. *was answering*; Old Lat. *succlamabat*. Cf. Plut. 'Pomp.' xxv.; Mosch. iii. 49.

this song of praise.] τὴν αἴνεσιν ταύτην. The Heb. was probably תְּהִלָּה, *laus* and *hymnus*: 1 Chron. xvi. 35. Cf. also Isa. li. 3 (= זִמְרָה, *cantus*). The word often renders תּוֹדָה, *e.g.* Ezra x. 11.

Cod. 58 reads: τῇ αἰνέσει κυρίου, *to the praise of Jehovah.* So Syr.: "And J. was answering all Israel in her thanksgiving, and all the people was answering the hymn of the Lord."

2. *And Judith said.*] Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 1; Luke i. 46.

Begin.] Or, *lead off the song.* Cf. note on *v.* 1. "Timbrels" or tabors, or tabrets, were similar to our tambourines. They are figured in very ancient Egyptian mural paintings at Thebes (see Wilkinson 'Anc. Egypt.,' i. 93. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 27), and are still a favourite instrument in the East. The Gk. τύμπανον is referred to the root ΤΥΠ, *to beat.* Cf. Heb. תֹּף, "tabor," with תָּפַף, *pectus pulsavit.* Cymbals also belong to Egyptian antiquity: see Wilkinson, i. 99; and both tabors and cymbals were used in sacred as well as in common music. Midrash: הללו את יהוה בתוף.

tune.] The Gk. is ἐναρμόσασθε, *fit* or *adapt ye.* Cf. Pind. 'Ol.' iii. 9; Arist. 'Eq.' 989. The Old Lat. and Vulg. render *modulamini*, "sing ye," or "play ye;" and the Heb. probably was שִׁירוּ, *cantate.* Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 3, "sing unto him a new song." So the Midrash. Also Pss. xcvi. 1, xcviii. 1; Isa. xlii. 10. Instead of καινὸν, *new*, Codd. ii. x. 19, 58, 55, al. καὶ αἶνον, *and praise.* The idea conveyed by the true text is a *fresh* and *living* strain, as opposed to a *hackneyed* and *lifeless* one.

exalt him, and call upon his name.] Pss. xcix. 5, 9; cv. 1; cxlv. 1; lxxix. 6; lxxx. 19. The Midrash follows Ps. cv. 1.

3. *For God breaketh the battles.*] Gk. ὅτι θεὸς συντρίβων πολέμους κύριος, *Because a God breaking wars (is) Jehovah.* See ch. ix. 7, 8; Exod. xv. 3. The reading of 58 is: σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ὁ συντρίβων πολέμους κύριε. So the Syr. The Heb. was probably the same as in Exod. xv. 3. So the Midrash, which omits what follows to *v.* 13. The Vulgate has: *Dominus conterens bella, Dominus nomen est illi.*

for among the camps, &c.] Fritzsche (with whom Volkmar agrees) edits: ὅτι εἰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτοῦ ἐν μέσῳ λαοῦ ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν καταδιωκόντων με, *Because into his camp in the midst of the people he rescued*

tains from the north, he came with ten thousands of his army, the [a] multitude whereof stopped the torrents, and their horsemen have covered the hills.

[a] ch. 2. 19.

5 He bragged that he would burn up my borders, and kill my young men with the sword, and dash the sucking children against the ground, and make mine infants as a prey, and my virgins as a spoil.

6 But the Almighty Lord hath disappointed them by the hand of a woman.

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me out of the hand of my pursuers. "Jehovah's camp," says Fritzsche, "is in the midst of his people, and in this camp is safety. Into this camp He brought Judith, delivering her out of the camp of the Assyrians." But the Greek is hardly beyond suspicion, considered as the rendering of a Heb. original, and that a poetical one. The Syr. is probably nearer the mark:

"That puttest the camp (encampest) in the midst of thy people,
To deliver them from the hand of their oppressors."

Cf. the Vulgate:

"Qui posuit castra sua in medio populi sui,
Ut eriperet nos de manu omnium inimicorum nostrorum."

The clause is wanting in 58. Codd. 19, 108 give: *ὅτι ἀπέστειλε τὰς παρεμβ. αὐτοῦ ἐν μέσῳ παρεμβολῶν υἱῶν* Ἰσραὴλ *ἐξελέσθαι με κ.τ.λ.* "For he sent off his armies in the midst of the armies of the sons of Israel, to rescue me," &c. Evidently the original consisted of a couplet. Cf. Gen. xxxii. 11; 1 Sam. xii. 10, 11; Ps. vii. 1, xxxi. 15, xxxiv. 7, cxlii. 6; Zech. ix. 8.

4. *Assur came, &c.*] The Assyrians, like other invaders coming from the East, entered Palestine on its northern frontier. The mountains are those of Northern Palestine. Ἐξ *ὀρέων ἀπὸ βοῤῥᾶ* = out of the northern mountains. Cf. Isa. xiv. 13, 31; Jer. vi. 22. This fine verse makes a perfect quatrain. We are reminded of Byron's well-known lyric, which may be an echo of this:

"The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold."

he came with ten thousands of his army.] The recurrence of the verb is effective. Cf. Judg. v. 3, 7. The mention of the myriads of the Assyrian army is appropriate enough (cf. Jude 14). The suggestion of Welte that רֹב, *multitudo*, has been confused with רִבּוֹ, *decem millia*, is probable: cf. the phrase רֹב חֵילוֹ, Ps. xxxiii. 16; and the Vulg. *in multitudine fortitudinis suae.* Old Lat., however, *in millibus exercitus sui*; and the Syr. as the Gk. text. Besides, the word *multitude* occurs in the next line. Codd. ii. 19, 108 read *δυνάμεων*, his *armies*.

the multitude whereof stopped the torrents.] This might be thought to be a reminiscence of Isa. xxxvii. 25: "With the sole of my feet will I dry up all the canals of Egypt" (Heb.). Cf. also what Herodotus says of the failure of rivers to supply the huge host of Xerxes: Hdt. vii. 187. 2; 196. 3. But the literal translation is *whose multitude blocked up gorges*, or *wâdys*. Cf. Syr. "with their multitude they closed up the gorges;" and the parallel *hills*.

and their horsemen have covered.] Omit *have*. Instead of *ἡ ἵππος αὐτῶν ἐκάλυψε*, Cod. 58 has *ἵπποι αὐτοῦ ἐκάλυψαν*. So Old Lat. Vulg. *et equi eorum cooperuerunt valles.*

5. *He bragged . . . my borders.*] Lit. *he said*—אָמַר. Cf. Exod. xv. 9; Judg. v. 30; 2 Kings xix. 23; Isa. x. 13, xiv. 13; and ch. ii. 7 *sqq.* Fritzsche remarks: "Er gedachte vermessen, und sprach es aus." Judith speaks of "*my* borders," passionately identifying herself with her country. Cf. Judg. v. 7; 2 Sam. xx. 19. Syr. wrongly: *They said.*

dash . . . against the ground.] *θήσειν εἰς ἔδαφος* = *ἐδαφίζειν*; the Heb. רִטֵּשׁ: see Ps. cxxxvii. 9; Nah. iii. 10; Hos. x. 14, xiv. 1. Elisha's prediction of what Hazael would do to Israel closely resembles the present verse: see 2 Kings viii. 12. The Syr. omits this line.

make mine infants as a prey, &c.] Lit. *and that he would give mine infants for* (= to be) *a booty, and despoil my virgins.* The Heb. probably was, *And my virgins for a spoil.* So the Syr.: *My youths to captivity, and my virgins for spoil.*

6. The utter frustration of all these arrogant threats is forcibly set forth in a single line. Cf. Exod. xv. 10; and the sudden and splendid climax in Isa. x. 33.

But the Almighty.] Omit *but* (58, 248, Co. *καὶ*). *Κύριος παντοκράτωρ* is the Heb. יהוה צבאות, "the Lord of Hosts." Codd. 19, 108 insert *ὁ θεὸς ὁ* between these words; *i.e.* "The Lord, the God of Hosts."

disappointed.] *ἠθέτησεν.* See note on ch. xiv. 18. We may assume the same general meaning here as there. *The Lord of Hosts cheated* (or *dealt treacherously with*) *them, by the hand of a woman.* Cf. Judg. ix. 23, 54. In Ps. xxxiii. 10 *ἀθετεῖ* renders the Heb. הֵנִיא, *irrita fecit* consilia gentium; and Dereser, Scholz, and Wahl explain: He hath

7 For the mighty one did not fall by the young men, neither did the sons of the Titans smite him, nor high giants set upon him: but Judith the daughter of Merari weakened him with the beauty of her countenance.

8 For she put off the garment of her widowhood for the exaltation of those that were oppressed in Israel, and anointed her face with ointment, and bound her hair in a [1]tire, and took a linen garment to deceive him.

9 Her sandals ravished his eyes, her beauty took his mind prisoner, and the fauchion passed through his neck.

10 The Persians quaked at her

[1] Gr. *mitra.*

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frustrated the Assyrians, *i.e.* brought their plans to nought. So Badwell: *frustratus est eos.* Fritzsche approves this view. But here Judith seems to exult in the successful *cunning* of her deed. Not by warriors' strength, but by a woman's craft, had the Lord of Hosts brought about the ruin of the Assyrians. Codd. 58, 19, 108 turn the verse into a couplet, by adding *κατῄσχυνεν αὐτοὺς* after *θηλείας*. So the Syr.:

"The mighty Lord defrauded them,
By the hand of a female he destroyed them."

(ܡܪܐ—ܠܗܘܢ.) The Old Lat. is, *nocuit eum et tradidit illum in manu feminae, et confodit (confudit) eum;* Vulg. *Dominus autem omnipotens nocuit eum et tradidit eum in manus feminae et confodit eum.*

7. *For the mighty one* [rather, *their champion*] *did not fall, &c.*] Judith insists on the shamefulness of Holofernes' end. *Their champion* = Heb. גִּבּוֹרָם; see 1 Sam. xvii. 51. Syr. "their mighty ones" (an obvious error).

sons of the Titans.] The Gk. υἱοὶ Τιτάνων may represent Heb. בְּנֵי רָפָא; see 2 Sam. xxi. 16, 18. In 2 Sam. v. 18 *the valley of Rephaim* is called in the LXX. *the valley of the Titans;* and so in the Hexapla, 2 Sam. xxiii. 13. The Heb. Rephaim is generally rendered Γίγαντες in LXX. But possibly the original term here was נפלים; see Gen. vi. 4; Num. xiii. 33. At all events, the name of an aboriginal race of Canaanites traditionally remembered as giants is here used poetically, by the figure called *Antonomasia*, for the general notion of *giants.* Cf. also Deut. i. 28; ii. 11; iii. 11; ix. 2. Syr. *nor did one of the sons of the strong smite him.*

high giants.] Gk. ὑψηλοὶ Γίγαντες. The Heb. might be either רְפָאִים, Gen. xiv. 5, Josh. xii. 4; or גִּבּוֹרִים, Gen. vi. 4, x. 8, 9. Syr. "men who were tall in stature." Cf. also Num. xiii. 32; Deut. i. 28; Isa. xlv. 14.

but Judith the daughter of Merari.] Compare Deborah's direct mention of herself, Judg. v. 7, 12, 15.

weakened him.] Or *disabled* him. Παραλύω in the pass. means *to be paralysed.* Perhaps the Heb. was עִקֵּר, *boughed*, or *hamstrung:* 2 Sam. viii. 4; 1 Chron. xviii. 4. Cf. also Gen. xlix. 6 (where LXX. lit. ἐνευροκόπησαν). Old Lat. *debilitavit* (al. *dissolvit*, so Vulg.) *eum;* Syr. *pellexit eum* (ܦܠܚܗ).

8. This verse and the next explain *how* Judith disabled Holofernes. (The γὰρ is *explicative.*) Both are wanting in Cod. 58. Cf. Deborah's praise of Jael, Judg. v. 25, 26.

exaltation.] ὕψος, *lifting up;* a downtrodden people. Cf. ch. xiii. 20; 1 Macc. i. 40; 1 Sam. ii. 7, 8; Pss. cxiii. 7, cxlvii. 6.

those that were oppressed.] τῶν πονούντων; prob. עֲנִיֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל. Syr.: "*For the praise of the mourners* (ܕܐܒ̈ܝܠܐ) of Israel."

ointment.] The word μυρισμὸς, properly "anointing," is only found here and in Athenaeus (p. 547). Codd. 19, 108, 249 substitute the common term μύρῳ. For *and* read *she*, before *anointed.*

in a tire.] See ch. x. 3. The "linen garment" would be a costly one, like that of Tamar, 2 Sam. xiii. 18.

9. *Her sandals ravished his eyes.*] So the Syr. and Vulg. The nouns in the Gk. are singular (19, 108, 76, al. *eyes*). The Hebrew ladies paid much attention to the adornment of the foot. Cf. Isa. iii. 18; Ezek. xvi. 9; ch. x. 4 *supr.*; Cant. vii. 1, iv. 9. The verb may have been חָטַף, *rapuit*, Judg. xxi. 21. So Syr. ܚܛܦܘܗ; Vulg. *rapuerunt.*

took his mind prisoner.] Gk. ᾐχμαλώτισε ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ. Cf. Judg. v. 12 (= שְׁבֵה, *captivum duxit*). The ψυχή (נֶפֶשׁ) was the seat of feeling.

and the fauchion (ch. xiii. 6) *passed through his neck.*] The conjunction should be transferred to the former line. The concise brevity with which the decisive issue is stated is far more effective than any conceivable amplification would have been.

10. *The Persians . . . the Medes.*] Mentioned as types of strong and warlike peoples; or as the most remote of nations. Of

boldness, and the Medes were [1]daunted at her hardiness.

11 Then my afflicted shouted for joy, and my weak ones cried aloud; but [2]they were astonished: these lifted up their voices, but they were overthrown.

12 The sons of the damsels have pierced them through, and wounded them as fugitives' children: they

[1] Or, *confounded*.
[2] *the Assyrians*.

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course, it is assumed that there were Persian and Median contingents in the Assyrian army. The priority in time, which belongs to the Medes, is here neglected, and the usual order of the names, preserved even in the Book of Daniel, is reversed—another indication of the lateness of our work. The Medes are not mentioned in the Assyrian records earlier than the reign of Shalmaneser II. (*accessit* B.C. 860).

The Assyrian empire was finally overthrown by the combined forces of the Medes and Babylonians, circ. 607 B.C. See Schrader, 'Keilinschriften,' &c. p. 358 *sqq.* The Persian power was, as is well known, posterior to that of the Medes, having been founded by Cyrus, who overthrew Astyages, or *Astuvegu*, the Mede, circ. 536 B.C. See Hdt. i. 96–128; and the Annals of *Nabûnâbid*, the last king of Babylon. Our author makes free and somewhat uncritical use of the great names of antiquity. He and his contemporaries knew little of their exact historical relations. Notwithstanding, his fervid patriotism and strong faith inspired him to sing a noble hymn, not unworthy to rank with the ancient psalms of his people.

Verse 10 again reminds us of that great Song of Moses which was the prototype and model of all future lyric poetry among the Hebrews. Cf. Exod. xv. 14 *sqq.*:

"The peoples heard, they were afraid:
Sorrow took hold on the inhabitants of Palestina.
Then the dukes of Edom were amazed;
The mighty men of Moab—trembling took hold upon them;
All the inhabitants of Canaan melted away."

quaked.] ἔφριξαν, Jer. ii. 12; Job iv. 15. Vulg. *horruerunt.*

were daunted.] Fritzsche edits ἐῤῥάχθησαν (Codd. ii. 55). The other MSS. have ἐταράχθησαν, *were troubled.* Cod. 58 omits. So Old Lat. and Vulg. The verb ῥάσσω occurred ch. ix. 8 (cf. Jer. xxiii. 33, 39); and is suitable here, a strong term being required to correspond to ἔφριξαν. "The Medes were dashed down" (*perculsi animo, metu fracti*). So we speak of courage being *dashed.* Syr. ܐܬܬܒܪܘ, *fracti sunt. Hardiness* is θράσος or θάρσος (Codd. 19, 108, 23, al.). Cf. Job xvii. 9, θάρσος (= אֹמֶץ, *robur*).

11. Verses 11, 12 are wanting in Cod. 58. *My afflicted . . . my weak ones,* i.e. my oppressed and helpless people. See ch. ix. 11 for both terms (ταπεινός—ἀσθενῶν). *Shouted for joy* is ἠλάλαξαν = הֵרִיעַ: Josh. vi. 20; Ps. xlvii. 1. *Cried aloud*—ἐβόησαν—is required by the parallelism. So Codd. 19, 23, 52, 55, 64, 74, al., Syr., and Old Lat. The common ἐφοβήθησαν is called by Fritzsche "eine ganz gedankenlose Correctur, durch ἐπτοήθησαν veranlasst."

but they were astonished.] Better, *affrighted, terrified* (πτοέω). Cf. Job xxxii. 15; Amos iii. 6; 1 Chron. xxviii. 20. The subject is the Assyrians, who were panic-stricken when they heard the glad shout of the Israelites. Cf. 1 Sam. iv. 5–7. Codd. 19, 108, 23, 55, read ἡττήθησαν, *they were worsted;* x. 248, ἐπτοήσαν, which is simply a correction to avoid the abrupt change of the subject. Syr. *and they fell.*

these lifted up their voices.] Rather, *they.* The subject is still the Assyrians. They also shouted, but it was a cry of fear. Render, *They lifted up their voice, and were overthrown* (Syr. *broken*). Codd. 19, 108, *and my enemies were put to flight;* cf. ch. xv. 3. This suggests that *They lifted up their voice* refers to the Israelites. The Old Lat. has the peculiar reading, *Turbata sunt tunc omnia castra Assur, et ululaverunt humiles mei, et exclamaverunt aegrotantes in siti, et exclamaverunt voce sua et convertit aquam;* the Vulg., *Tunc ululaverunt castra Assyriorum, quando apparuerunt humiles mei, arescentes in siti.* Cf. Isa. xli. 17.

12. *The sons of the damsels.*] בְּנֵי נְעָרוֹת. Κορασίον = נַעֲרָה, *ancilla:* Ruth ii. 8, 22, 23. "Sons of handmaids" means *slaves, vernulae.* The Assyrians regarded the Israelites as rebellious serfs: ch. xiv. 13, 18. Judith turns the edge of their taunt against themselves. The slaves are their victors. In 1 Sam. xx. 30, Saul in his wrath addresses Jonathan as υἱὲ κορασίων αὐτομολούντων, *son of runaway handmaids!* Fritzsche explains: "Sons of maidens, of young weak women: thus, weak youngsters." Badwell's *imbelles atque delicati,* and Volkmar's *Mädchen-Gleiche,* are similar. Grotius: "modo geniti; ex novis nuptis."

pierced them through.] κατεκέντησαν = דָּקְרוּ; Jer. li. 4. (ἐξεκέντ. Codd 19, 108 = דָּקַר, 1 Chron. x. 4.)

as fugitives' children.] ὡς παῖδας αὐτομολούντων. But 19, 108, αὐτομολοῦντας. So Syr. and Old Lat. and Vulg. The Israelites

perished by the battle of the Lord.

13 I will sing unto the Lord [1]a new song: O Lord, thou art great and glorious, wonderful in strength, and invincible.

[1] Or, *a song of praise.*

14 Let all creatures serve thee: for thou spakest, and they were made, thou didst send forth thy spirit, and it created them, and there is none that can resist thy voice.

15 For the mountains shall be moved from their foundations with the waters, the rocks shall melt as wax at thy presence: yet thou art merciful to them that fear thee.

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turned the tables on their late domineering foes, and cut them down as *runaway slaves* (or *children of deserters*). Παῖς may be either *child* or *slave*. "Sons of deserters" = deserters, in Heb. idiom.

they perished, &c.] Lit. *they perished from the army of my Lord:* i.e. either they perished *through*, or they perished *from before* the Israelite array. The Heb. was either אָבַד מִן or אָבַד מִפְּנֵי. Vulg. "perierunt in praelio *a facie* Domini Dei mei." With ἐκ παρατάξεως κυρίου μου, cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 36, 45. It is irrelevant to compare the classical ἐκ παρατάξεως, *in regular battle*, Thucyd. v. 11.

13. A new strophe begins with an ascription of praise containing echoes of Exod. xv. 11: "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? Who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?"

I will sing unto the Lord, &c.] Cf. *v.* 2. Here the Gk. is ὑμνεῖν ὕμνον, as in Isa. xlii. 10.
Instead of *the Lord*, the Gk. has *my God;* but Syr. *the Lord*. Vulg.: *Hymnum cantemus Domino, hymnum novum cantemus Deo nostro.*

O Lord.] Codd. 19, 108, *O Lord my God;* 58, *Adonai, Lord.* Old Lat. and Vulg. *Adonai Domine.* Syr. *Lord Almighty* (= Jehovah Sabaoth). Heb. probably אדני יהוה, *Lord Iahweh.*

thou art great and glorious.] Cf. Ps. xlviii. 1, xcvi. 4; 2 Sam. vii. 22. Ἔνδοξος probably מְהֻלָּל, *laudandus:* so the Syr. ܡܫܒܚ, *laudatus.* The Midrash, which here resumes, has: "O Lord God, great art thou and fearful in strength (נורא בכוח), and there is none like unto thee."

wonderful in strength.] θαυμαστὸς ἐν ἰσχύϊ may represent Heb. נוֹרָא חַיִל, *terrible of strength:* cf. Exod. xv. 11; Dan. ix. 4 (κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ θαυμαστός); Josh. vi. 2. Syr. ܓܢܒܪ ܒܚܝܠܐ, *mighty in strength* = Heb. גִּבּוֹר ח״, אִישׁ חַיִל, *a man of might.* Cf. 1 Kings i. 42; also Ps. ciii. 20. Vulg.: "praeclarus in *virtute* tua."

and invincible.] (καὶ) ἀνυπέρβλητος, not to be *surpassed* or *outdone:* Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 7, 15. Codd. 19, 108 read: θαυμαστὸς ἐν μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ (= הָדָר, Ps. xxi. 6), καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητος (108, ἀνυπέρβατος, a late word) ἐν ἰσχύϊ. Syr. *neque victus* (cf. 1 Kings xx. 23, where the Peshito uses the same verb ܙܟܐ). Midrash: ואין דומה לך, "And there is none like thee."

14. *Let all creatures serve thee.*] Rather, *let all thy creation serve thee.* Cf. ch. ix. 12 *supra*, "King of all thy creation." Midrash: הבריות, "the creatures" (neo-Heb.). It adds, "And let all thy works praise thee, O Lord." The rest of the verse is from Ps. xxxiii. 6–9; civ. 30. "Thy spirit," thy *breath*, i.e. thy creative word, Ps. xxxiii. 6.

created.] ᾠκοδόμησε, *built them up;* בָּנָה. But Midrash: ונבראו, "and they were created," which is perhaps right (Ps. civ. 30). It omits the last clause of the verse. Cod. 58 omits: "Thou didst send forth . . . thy voice." The Syr. is:

"Thee serve all the peoples!
And to thee be subject all the earth thy creation!
Because thou spakest, and they became;
And thou orderedst them, and they were established."

15. *For the mountains shall be moved, &c.*] Cf. Ps. xcvii. 4, 5; Isa. lxiv. 1, 2; Wisd. iv. 19; Heb. iii. 6, 10. The mightiest are powerless against the wrath of God; the humblest who fear Him are visited by His grace. This is the general sense, but the first line of the Greek is not quite clear. It says: "For mountains from foundations, with (σὺν) waters, shall be shaken." The Syr. is plainer: "The mountains from their foundations, with their waters, shall tremble." Volkmar renders "from the foundation of the waters," "from the foundation, together with the waters which form that foundation" (?). Midrash simply: "The mountains and the foundations shall shake."

yet thou art merciful to them that fear thee.] Lit. *But upon them that fear thee—thou art very propitious unto them:* an anacoluthon. The verb. εὐιλατεύω belongs to the dialect of the LXX. See Deut. xxix. 20; Ps. ciii. 3. Heb. סָלַח, *condonavit.* Codd. 19, 64, iii. x. al. have the future tense here also. The Midrash omits this sentence and the next verse, and concludes with Exod. xv. 6, 11. The contrast

16 For all sacrifice is too little for a sweet savour unto thee, and all the fat is not sufficient for thy burnt offering: but he that feareth the Lord is great at all times.

17 Woe to the nations that rise up against my kindred! the Lord Almighty will take vengeance of them in the day of judgment, in putting fire and worms in their flesh; and they shall feel them, and weep for ever.

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between the power and the love of God is like the prophetic, "Thus saith the high and holy One," &c., Isa. lvii. 15.

16. *For all sacrifice, &c.*] Lit.:

Because a small thing is every sacrifice for a smell of sweet odour,
And a very small thing is all fat for a whole offering unto thee;
But he that feareth the Lord is great continually (μέγας διαπαντός).

The verse assigns a reason for the last statement in *v.* 15. It seems to say: Not the "whole burnt offerings and sacrifices," which are the outward tokens of fearing Him, but the worshipper himself is the great, the priceless object, in the sight of God. He does not value the sacrifices for their own sakes, but for what they signify—the devotion of him who offers them. The writer does not mean at all to disparage the sacrificial system. He has already laid the utmost stress upon Judith's punctilious observance of the legal traditions of piety. Cf. Isa. xl. 16; Ps. li. 16–19: and for the sacrificial terms, Gen. viii. 21; Lev. viii. 20, xvii. 6. Codd. 19, 108 read: "Because small and great (neut.) thou madest, every sacrifice for a smell of sweet odour and all fat for whole burnt offering are as small as may be; but he," &c. Cf. Ps. l. 8 *sqq.*

17. *the nations.*] The ἔθνη or "heathen." "My kindred" = my *people*: γένος = עַם.

in the day of judgment.] Cf. Joel ii. 1, iii. 11 *sqq.*; Mal. iii. 1.

in putting fire and worms in their flesh.] A reminiscence of Isa. lxvi. 24: "And they shall go forth and look upon the carcases of the men that rebelled against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh." Corpses on the battle-field would soon decompose in the hot East. They were burnt to get rid of them and their offensiveness. Burning instead of burial was considered a great dishonour. See Josh. vii. 25; Amos ii. 1. Grotius explains: "Morbis eos vexabit diuturnis, qualis est febris ἑκτική et verminatio. Haec addita videntur post mortem Antiochi." See 2 Macc. ix. 9, 18.

and they shall feel them, and weep for ever.] The Gk. is καὶ κλαύσονται ἐν αἰσθήσει ἕως αἰῶνος. The Vulg. *ut urantur et sentiant usque in sempiternum* seems to imply a reading καύσονται; and so the Syr. *and they shall be burnt through wickedness for ever.* It is evident that the thought of the writer extends beyond the visible scene, and that under a figure of speech, already current in his day, he is referring to the penal woes of the world to come. So Ecclus. vii. 17: "Humble thy soul greatly; for the vengeance of the ungodly is fire and worms." Cf. Mark ix. 48; Dan. xii. 2. Enoch ciii. 8: "And into the darkness and into the meshes and into the burning flame will your spirit go at the great judgment; and the great judgment will be for all generations to eternity. Woe to you, for ye have no peace." Also ch. xc. 26: "And I saw at that time that a similar gulf was opened in the middle of the earth, full of fire, and they brought those blinded sheep, and all were judged and found guilty, and were thrown into that fiery gulf, and burned; and this gulf was to the right of that house" (*i.e.* in the Valley of Hinnom, south of Jerusalem). See Dillmann, 'Das Buch Henoch,' pp. 64 and 76. In his 'Book of Enoch' (Introd. p. 39) Prof. Schodde remarks: "The condemnation of the sinners is eternal (ch. v. 5, 6; x. 12; xii. 4, 5; xxii. 11 *sqq.*), and consists of burning (x. 14) in a pool of fire (x. 6, xc. 24, &c.); or fiery abyss (x. 13, xc. 25, &c.); or in prison (x. 13); or in a fiery oven (xcviii. 3); or in hell (xcix. 11)." (*Hell* is *Sheol.*) The most probable theory about the origin of the Book of Enoch is that it was written during the Maccabean period to cheer the *Chasidim*, or patriotic party, in their life-and-death struggle for freedom. See also 2 Esdr. viii. 59; ix. 9–12; Targum of Jonathan, Gen. iii. 24; *Rosh Hashanah*, 17 A (a passage which asserts that the wicked are judged in Gehenna *unto generations of generations*, and cites Isa. lxvi. 24. The opinion of the Rabbis was not, however, uniform on the subject of the duration of hell's torments).

Cod. 58 concludes the psalm thus: οὐαὶ δὲ ἔθνη παράνομα ἐπανιστάμενα γένει μου. Κύριος παντοκράτωρ ἐκδικᾷ αὐτοὺς, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἐκδικήσει αὐτούς. Syr.:

"Woe to the people that riseth up against my people!
The Almighty Lord will take vengeance on them in the day of judgment;
He will take vengeance on them and will visit them;
And he will give their flesh to the fire and to the worm,
And they will burn because of (*in*) iniquity for ever."

18 Now as soon as they entered into Jerusalem, they worshipped the Lord; and as soon as the people were purified, they offered their burnt offerings, and their free offerings, and their gifts.

19 Judith also dedicated all the stuff of Holofernes, which the people had given her, and gave the canopy, which she had taken out of his bedchamber, for a gift unto the Lord.

20 So the people continued feasting in Jerusalem before the sanctuary for the space of three months, and Judith remained with them.

21 After this time every one returned to his own inheritance, and Judith went to Bethulia, and remained in her own possession, and was in her time honourable in all the country.

22 And many desired her, but none knew her all the days of her life, after that Manasses her husband was dead, and was gathered to his people.

23 But she increased more and more in honour, and waxed old in her husband's house, being an hundred and five years old, and made her maid free; so she died in Bethulia:

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18. *Now as soon as they entered... they worshipped.*] Cod. 58 and Syr.: "And it came to pass when *she* entered... *she* (Syr. *they*) worshipped."

purified.] Scil. *propter caedem* (Castell). See Num. xxxi. 19 *sqq.*; 1 Chron. xv. 12; 2 Chron. xxx. 3, 17–20.

their free (*will*) *offerings.*] See Num. xxix. 39; 1 Chron. xxix. 6 *sqq.* Cod. 58 and Syr. omit *and their gifts*: see ch. iv. 14; Lev. xxiii. 38.

19. *which she had taken.*] The common reading ὃ ἔλαβεν αὐτῃ is evidently wrong. Fritzsche edits ἑαυτῇ, "for herself," from Codd. ii. iii. x., but remarks "malim αὐτή." Vulg. well: "quod *ipsa* sustulerat."

for a gift unto the Lord.] εἰς ἀνάθημα (Codd. iii. x. 58, 19, 55, al. ἀνάθεμα) τῷ θεῷ (iii. 58, 19, 64, al., Syr. κυρίῳ). The LXX. renders חֵרֶם, *res Deo devota*, by this term: *e.g.* Lev. xxvii. 28, 29. So Syr. Cf. Luke xxi. 5.

20. *the sanctuary.*] τὰ ἅγια, "the holy places;" the temple with its two chambers, and the buildings of the precincts.

for the space of three months.] This seems much too long for likelihood. The Syr. says: *a month of days.* Cf. the 120 days of banqueting in ch. i. 16. In Esth. ix. 21, the yearly festival is of two days' duration (14th and 15th Adar). The 13th Adar was the "Yôm Niqanor" or Nicanor's Day: see 1 Macc. vii. 47 *sqq.* and 2 Macc. xv. 36; Joseph. 'Ant.' xii. 17. Solomon's double feast of Tabernacles and of the Dedication lasted fourteen days: 2 Chron. vii. 9. The festivities of David's coronation at Hebron occupied three days: 1 Chron. xii. 39. Lastly, according to 1 Macc. iv. 56, Judas "kept the dedication of the altar eight days."

21. *After this time.*] *But after these days*; scil. of the festival.

his own inheritance.] Syr. *each to his own tent.* So Old Lat. Cod. 58, τὰ σκηνώματα αὐτοῦ.

in her own possession.] ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπάρξεως αὐτῆς, *upon her property* = עַל־רְכוּשָׁהּ; cf. Dan. xi. 13, 24, 28: ch. viii. 7 *supra*—καὶ ἔμενεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν. Syr. omits *and remained*, and gives *to the house of her possession.* So 58. Syr. also omits *in her time.* The Gk. is κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῆς, *i.e.* as long as she lived.

22. *many desired her, &c.*] *I.e.* as Badwell explained: "multos procos habuit." Judith maintained her honourable widowhood to the last. Cf. Luke ii. 36, 37; 1 Tim. iii. 2.

and was gathered, &c.] See Gen. xxv. 8. Codd. 58, 106, and Syr. and Vulg. omit. Wolff considers this verse the original end of the book.

23. *But she increased more and more in honour.*] The Gk. is curious: καὶ ἦν προβαίνουσα μεγάλη σφόδρα. It predicates increasing years rather than honour. Προβαίνειν, scil. τῇ ἡλικίᾳ: cf. Luke i. 7, ii. 36; Gen. xviii. 11. The term is further defined here by μεγάλη in the sense of "old," *grandis*, Heb. גָּדוֹל. The reading of Cod. 58 seems preferable: καὶ προβαίν. ἐγένετο μεγ. σφ., *and advancing* (*in days*) *she became very old.* Syr. *and acc. as she was going on, she was increasing indeed* (*in dignity*), *until she had increased exceedingly.* Vulg. *Erat autem diebus festis procedens cum magna gloria*: i.e. on festivals she would appear in public, with great *éclat.* Old Lat. *et procedente tempore clara facta est.*

an hundred and five years.] In the Greek this depends immediately on the verb ἐγήρασεν, as an accusative of limitation.

made her maid free.] Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat. transfer this to end of *v.* 24. Its position here, however, implies that the manumis-

and they buried her in the [1] cave of her husband Manasses.

[1] Or, *sepulchre.*

24 And the house of Israel lamented her [b] seven days: and before she died, she did distribute her goods to all them that were nearest of kindred to Manasses her husband, and to them that were the nearest of her kindred.

[b] Gen. 50. 10.

25 And there was none that made the children of Israel any more afraid in the days of Judith, nor a long time after her death.

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sion took place, as was natural, only a little while before Judith died. The Syr. is wrong in rendering her *maids.*

in the cave.] See Matt. xxvii. 60; Josh. xi. 38. If Judith = Judæa, it is odd that she dies and is buried. Volkmar seems to have felt this, for he writes on his last page, "Die wahre Judith ist nie gestorben." In other words, his allegory breaks down here.

24. *seven days.*] The usual time of mourning: Gen. l. 10; 1 Sam. xxxi. 13; Ecclus. xxii. 10. So Archelaus for Herod.

she did distribute her goods.] Cf. Gen. xxiv. 36, xxv. 5, xlviii. 22; Job xlii. 15. In the assignment of the property, Judith followed the rule of strict equity. As Grotius remarks: "Omnia officia explevit, tum in reddenda gratia, tum in conferendo beneficio."

25. *long time.*] Lit. *many days.* Midrash: "And the land had rest after her death *many years;* and to all the sons of Israel there was light in their dwellings." Vulg. also, *many years.* Cf. 1 Sam. vii. 2, where "many days" = twenty years. Judith died at 105. If she was 25 at the time of her exploit (she had been a widow 3½ years, and Oriental women marry early, and fade soon), the peace she procured must have lasted at least 90 years. No such period of lengthened tranquillity can be specified before the Exile; and after it, only under the Persian kings, and according to Jewish ideas under the Hasmoneans. Supposing Holofernes to mean Nicanor (slain 161 B.C.), it is at least a curious coincidence that the 90 years of peace bring us to the last year of Salome-Alexandra, B.C. 71. If the 3½ years of Judith's widowhood symbolize the time of the desolation of the sanctuary, then in B.C. 168 Judith is already a widow; and reckoning from the year of the Dedication of the Temple, B.C. 165, ninety years again bring us to the reign of Salome, B.C. 75. The allusion to the peace or "rest" of the land is in the manner of the Book of Judges (v. 31; viii. 28); but it is perhaps worth notice that the very name of Salome (Heb. Shelomith) would remind a Jew of "peace" (2 Chron. xxii. 9).

after her death.] Cf. 1 Macc. vii. 50. The Vulg. alone adds: *Dies autem victoriae hujus festivitatis ab Hebraeis in numero sanctorum dierum accipitur, et colitur a Judaeis ex illo tempore usque in praesentem diem.* Cf. Esth. ix. 17 *sqq.* The statement can hardly have belonged to the original text of Judith, as it is absent from the Old Latin and the Syriac versions as well as the Greek MSS. Besides, the author does not usually speak of "the Hebrews" and "the Jews," as if he were himself an alien, but of "the children of Israel." And a "dies Judithae" is not otherwise known to have been observed by the Jews. *Vid.* Introd., p. 11; and cf. the discussion in Selden, 'De Synedriis,' iii. p. 133–137. An Ethiopic Calendar marks a feast of "Jodid" or "Judid," *ea die quae est quarta Elul Niceni sive Dionysiaci,* i.e. on Aug. 4 (Jos. Scaliger, 'de Emend. Temp.,' vii. 633 652, quoted by Selden).

The rest of the Chapters of the Book of ESTHER,

Which are found neither in the Hebrew, nor in the Chaldee.

INTRODUCTION.

§ I. Contents.

THESE 'Additions' to the canonical Book of Esther stand in the English Apocrypha in a but slightly connected form. Their contents may be briefly described as follows:—*a* (ch. x.), the explanation of a dream which *b* (ch. xi.) Mardochæus (or Mordecai) dreamed "in the second year of the reign of Artaxerxes the great." Mordecai was then at Susa, "a servitor in the king's court." *c* (ch. xii.), the details of the discovery of the conspiracy of the two eunuchs, Gabatha and Tharra, against the king. *d* (ch. xiii.), containing d_1, the decree of king Artaxerxes authorizing the utter destruction of the Jews; and followed by d_2, the prayer of Mordecai in the hour of great peril which had befallen him and his people. *e* (ch. xiv.), the prayer of "queen Esther, being in fear of death." *f* (ch. xv.), the interview of Esther with the king when she sought him unsummoned in order to petition for her people and her country. *g* (ch. xvi.), the decree of the king in favour of the Jews, authorizing their self-defence and their vengeance on their enemies.

§ II. Original Language.

Whence come these 'Additions'? They are found in the Greek, but not in the Hebrew, text of the canonical Book; and their place in the Greek Version varies from that adopted by the English. Thus *a* with the first verse of *b* form the conclusion of the Book, and the rest of *b* and *c* its opening verses. Of *d*, d_1 was placed after Esther iii. 13, d_2 and *e* after Esther iv. 17. Instead of Esther v. 1–3, the Greek text had *f*; while *g* was placed after Esther viii. 12. The English Version follows the arrangement of St. Jerome. In his edition of the Vulgate he collected these additions at the end of the canonical work; pointing out that he did not find them in any Hebrew text, but assigning them to their proper places.

It is evident on the most cursory inspection that these additions complete details, fill up omissions, and supplement statements. Are they authentic? In other words, is the present Greek text of the canonical Book of Esther, which incorporates these 'Additions,' the original edition, and the Hebrew text an abbreviation; or is the present Hebrew text of the canonical Book the original Version to which "the rest of the chapters of the Book of Esther" are but apocryphal additions? The commentator on the Book of Esther in this work has come to the conclusion that these additions are "unauthentic;"[1] and with this

[1] See 'Speaker's Commentary,' vol. iii. Introduction to Esther, § 7. Few Jewish authorities stand higher than A. Jellinek. In the 'Bet ha-Midrash,' v. p. viii. he remarks: "Die griechische Bearbeitung des Buches Ester mit den

verdict most modern scholars agree. Not all, however; and therefore a few words upon this question are desirable.

i. *A Hebrew original.* Those who maintain this for the 'Additions' do so on the following grounds.[1] The origin of the Book of Esther is due to a wish to record the foundation and perpetuation of the Feast of Purim (or lots: cp. Esther ix. 26, iii. 7). This feast became very popular. In 160 B.C. the first day of it was known by the name of the principal hero in the events as "Mordecai's day" (2 Macc. xv. 36); and in the time of Josephus (cp. 'Antiq. Jud.' xi. § vi. 13), the two days (the 14th and 15th of Adar) were commemorated "throughout the world" with banquets among the rich and gifts of food to the poor (cp. Esther ix. 22; Additions, xvi. 24). In order to secure for this festival religious observance and significance, passages descriptive of its origin and lessons were required for synagogal use. This was furnished, and the Lectionary of the synagogue enriched, by a Hebrew or Chaldee book corresponding with the full text of the present LXX., written (so it is argued from ix. 20, 23) by Mordecai himself.

But if this be the case, how is it that the *present* Hebrew text does not contain the 'Additions'? The following explanation is offered. Undue stress laid upon the festal element of the Purim-festival (cp. Esther ix. 22) led to obliviousness of its religious character. It degenerated into something like the modern carnival. Had not Esther won the freedom of her people at a "banquet of wine" (Esther vii. 24)? and should not her co-religionists institute a similar mode of perpetuating her victory?[2] Hence the practice arose that the Jews would drink at this festival till they could not distinguish in their articulation between "Blessed be Mordecai" and "cursed be Haman;"[1] and at the religious service in the synagogue, vociferous interruption of the reading of the 'Megillath Esther' by cursing Haman, Zeres (his wife), and all idolaters when their names were mentioned, was encouraged side by side with blessings upon Mordecai, Esther, and all Israelites. In order to minimize this direful habit, or for other reasons, it is suggested that a shorter text, expurgated of the name of God (presumably dishonoured by such excesses), became adopted for synagogal use, and that this is the text now known as the Hebrew text.

It is natural to ask, Upon what evidence does this hypothesis rest? The evidence adduced is as follows:

(*a.*) In ix. 29 (of the canonical Book) Esther and Mordecai are described as writing with all authority "to confirm this second letter of Purim." The qualitative word "the second" does not occur in that Greek Version upon which so much stress is laid, nor in the Peshito based upon it. Nevertheless its occurrence is taken to indicate that the present Hebrew text is a second Version or a recension[2] of one earlier and—on the theory in question—ampler in details. An inspection of the passage itself and the consideration of the context hardly make it necessary to refute such a deduction.[3]

(*b.*) The character of the Greek is said

'Zusätzen' verhält sich zu dem hebräischen Texte dieses Buches wie das zweite im griechischer Sprache abgefasste Buch der Makkabäer zu dem ersten . . . Die 'Zusätze zu Ester' sind in der Phantaisie eines alexandrinischen Juden enstanden und daher von Anfang an in griechischer Sprache geschrieben worden."

[1] See Kaulen, 'Einleitung in die heilige Schrift, A. T.,' §§ 270 &c., and in Wetzer und Welte's 'Kirchen-Lexicon,'[2] *s. n.* Esther. He collects the arguments of his predecessors—*e.g.* De Rossi, Scholz, Langen &c.

[2] Cp. the Persian practice in Herod. i. 131; Rawlinson, 'Ancient Monarchies,' iv. 195.

[1] This disgusting excess, as well as some practices once connected with the religious portion of their service, is now given up (cp. Mills, 'The British Jews,' &c. pp. 189–90). Buxtorf ('Synagoga Judaica,' p. 453), commenting upon this custom, says: "Diebus hisce duobus re alia se nulla occupare solent, nisi ut votent, potent, ludant, saltent . . . Mulieres vestes viriles, viri vestes muliebres induant . . . Diebus his tantum bibere licet ut præ ebrietate digitos manuum quinque amplius percensere non norit . . . Quod si vates adhuc viverent, vel e mortuis resurgerent, prout olim habuerunt, eodem modo prædicandi occasionem nunc haberent urgentissimam;" and he quotes Isaiah v. 11.

[2] So J. S. Bloch, 'Hellenistische Bestandtheile im biblischen Schriftthum. Eine kritische Untersuchung des Buches Esther,' p. 8 (2nd ed.).

[3] See Esther ix. 29, note.

to be marked by Hebraisms[1] indicative of a translation from a Semitic text. Were these Hebraisms more numerous and certain than they are, they would do no more than illustrate the fact (not otherwise denied) that the author of the 'Additions' was a Jew. They would not prove that he had translated from the Hebrew.[2]

(*c.*) There exists in addition to the text of the LXX. another Greek text, containing the 'Additions,' which appears to have been translated independently. It is conjectured that this independent text was Theodotion's, and that that implies the existence of a Hebrew original. The consideration of the Greek texts will follow presently. For the present it is sufficient to note that this unsupported conjecture cannot constitute a proof.

(*d.*) Some of the 'Additions' are found in the (so-called) history of Josephus ben Gorion, and in the 'Midrash to the Book Esther;' and this, it is urged, points to a Hebrew original. The occurrence, *e.g.*, of the prayers attributed to Mordecai (xiii. 8 &c.) and to Esther (ch. xiv.) in the above writings may be readily admitted; but what original evidence can Italian-Jewish work of the 10th century of our era,[3] or a Midrash—placed by some between the end of the 7th and beginning of the 11th centuries,[4] or more definitely fixed[5] as the composition of a Jew of the Byzantine-Roman Empire of about the time of Constantius II. (d. A.D. 361)—furnish as to the existence of a Hebrew text presumably older than the present?

(*e.*) The main stay, however, of the opinion in favour of a Hebrew or Chaldee original corresponding to the longer Greek Version, is found in the fact that some Chaldee fragments containing *a* (ch. x.; Mordecai's dream), d_2 (xiii. 8 to end; Mordecai's prayer), and *e* (ch. xiv.; Esther's prayer) are incorporated in certain MSS. preserved in the Vatican.[1] These fragments, it is argued, are testimonies to the survival of a complete Chaldee or Hebrew text from which they were copied or translated. But these MSS. are confessedly of late date, and the Chaldee fragments do not always correspond with the longer Greek Version. Rather they suggest, by their diffuseness, that they are the composition of a writer drawing his materials from a source common both to himself and to the Greek writer.

Chaldee renderings of the Book Esther, marked by more or less diffuseness and independence, have always been in request. It is well known that of the Targums to the '5 Megilloth' (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther), those to the Book of Esther are the most numerous.[2] They all date from the post-Talmudical period, and are presumably the work of the Geonim (c. A.D. 600–1000). One of these (a short one) was published in the Antwerp Polyglott, and reproduced at greater length with a second and much more expanded Targum by Tayler in 1655, from whose publication Walton took the shorter Targum found in his Polyglott. The longer Targum (called the Targum Sheni) is printed in Daniel Bomberg's Hebrew Bible (Venice, 1517). Both Targums (without diacritic points) have been reprinted by Lagarde in the 'Hagiographa

[1] See the list in Kaulen, 'Einl.' § 271.

[2] Fritzsche, 'Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des A. T.' i. p. 71.

[3] See Schürer on Josephus b. G., in Herzog, 'Real-Encyklopädie,'[2] vii. 116.

[4] Weber, 'System der Altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie,' p. xxiii.

[5] See Wünsche, 'Bibliotheca Rabbinica:' ixte Lieferung, "Der Midrasch zum Buche Esther," p. vi. The character of Constantius II. presents an interesting parallel to that of the Xerxes of the Book of Esther. Of both was it true that they "inherited the defects without the abilities of their fathers" (Gibbon's 'Roman Empire,' ii. 269; ed. Milman); that they were "jealous, vain, and weak; entirely under the control of eunuchs and women" &c. (Schaff, 'History of the Christian Church,' ii. 38).

[1] Cp. the fragments printed in 'Daniel secundum LXX.' p. 434 &c. (Rom. 1772); in De Rossi, 'Specimen varr. lectionum sacri textus et Chaldaica Estheris additamenta' &c. p. 122 &c. (Tub. 1783). Beelen, 'Chrestomathia Rabbinica et Chaldaica,' i. (Pars posterior), p. 13 &c., gives the De Rossi text of the prayers of Mordecai and Esther.

[2] Weber, p. xviii. Volck, 'Thargumim' in Herzog, 'R. E.'[2] pp. 374–6, collects the literature on this subject. I have in the additional notes reproduced freely some of the passages of the Esther-Targums and Midrash which alike illustrate the text and exhibit the character of those writings.

Chaldaice' (Leipzig, 1873). They are all free translations, and Haggadistic in the character of their commentary. The Targum (or rather, fragments) discovered by Rossi is of the same character as the others. It is of late origin; and there seems but little doubt that its contents are a reproduction of the work of Josephus ben Gorion (above-mentioned), and taken not from any Hebrew text, but directly from the LXX. itself.[1]

(*f*.) The concluding verse of the LXX. of the Book of Esther—reproduced in the E. V. as xi. 1—is this: *ἔτους τετάρτου βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας εἰσήνεγκε Δοσίθεος, ὃς ἔφη εἶναι ἱερεὺς καὶ Λευίτης, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν προκειμένην ἐπιστολὴν τῶν Φρουραί, ἣν ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ ἡρμηνευκέναι Λυσίμαχον Πτολεμαίου τὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ.* The 'Epistle of Phurim' alluded to is said to have been interpreted or translated by Lysimachus. What was this 'Epistle,' and from what was it translated? It is urged that the 'Epistle' means the whole existing Greek text of the Book of Esther, and therefore that the 'Additions' were a translation from the Hebrew quite as much as the undisputed portions of the LXX.

Whatever value this passage may have as affecting the date of the Greek Version (see below), it will not bear the interpretation here laid upon it. The 'Epistle of Phurim' intended is evidently that named in the Greek text of ix. 26;[2] and as a mode of describing the Book of Esther it would be quite inadequate[3] as well as inaccurate as regards the contents of that Book.

These arguments (*a*–*f*) adduced in favour of a Hebrew original to the 'Additions' are insufficient. On the other hand, there are facts which militate strongly against it.

(*a*.) St. Jerome in his Preface to the Book of Esther writes: "Librum Esther variis translatoribus constat esse vitiatum; quem ego de archivis Hebræorum revelans, verbum e verbo expressius transtuli. Quem librum editio Vulgata, laciniosis hinc inde verborum sinibus trahit, addens ea quæ ex tempore dici poterant, et audiri; sicut solitum est scholaribus disciplinis, sumpto themate, excogitare quibus verbis uti potuit qui injuriam passus est, vel qui injuriam fecit. Vos autem . . . tenentes Esther hebraicum librum, per singula verba nostram translationem aspicite; ut possitis agnoscere, me nihil etiam augmentasse addendo, sed fideli testimonio simpliciter, sicut in hebræo habetur, historiam hebraicam latinæ linguæ tradidisse."[1] He shewed most unmistakably in what sense he felt that the Book had been "vitiated," and expansions, as imaginative in character as schoolboy themes, permitted, by placing the 'Additions' after Esther x. 3, and introducing them thus: "Quæ habentur in Hebræo, plena fide expressi. Hæc autem quæ sequuntur scripta reperi in editione Vulgata, quæ Græcorum lingua et literis continentur; et interim post finem libri hoc capitulum ferebatur; quod juxta consuetudinem nostram obelo, id est veru, prænotavimus."

The subscription noted above (*f*) drew from St. Jerome this comment, "Hoc quoque principium erat in editione Vulgata, quod nec in Hebræo, nec ullum fertur interpretum." It is absent from the Old Latin and the Greek text B (see below), as it was absent from the Hebrew MSS. before him and from the Versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; and his decided language[2] can hardly be set aside as the reflexion of the opinion of his Hebrew teacher, or considered rectified by an allusion to xiv. 11, 16 in some of his commentaries.[3] Bellarmine, it is said, felt so strongly the difficulty of the case, that he resorted to the device of two Hebrew originals for Esther, and considered them the sources respectively

[1] Bissell, in Lange's 'Commentary on the Apocrypha,' p. 202. Weber, p. xviii.

[2] *διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεκλήθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι αὗται Φρουραὶ . . . διὰ τοὺς λόγους τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ταύτης κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Cp. ix. 20, *ἔγραψε δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος τοὺς λόγους τούτους εἰς βιβλίον κ.τ.λ.*

[1] The prefaces of St. Jerome to the various Books of the Bible are usually placed at the beginning of the modern editions of the Vulgate.

[2] See also his remarks appended to xii. 6, xiii. 7, xiv. 19, and prefixed to xv. 1, xvi. 1. The 'Editio Vulgata' alluded to by St. Jerome was not the Latin but the Greek text (Rönsch, 'Itala u. Vulgata,' p. 10, n. 18; Kaulen, 'Geschichte der Vulgata,' p. 18).

[3] Kaulen, 'Einl.' § 260; and in Wetzer u. Welte, 'K.-L.'[2]

of the two recensions, the one with and the other without the 'Additions.'[1]

(β.) Josephus in his 'Antiquities of the Jews'[2] usually follows the LXX. Version, consulting but not adhering to the Hebrew text. Yet in his treatment of the Greek Version of the Book of Esther he exhibits a marked independence. A comparison between (1) the language of the 'Additions' and that in which he gives portions of the decrees of Xerxes and the prayers of Mordecai and Esther; or (2) between his statements and theirs as regards the circumstances of the conspiracy of the eunuchs against the king, and of Haman's hostility to Mordecai, exhibits no slavish reverence for the LXX. text, but on the contrary frequent deviations from it.[3]

(γ.) The Greek of some of the 'Additions' is of a character which almost precludes translation into Hebrew, and can with difficulty be conceived as having been translated from it.[4] Hence Kaulen affirms that the present Greek text of the royal decrees is the original form in which they were translated for the Greek-speaking subjects of Xerxes (cp. Esther iii. 12).[1] But if so, what becomes of the very different form of the same Greek decrees given by Josephus?

ii. *A Greek original* for the 'Additions' seems of necessity the sequence from the previous arguments, even if it were not supported by much independent testimony. The Greek text is extant in two distinct recensions, specified respectively as A and B.[2] The latter is younger, and evidently derived from the former: amplification being noticeable in B where A is obscure, or condensation where greater precision was thought by the author of B requisite to give clearness to A. B would seem to have influenced the writer of the Old Latin Version,[3] but from A are derived the Latin, Coptic, Æthiopic, Syriac, Arabic, and other Versions. In the character of its Greek B is considered simpler than A, more prosaic and less poetic, and more in accordance with the purer rules of Greek composition.

[1] See Bissell, p. 201.

[2] xi. § vi. The 'Archæologia' or 'Antiquities' was finished A.D. 93–4.

[3] *e.g.* (1) There is nothing in Josephus corresponding to the dream and its explanation (ch. x., xi. 2–12); and he gives nothing corresponding to the subscription (xi. 1). (2) In the narrative of the conspiracy the event is placed by the LXX. before the king's feast and Vashti's disgrace; but by Josephus (as in the canonical Book, ii. 21–3) after it. In the 'Additions,' Mordecai is rewarded for his loyalty; in Josephus (cp. Esther vi. 3), he is forgotten. In the 'Additions,' Haman seeks to do evil to Mordecai on account of his anger at the death of the eunuchs; in Josephus, he does so for the reason given in the LXX. of Esther iii. 5, because Mordecai would not bow before him. (3) Josephus gives both the prayers of Mordecai and Esther (xiii. 8–18, xiv.); but in his treatment of them, arguments different or absent from those of the LXX. are introduced. In the former, Mordecai is made to pray that his own individual refusal to bow before Haman be not visited on God's innocent people. In the latter he introduces the idea that Esther prayed for personal beauty as well as eloquent speech, in order to soften the king's heart. (4) In the description of Esther's interview with the king, there is a marked independence of treatment (cp. Esther's words to the king), and personal reflections are introduced.

[4] Cp., for example, the Greek of the royal decrees given in the LXX. of Esther iii. 14–21, viii. 14–37 ('Additions,' ch. xiii. and xvi.), with that of Josephus (§§ 6, 12). Not only is the style of the Greek much more diffuse and bombastic; but of some of it, it may be said that as it stands it would be quite impossible to put it into Hebrew. Let the experiment be tried on such verses as iii. 15 (LXX.; in E. V. 'Additions,' xiii. 2), or viii. 14–19 (LXX.; in E. V. xvi. 2–9). The trial would possibly succeed with the corresponding language of Josephus; it would be impossible with the other. Let the student further compare the text of the Targum Sheni, or of the Midrash to Esther, with some of the 'Additions;' the non-Hebraic cast of the present Greek text will be even more apparent. Jellinek has printed in his 'Bet ha-Midrash,' v. pp. 1–16, both the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in Hebrew and Aramaic, and the 'Additions' in Hebrew; but the latter is a free translation, not from the Greek, but from St. Jerome's Latin translation.

[1] 'Einleit.' § 271. Cp. also his remarks in Wetzer u. Welte's 'K.-L.'[2] *s. n.*

[2] The Gk. A represents the text of the Vatican, Alexandrine, and Sinaitic MSS.; the Gk. B is that of three MSS., numbered respectively 19, 93a, and 108b. This second text was possibly the work of Lucian (presbyter of Antioch, martyred in A.D. 312). Bissell has given a translation of it in pp. 217–20 of his work; and Churton has incorporated the principal variations from A in his useful edition of 'The Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures,' pp. 214–23. Cp. on the whole subject Fritzsche, i. 70; Bissell, p. 199; Schürer, 'Geschichte d. Jüdischen Volkes,'[2] ii. pp. 702, 716.

[3] This Old Latin Version is in many respects peculiar. See Fritzsche, i. 74, 75.

§ III. Date.

Critics who claim for the 'Additions' authenticity and a Hebrew original, claim also as their date the Persian period to which the canonical Book is assigned,[1] and ascribe the authorship to Mordecai. The Greek form in which that original is asserted to have been preserved they attribute to the Lysimachus named in the passage (xi. 1) quoted in § II. i. (*f*). This passage ought to be extremely valuable. It gives names and dates. But when the verification of these is attempted, the passage is found to contribute very little to the solution of the question. What Ptolemy and Cleopatra are meant? There are four Ptolemies,—Epiphanes, Philometor, Physkon, and Soter II., whose suzerainty extended from B.C. 205–81, and each of whom had a wife or mother named Cleopatra![2] Of these Ptolemies, it is usual to select Philometor (B.C. 181–146) as the king intended in the Subscription. He was the last of the kings of Egypt noticed in sacred history; and his reign was marked by the erection of that temple at Leontopolis which constituted a religious as well as a political barrier between the Alexandrian and Palestinian Jews. For the use of this temple a Dositheus (a very common, if also a celebrated, name[3]) may have brought the 'Epistle of Phurim;' and if he did this in "the fourth year" of Philometor, the date of his so doing would be B.C. 177. For this date the impugners of a Hebrew original of these 'Additions' shew a decided preference. It cannot indeed be affirmed positively, but it coincides with the conclusions supported by the character and style of the 'Additions,' and by the probable position of the writer.

Certain sentiments and expressions tend to point to a Jew of Persia as the composer of some of the 'Additions.' The dualism indicated in the fight between the dragons (x. 6, xi. 6), the mention of idol-worship (xiv. 8, a late Persian practice), the social customs (xiv. 17), the description of the king on his throne (xv. 6), and the titles given to God (xvi. 16), reflect the observations and language of one acquainted with the later Persian court, and familiar with the religion and etiquette of the palace.[1] This writer did not compose his 'Additions' in Hebrew, if the style of the language in which they have come down to us be a test, though the Subscription states that Lysimachus "interpreted" it. What Lysimachus interpreted, it is difficult to say; but it is possible that to him are due the explanations and the interpretations which, intended to add clearness to what was already clear, have not always escaped the charge of contradicting the canonical Book.[2]

[1] *i.e.*, the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 464–25). Cp. Rawlinson, Introduction to Esther, § 2 (in the 'Speaker's Commentary'); Sayce, 'Introduction to Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther,' p. 95. This is the conclusion of historical criticism as distinguished from the subjective and "tendency"-criticism which refers the Book of Esther to the Maccabean period (*e.g.* Bloch, p. 8 &c.; Reuss, 'Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften, Alten Testaments,' § 470 &c.; Bleek-Wellhausen, 'Einl. in d. A.T.'[4] § 120).

[2] Cp. Fritzsche, p. 72; Schürer,[2] ii. p. 715; Westcott in 'Dictionary of the Bible,' *s. n.* Ptolemæus.

[3] Cp. 2 Macc. xii. 19, 24, 35; 3 Macc. i. 3. The Dositheus of the text, "the priest and Levite," could not have been one of the "commanders of the forces" of Ptolemy Philometor (cp. Josephus, 'c. Apion.' ii. 5). Cp. further the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography,' *s. n.* Dositheus.

[1] Cp. the notes to these passages. I do not adduce the headings of the royal decrees (xiii. 1, xvi. 1), or the slighter allusions to the Persian court customs (xv. 1, 11), or the title given to Haman (xvi. 10, 17), because these are to be found in the canonical Book. Cp. also the notes to xii. 6; xvi. 11, 24. There is little in the 'Additions' which distinctively marks a Jew of Palestine as the author, and the differences between them and the Targums and Midrash makes such a supposition almost impossible.

[2] Amongst these are to be noted the following: (*a*) Mordecai becomes (xi. 2) "a great man, a servitor in the king's court, in the second year" of king Xerxes; according to Esther vii. 16, 19, 21, the greatness which came to him as Esther's relation does not become prominent till the seventh year. (*b*) The difference already mentioned (§ II. i. *β* n.) between the reasons for Mordecai's refusal to bow to Haman given by the Book of Esther and these 'Additions.' (*c*) Haman's nationality: in the canonical Book he is a Persian, in xvi. 10 (cp. *v.* 14, and Gk. B of xii. 6) he is a Macedonian. It is simply conjectural to say that Macedonian is a misprint for Median (Kaulen in 'K.-L.'[2] *s. n.* Esther). I do not adduce the so-called contradictions discovered in the genealogy of Mordecai (xi. 2), the time when his sons were put to death (xvi. 10), and the revocation of an edict

§ IV. The Object of the 'Additions.'

This may be expressed in the words of x. 9: viz., to shew how "the Lord hath saved His people, and (how) the Lord hath delivered (them) from all those evils (cp. xi. 5–9), and (how) God hath wrought signs and great wonders which have not been done among the Gentiles" (cp. also xiii. 18, xiv. 3). Three times does the sacred Name occur in this passage alone, as if in marked contrast to the total absence of the Name of God from the canonical Book.[1] The appeal to Him personally and directly occurs in every sentence of the prayers of Mordecai (xiii. 8 &c.) and of Esther (xiv.); and it is to the "God Who ruleth all things" that the king in his second decree (xvi. 18) attributes the preservation of his own throne as well as vengeance on the oppressor. Stimulated by this primary aim, the writer of the 'Additions' had perhaps a secondary purpose, viz. that of supplying what was lacking or inadequately expressed in the canonical Book: but the completeness of the supply is an indication of its unauthenticity. Among other motives at work in the writer may very possibly have been a desire to vindicate the character of a daughter of Israel in becoming the consort of a heathen prince.[2]

§ V. Canonicity.

The acceptance or rejection of these 'Additions' by the Church appears to have been in the earlier centuries a sequence upon the acceptance or rejection of the Alexandrian Version of the Old Testament. The Alexandrian LXX contained Esther with the Additions; the Palestinian LXX. (the Greek Bible used by our Lord and His Apostles) did not contain the Additions. The value (not the canonicity) of Esther[1] was a matter of dispute among the Jews far into the third century, and leaders of Christian opinion were not wanting who were either influenced by the hesitation of the Rabbis, or—on entirely opposite grounds—declined the Book as being too purely Jewish in cast and thought.[2] But, as a rule, Christendom accepted the Alexandrian Version without repugnance. The majority of the Fathers of the first three centuries knew nothing of Hebrew; they would have understood little of the critical questions connected with certain Books; and they were naturally unwilling to forego an Apocryphal literature which furnished them with no uncertain foreshadowings of Christian truths.

This divergent tone and practice is illustrated in the few Patristic passages which quote Esther or include it in the list of canonical Books. Clement of Rome refers to the Book and the Additions;[3] and if Irenæus (c. A.D. 177), Clement of Alexandria (c. A.D. 191), and Tertullian (c. A.D. 190) may be taken as the fit exponents of the traditions of Asia Minor, Egypt, and North Africa, they—as influenced by the Alexandrian LXX.—counted the 'Additions' authoritative. On the other hand, the traditions of the far East, as embodied in the venerable Syrian Version, the Peshito (early in second century), excluded these 'Additions.' This Version, like the Palestinian LXX., limited its contents to the Hebrew Bible. This somewhat anomalous state of things continued for some time. The Christians were guided, not by historical or critical considerations, but by deference to popular wish and usage. Occasionally, the voice of opposition made itself heard. Melito, bishop of Sardis (c. A.D. 172), compiling his

(xvi. 17). These cease to be contradictions when examined (see notes *in loco*).

[1] This peculiarity in the Book of Esther has often been noticed (see 'Dictionary of the Bible,' *s. n.* Esther); but it must not be pressed too far. The whole history is full of interpositions which reveal not only the Presence of Him Who rules over men and nations, but also the faith in Him which made a Mordecai and an Esther patient, hopeful, and triumphant. One portion alone of the history—the charge to fast and the obedience to the charge (Esther iv. 3, 16, 17)—would be simply meaningless were prayer to God eliminated from the practice enjoined. Cassel, 'Das Buch Esther,' p. 157 &c.

[2] Eddrup, note on Esther ii. 7 (S. P. C. K. Commentary).

[1] See Strack in Herzog, 'R.-E.:'[2] "Kanon d. A. T." vii. pp. 429, 431; Westcott, 'Bible in the Church,' p. 124; Kaulen, 'Einl.' § 270.

[2] Cp. Diestel, 'Geschichte d. A. T. in der christlichen Kirche,' p. 22.

[3] '1 Ep. ad Cor.' ch. lv. (c. A.D. 95). Esther, says Clement, ἠξίωσεν τὸν παντεπόπτην Δεσπότην. Cp. the Greek of Esther xvi. 4, τοῦ τὰ πάντα κατοπτεύοντος ἀεὶ θεοῦ. Kaulen, § 272.

list of canonical Books with the help of Jewish teachers, omitted the 'Additions;' but his authority would with many pale before the learning of Origen († A.D. 254). This scholar, who followed "the tradition of the Hebrews," was yet accustomed to the Alexandrian LXX. He counted these 'Additions' as "fitted to edify the reader,"[1] and the absence of them from the Hebrew copies was to him no reason for "rejecting as spurious the copies in use in the Christian churches," or for "enjoining the Brotherhood to put away the sacred copies in use among them."

A century later (c. A.D. 330) the first complete Greek Bible—known from its birth-place as the Constantinopolitan—was prepared by Eusebius at the bidding of the first Christian Emperor, Constantine.[2] No copy exists, but apparently it contained—as regards the Old Testament—the Books of the Hebrew canon, and the Alexandrian Version of the Apocrypha added as an Appendix. One Book alone, the Book of Esther, seems to have been considered doubtful. This delegation of Apocryphal works to a second rank received the ecclesiastical approval of St. Athanasius: and in the 39th of his Festal Letters (A.D. 365) he omitted Esther from the Canon of the Old Testament and placed it among "ecclesiastical Books framed by the Fathers for the benefit of those who were just approaching Christianity."[3] Hesitation nevertheless continued even where—as in Palestine and Asia Minor—the Constantinopolitan canon was accepted. Cyril of Jerusalem († A.D. 386) and Epiphanius († A.D. 404) included the Book in their lists, Gregory of Nazianzen († A.D. 390) omitted it; and his contemporary Amphilochius († A.D. 395) left the matter an open question. If general uniformity was anywhere existent, it was due to "popular consent assuming the faculty of arbitration and adopting the broadest range."[4]

The discussion may be said to have reached its climax in the divergent views of St. Jerome and St. Augustine. The Greek Church was, on the whole, disposed to put the Apocrypha more and more in the background, and St. Jerome († A.D. 420) was the first great teacher of the Latin Church who wished to establish in the West the Greek distinction between the Hebrew canon and other writings. To him the 'Additions' to Esther, as also the 'Additions' to Daniel and Jeremiah (Baruch), had no claim to be included in the Christian Bible. He did not find them in the Hebrew Scriptures. They were not really written by those whose names they bore; there was much that was baneful mixed up with what was good; and it would require much prudence to seek the gold in the mud.[1] But he did not deny that there was gold, and therefore he followed the example of St. Athanasius: he assigned to these 'Additions' ecclesiastical use and "edification, but not authoritative confirmation of doctrine." To St. Augustine († A.D. 430) such reserve was a mistake. The "consuetudo ecclesiæ" was to him a better guide than critical discernment or historical protest, and the deference paid to his judgment[2] at synods held at Hippo (A.D. 393) and at Carthage (A.D. 397) soon passed beyond the "ecclesiastical use" to which he probably may have wished to limit Books not contained in the Hebrew canon. Popular usage had invested Apocryphal 'Additions' with weight as well as charm, with doctrinal value as well as practical teaching; and from St. Augustine's time must be dated that definite process of equalizing the Apocrypha of the Old Testament and the Books of the Hebrew Bible which the Council of Trent saw fit to consummate. From time to time the more learned judgment of individual scholars or the collective wisdom of schools and churches recoiled from the verdict popular usage had secured,[3] but the contest was practically at an end till the dawn of the Reformation. Then was established that conciliar

[1] Cp. his 'Epist. ad Africanum,' chs. iii. iv.
[2] Consult Westcott, p. 146 &c.
[3] The whole passage, an interesting one, is translated by Westcott, p. 159 &c. Cp. also Diestel, p. 72.
[4] Westcott, p. 166.

[1] 'Epist. 107 ad Lætam.' Diestel, p. 74.
[2] 'De Doctrinâ Christianâ,' ii. 12, 13. See the extract in Westcott, p. 186.
[3] See Westcott, chs. viii. ix. (esp. p. 243); Diestel, pp. 76–8, 180–2; Kaulen, §§ 34–7.

judgment[1] which, for good or evil, has swayed in opposite directions the reformed and unreformed churches. The verdict of the Church of Rome—in spite of existing views which united to a great degree opponents such as Ximenes and Erasmus, Cajetan and Luther—spoke with no uncertain sound in that decree of the Council of Trent (Feb. 12, 1546) which bade the faithful "receive and venerate all the Books of the Old and New Testaments...and also traditions pertaining to faith and conduct...with an equal feeling of devotion and reverence;" and in the anathema which it pronounced on any one who "does not receive the entire Books with all their parts, as they are accustomed to be read in the Catholic Church and in the old Latin Vulgate edition (*i.e.* Jerome's with the 'Additions'), as sacred and canonical, and knowingly and wittingly despises the aforesaid traditions."[1] The response to such a judgment has been—so far as the Church of England has given one in her formularies—the re-assertion of the language of St. Jerome: "The rest of the Book of Esther," or the 'Additions'—to name but the one work in the list of the Apocrypha which has suggested these remarks—"the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but doth not apply it to establish any doctrine."[2] Read in that spirit, these 'Additions' may still be to us in our nineteenth century what they were to Luther in the sixteenth—beautiful "as corn-flowers;" removed indeed from the Book in which they stand in Latin and Greek texts, but "placed in a separate bed that they may not wither, because there is much good in them."[3]

[1] "This fatal decree... was ratified by 53 prelates, among whom there was not one German, not one scholar distinguished for historical learning, not one who was fitted by special study for the examination of a subject in which the truth could only be determined by the voice of Antiquity" (Westcott, p. 257).

[1] Strack, p. 444, gives the Latin of portions of the decree. Westcott, p. 255, translates it.

[2] Art. vi. See the works of Bishop Harold Browne and Bishop Forbes. Westcott, pp. 281–291.

[3] Quoted in Westcott, p. 262. Cp. Diestel, p. 250.

The rest of the Chapters of the Book of ESTHER,

Which are found neither in the Hebrew, nor in the Chaldee.

Part of the Tenth Chapter after the Greek.

5 *Mardocheus remembereth and expoundeth his dream of the river and the two dragons.*

THEN Mardocheus said, God hath done these things.

5 For I remember [a] a dream which I saw concerning these matters, and nothing thereof hath failed.

[a] See ch. 11. 2, &c.

6 A little fountain became a river, and there was light, and the sun, and much water: this river is Esther, whom the king married, and made queen:

7 And the two dragons are I and Aman.

8 And the nations were those that were assembled to destroy the name of the Jews:

9 And my nation is this Israel,

The rest of the Chapters, &c.] See Introduction, § I.

Part of the Tenth Chapter after the Greek] *i.e.* according to the arrangement of the Greek Version. It is placed after the last verse of the existing Hebrew and Vulgate Versions of the canonical Book of Esther. Chs. x. 4–end and xi. 1 form, in the opinion of the compiler, a fitting conclusion to the Book.

4. *these things*] The things already narrated in the canonical Book. As Mordecai (xi. 2, note) reflected upon the past, he recalled (see Greek text B) a dream which, inexplicable at the time (xi. 12), had evident reference to the stirring events of the past few years. It was fulfilled. "Nothing had failed." The dream itself is given in xi. 2–12: here the interpretation alone (*v.* 6 &c.) is recorded.

6. The Greek is abrupt: "The little fountain" (viz. that of the dream, mentioned in xi. 10) "which became a river; and there was light" &c. (cp. xi. 11). The Vulgate, *Parvus fons qui crevit in fluvium, et in lucem solemque conversus est, et in aquas plurimas redundavit: Esther est* &c. introduces a different method of stating what was probably the intention of the Greek. Esther was at once the source of prosperity, the light and the sun; bringing to the Jews "light and gladness, joy and honour" (Esther viii. 16). Grotius mentions an interpretation, Egyptian in cast: the river (like the Nile) is the emblem of life; the sun typifies the king.

whom the king married] According to a Persian law (cp. Herod. iii. 84), the wife of the king could only be found, outside of the royal family, in a member of one of the seven great Persian families. If this king be Xerxes, Amestris, his cousin whom he married before the Greek expedition (B.C. 480), was his one legitimate wife (Herod. i. 135; iii. 64, 88); but, like his predecessors and successors (see Justi, 'Gesch. d. alten Persiens,' p. 125), he had "loved" (Esther ii. 17) many and "married" many without infringing upon the position and status of Amestris.

The name Esther may perhaps be more correctly connected with Istar, the Assyrian Venus, the Assyro-Babylonian form of the goddess Ashtoreth (Sayce, 'Introduction to Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther,' p. 103), than with ἀστήρ, star (through the Persian *sitâreh*). The beautiful comment of the Targum Sheni upon her Jewish name, Hadassah ("the Myrtle," Esther ii. 7), illustrates the Jewish estimate of her character. "She was so called on account of her piety. As the myrtle never dries up (or loses its greenness) in winter or summer, so the pious enjoy both this life and that of the world to come" (see Cassel, 'Das Buch Esther,' p. 263).

7. *Aman*] In the canonical Book, Haman (iii. 1, note); possibly the Persian Umana (Greek Eumenes). See xii. 6, note, and Additional Note to xiii. 12.

8. Cp. Esther iii. 6–9. The expression to "destroy the name" may be illustrated by Ps. lxxxiii. 4; Jerem. xi. 19, xxxi. 36. Cp. the charge given to the Israelites, Deut. xii. 3.

which cried to God, and were saved: for the Lord hath saved his people, and the Lord hath delivered us from all those evils, and God hath wrought signs and great wonders, which have not been done among the Gentiles.

10 Therefore hath he made two lots, one for the people of God, and another for all the Gentiles.

11 And these two lots came at the hour, and time, and day of judgment, before God among all nations.

12 So God remembered his people, and justified his inheritance.

13 Therefore those days shall be unto them in the month Adar, the fourteenth and fifteenth day of the same month, with an assembly, and joy, and with gladness before God, according to the generations for ever among his people.

6–9. The Greek text B gives these verses in a shorter form and with variations sufficiently interesting to bear reproduction. "The little fountain is Esther; and the two dragons are I and Aman. The river is the nations that were assembled to destroy the Jews. The sun and light which appeared to the Jews are a manifestation of God. This was the judgment. And God did these signs and wonders as they had not taken place before among the nations." As the title *θεὸς ἐπιφανὴς* or *numen præsens* was among the nations of classical antiquity the title expressive of a deity present to aid, so his actual presence or manifestation for the purpose of aid was called his *ἐπιφάνεια* (see reff. to Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch &c., in Liddell and Scott's Lex. *s. v.*). This was also the belief of the Jews. Cp. the language used in the case of Heliodorus (2 Macc. iii. 24) and of Nicanor (2 Macc. xiv. 15; xv. 27). The "manifestation" was of itself a "judgment," bringing deliverance to Israel and destruction to their enemies.

10. *two lots*] Cp. a similar reduction to two contesting parties before God in the case of Saul and Jonathan (1 Sam. xiv. 41, 42). Here these *two lots* represent respectively "the people of God" and "the Gentiles;" and the issue (cp. Prov. xvi. 33) is determined by God (*v.* 12). The Book of Esther (iii. 7, see note; ix. 24) lays stress upon casting lots for a lucky day to carry out Haman's project, and brings forward the form of the practice common among the Oriental and classical nations of antiquity rather than the specifically Jewish aspect of the custom. The Rabbis have very curious things to say about Haman and the lots (see Additional Note).

11. The "day of judgment" (*κρίσεως*) is rendered by the Vulg. *in statutum diem*. The Gk. B renders, "And these two lots fell out (cp. Esther iii. 7) at the hour, according to the time, and on the day of the rule (*κυριεύσεως*) of the Eternal (cp. Baruch iv. 20), among all the nations;" but there is no necessity for supposing an alteration by a scribe of *κρίσεως* into *κυριεύσεως*, though the occurrence in the LXX. of this latter word is very rare.

12. *justified* (*ἐδικαίωσε*) *his inheritance*] Vulg. *misertus est* (*ἠλέησε*); Vet. Lat. *servavit*. The Gk. represents that ampler sense of the result of judgment (*v.* 11) between two contending parties which is also found in Deut. xxv. 1; Ecclus. xiii. 22. The Gk. B adds after *inheritance* (see xiii. 15, note): "And all the people cried out with a loud voice and said, Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who wast mindful of Thy covenants with our fathers. Amen."

13. Cp. Esther ix. 18–22. The fourteenth day of Adar is called in 2 Macc. xv. 36 "Mardocheus' day."

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON VERSE 10.

Cp. Esther iii. 7; ix. 24, 26. Very characteristic are the Jewish comments upon the casting of lots before Haman when he sought, by horoscopic calculation, to fix the "lucky" day for the destruction of the Jews. Month after month was tried, says one tradition (Megilla, 136, quoted in Cassel, p. 100), unsuccessfully, till the month Adar was reached. On the 7th day of that month Moses had died. True; but Haman forgot that on the 7th day of Adar Moses was born!

The Midrash (cp. Wünsche, pp. 50–52) and the Targum Sheni[1] on Esther iii. 7 (cp. Cassel,

[1] In translating from these works I have not hesitated to give a free rather than a literal rendering. Reiss, 'Monatschrift für Geschichte u.

p. 268) elaborate details; both preceding their comment with words of scorn. "How," Haman is represented by the Midrash as saying, "shall I best master this people? I will cast lots." "What!" exclaimed the Holy Spirit, "shall lots be cast over My people?" (cp. Joel iii. 4.) God said to him: "Thy lot, thou wicked man, the son of a wicked man, shall be the gallows." When, according to the Targum, the lot was first cast in the month Nisan, then was there heard a loud voice from heaven: "Fear not, Israel. Repent and turn to God. The lot falls upon him, not upon thee." Shimshai the scribe (the name of him who "wrote a letter against Jerusalem," Ezra iv. 8) was Haman's helper. First they cast lots upon the days (according as it is written, "from day to day," Esther iii. 7), and the presiding genii of the days presented themselves in turn before God, and with much (and often peculiar) Scripture quotation and adaptation adduced valid reasons why this or that day should not be chosen. The first day of the week was not suitable, because on that day were the heavens and the earth made. A happy combination of Jerem. xxxiii. 25, xxxi. 26, 27, is alleged as a reason for not destroying a people with whom God had made a covenant as firm as the ordinances which God had appointed for heaven and earth. The second day would not do, because on that day God separated the waters that be above the firmament from those beneath it, and similarly God had separated the people of Israel from all other nations (Lev. xx. 26). The third day must be passed over. It was the day (according to the Targum Sheni) when Paradise was created; it was the day (according to the Midrash) when the seeds of those plants were made by means of which Israel discharged their tithes and heave-offerings, and those trees wherewith Israel rejoiced before God in the feast of Tabernacles (Lev. xxiii. 40). Were the Israelites to perish, who would continue these? The genius of the fourth day pleaded that then were created the sun and the moon, the seven stars and the twelve planets, and (Midrash) the light described in Isai. lx. 3. To destroy Israel would be to destroy those so often compared to stars. The fifth day must also be exempted. Was it not the day on which were created the birds and fourfooted beasts with which Israel offered sacrifice? Who would bring offerings were Israel destroyed? Was it not also (Targum) the day when Leviathan and the mountain-bird were created which were appointed for the great supper on the great day? Further, the sixth day must be spared, because then Adam and Eve were created, whose name God had given to His children (cp. Ezek. xxxiv. 31). If the race of Israel was to be destroyed, the race of man had better be destroyed entirely, otherwise the enemy (Satan) would get the dominion over them. The genius of the seventh day, the Sabbath, urged: "On my day were all Thy works ended (Gen. ii. 2); and this day Thou didst appoint as a sign between Thee and men throughout their generations (Exod. xxxi. 13). Wilt Thou destroy this people, destroy first the Sabbath."

Haman and Shimshai turned from the days to the months. The horoscope was almost equally adverse. They began with the month Nisan; it was the month in which the destroying Angel "passed over" Israel, and the Passover festival was instituted. The month Ijar was the month in which the manna fell. In the month Sivan the Law had been given on Sinai. Those months must be excluded. Then "wherefore fell not the lot on (the months) Tammuz and Ab? They spake before God: 'Lord of the world, we have suffered sorrows enough' (Midrash). 'Two evils may not occur in one month' (Targum), and in Tammuz the walls of Jerusalem were thrown down. In Ab the Israelites in the wilderness ceased to die, and Providence began again to speak with Moses. The month Elul was spared, for in it Moses ascended Sinai a second time to receive the fresh tables of the Law (Targum), and in it the walls of Jerusalem were completed (Midrash: cp. Nehem. vi. 15). The month Tisri was sacred on account of the day of Atonement and the feast of Tabernacles; the month Marchesvan as the month in which Noah and his family were saved from the Flood (Targum), and Sarah died in the way (Midrash). Kislev was the month of the dedication of the Temple. The month Tebeth had suffered enough through the anger against Jerusalem of king Nebuchadnezzar (Targum), and could appeal to the merit of Ezra's action (Ezra x. 6). The month Shebat was the first month of the trees which furnished the first-fruits (Targum), and the month in which Israel rallied to God to punish the crimes described in Judges xviii. xix. (Midrash). There remained the month Adar. There were no opposing powers. Yet to make all sure, Haman turned (Midrash) to the signs of the Zodiac. He found no help till he came to the sign of the Fish, corresponding to the month Adar. The Aries was a type of the Passover (Exod. xii. 3); the Taurus of Joseph (Deut. xxxiii. 17) and the burnt offering (Lev. xxii. 27); the Gemini were reflected in Perez and Zarah (Gen. xxxviii. 27); Leo in Daniel, the descendant of Judah (Gen. xlix. 9); the Virgo in

Wissenschaft des Judenthums,' 1881, pp. 473–4, has pointed out that the text of the Targum is full of faults. I have adopted his corrections where they seemed important.

the Three Children who, like the chaste virgin who knows only her own husband, remained faithful to their God and the Law (Dan. iii.); Libra in Job (vi. 2); Scorpio in Ezekiel (ii. 6); Sagittarius in Joseph (xlix. 24); Capricornus in Jacob (Gen. xxvii. 16); Aquarius in Moses (Exod. ii. 19). But when Haman came to the sign of Pisces, he exclaimed joyfully: 'This month can point to nothing propitious for the Jewish people, and in this month did their teacher (Moses) die.' He knew not that in this month Moses had been born; and he cried, 'As great fishes swallow little ones, so will I swallow Israel.' God said to him: 'Thou wicked man! Fishes do indeed sometimes swallow; but sometimes they are swallowed; and thou shalt be swallowed of those who were to be swallowed'" (Midrash, cp. Esther ix. 1). He had also overlooked, says the Targum, the passage which foretold that the sons of Joseph were to increase as the fishes of the sea.

CHAPTER XI.

2 *The stock and quality of Mardocheus.* 6 *He dreameth of two dragons coming forth to fight,* 10 *and of a little fountain, which became a great water.*

IN the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemeus and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a priest and Levite, and Ptolemeus his son, brought this epistle of Phurim, which they said was the same, and that Lysimachus the son of Ptolemeus, that was in Jerusalem, had interpreted it.

2 In the second year of the reign of Artaxerxes the great, in the first day of the month Nison, Mardocheus

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CHAPTER XI.

1. This in the LXX. forms part of the previous chapter, and closes that Version's text of the canonical Book of Esther. It is absent from the Gk. B and the Vet. Lat. On the phrase "this epistle of Phurim," cp. Esther ix. 20, 29; and on the historical value of this subscription, see Introduction, § II. i. (*f*).

2. As a heading to this verse the Vulgate has this note: *Hoc quoque principium erat in editione vulgata, quod nec in Hebræo, nec apud ullum fertur interpretum.* In the LXX., *vv.* 2–12 and ch. xii. are placed at the beginning of the canonical Book.

In the second year . . . of Artaxerxes] In the Greek, Ἀσυηρός. See Additional Note. Xerxes reigned from B.C. 486–65. His *second* year was probably that of his subjugation of Egypt (Herod. vii. 7; Justi, 'Geschichte des alten Persiens,' p. 113). Other years mentioned in the canonical Esther are the *third* (Esther i. 3), the *seventh* (Esther ii. 16), and the *twelfth* (Esther iii. 7). In the third year took place the feast which may have preceded or followed the convention of the leading men of Persia, summoned to advise the war with Greece (Herod. vii. 7, 8), and with which the canonical Book connects the disgrace of Vashti. In his fifth year (B.C. 480) was fought the battle of Salamis, and in his sixth (B.C. 479) the battle of Platæa. Such stories as those told about Xerxes in Herod. vii. 146–7, if genuine, prove him to have been anything but a fool; but it is quite in accordance with what is known of this king's weak and cowardly character (Herod. viii. 103) that he should seek to forget the disasters to his army in sensual indulgence at home (cp. Sayce, 'Introduction to Ezra,' &c., p. 100). Absence from home upon his Greek campaign, and the precedence accorded to others before Esther (Esther ii. 8, 12, 17), will easily account for the interval between the divorce, or—according to the Targum on Esther i. 19, ii. 1, and the Midrash to the Book of Esther (see Wünsche, p. 35)—the death of Vashti and the marriage of Esther.

Nison] Called in the Gk. B "Adar-Nisan, *i.e.* Dystrus-Xanthicus." In the Jewish Calendar Nisan was the first and Adar the last of the months, both names being post-exilic. The Babylonian origin of the existing names for the months among the Jews is now generally admitted. In a list of the months found at Nineveh the names of Nisan and Adar are given as Nisa-an-nu, Ad-da-ru (cp. Shrader, 'Die Keilinschriften u. das A. T.'[2] pp. 379, 380). The 2nd Maccabees and Josephus usually give Macedonian names: so here, Xanthicus (April) = Nisan (cp. 2 Macc. xi. 30, 33, 38; Josephus, 'Antiq. Jud.' i. ch. iii. § 3), Dystrus (March) = Adar (Josephus, 'A. J.' xi. ch. vi. § 13). Fritzsche (p. 79) conjectures that the combination Adar-Nisan (or twelfth-first month) may represent the intercalary month sometimes inserted at the end of the Jewish year, and called We-adar (in the Nineveh table Ar-hu ma-ak-ru or maḫ-ru) sa Ad-da-ra (*i.e.* the month after Adar).

Mardocheus] A name taken by some to mean "belongs to Merodach," a well-known

the son of Jairus, the son of Semei, the son of Cisai, of the tribe of Benjamin, had a dream;

3 Who was a Jew, and dwelt in the city of Susa, a great man, being a servitor in the king's court.

4 He was also one of the captives, which Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon carried from Jerusalem with Jechonias king of Judea; and this was his dream:

5 Behold a noise of a tumult, with thunder, and earthquakes, and uproar in the land:

6 And, behold, two great dragons came forth ready to fight, and their cry was great.

7 And at their cry all nations were

Babylonian god, and "reckoned to be one of those names which were adopted by apostatizing or religiously indifferent Jews from their Babylonian neighbours" (Sayce, 'Introduction to Ezra, &c.,' p. 101). If this be so, the Mordecai of the Book of Esther (cp. also Ezra ii. 2; Neh. vii. 7) is a signal instance of superiority to such associations. But it is more probable that the name of a Jew born at Susa would be of Persian rather than of Babylonian origin. The first element of the name recurs in such well-known names as Mardonius (Herod. vii. 5) and Mardontes; and the final syllable is akin to the termination in Artakes, Phaonaces &c. See the Additional Note. On his genealogy, see Esther ii. 5, note.

The identification of Mordecai with Matakas or Atakas, a eunuch who wielded great power at the court of Xerxes during the early part of his reign, is possible in so far that facts do not contradict it. The history of the reign of Xerxes is not carried in the canonical Book beyond the 13th year of the king's reign, and he reigned twenty years. Mordecai may have died before the advent to power of Artabanos, who was the royal favourite and chief minister of the king at the close of his life. The language of the Versions here attributes to him already high rank. Thus the Vulg. text corresponding to "a servitor (LXX. θεραπεύων) in the king's court (*i.e.* palace)" is *inter primos aulæ regiæ*.

3. *Susa*] Or in the O. T., Shushan. On the place see Dan. viii. 2, note. The palace was built by Darius, the father of Xerxes, on the same plan as that at Persepolis. In Loftus's 'Chaldæa and Susiana' (p. 423) may be seen an ancient ground-plan of Susa; the smaller mound depicted in it was probably the site of the palace. Susa was the residence of "the great king," and there were "his treasures of wealth" (Herod. v. 49). The place itself is now a mass of ruins (Justi, p. 112).

4. *He was . . . one of the captives &c.*] If this is to be taken literally (cp. the Targums on ii. 6), Mordecai must have been more than 110 years old. But this literal sense is evidently not intended. It was his family (cp. Gk. text B) which was carried captive in the reign of Jeconiah (Jehoiachin) by Nebuchadnezzar (B.C. 598); and his father's (Jairus) and grandfather's (Semei) names are given, while "Cisai, of the tribe of Benjamin," or Kish, is the well-known father of Saul (1 Sam. ix. 1). Such genealogical gaps are not infrequent in biblical writings (cp. St. Matt. i. 1; 1 Esdras v. 5). Josephus ('Antiq. Jud.' xi. ch. vi. § 1) makes Esther and consequently Mordecai (cp. Esther ii. 7) of royal descent (*i.e.* through Saul).

A want of accuracy is to be noticed in these verses (2–4). The dream takes place in the "second year" of Artaxerxes; and the natural sense of *v.* 12 taken with xii. 1 would lead the reader to suppose that the conspiracy of the two eunuchs (ch. xii.) took place in that same year. The canonical Book, however, would seem (cp. Esther ii. *v.* 21, "in those days," with *v.* 16, "in the seventh year of his (the king's) reign) to place this conspiracy five years later. The Greek text A gets over the difficulty by supposing two conspiracies, a not unlikely thing at the court of one who died by the hand of conspirators, but evidently created here as a convenient solution. Thus, in the account of the first, the names of the conspirators are given, and their office is that of guards of the palace; in the second, they are not named, and their office is that of chiefs of the royal body-guard. The Gk. text B knows nothing of two conspiracies, but (see below) leaves the date of the conspiracy it reports so open that it is possible to refer it to the seventh year of Xerxes. The Vet. Lat. omits the first conspiracy, and the heading of the Vulg. of ch. xii. intimates that the narrative contained in this chapter is *repeated* from the second chapter. The variations in the narration of what was probably but one event are numerous, and will be noted in their proper places.

5. The "dream" or "vision" (Gk. B) opens in the Gk. A and Vulg. dramatically with two pairs of plural nouns followed by a singular:—"And lo! voices and tumult, thunders and earthquake," producing as their result "confusion" (τάραχος; Vulg. *conturbatio*) rather than "uproar." The Gk. text is more abrupt than the Latin.

6. *two great dragons*] *i.e.* in the explana-

prepared to battle, that they might fight against the righteous people.

8 And lo a day of darkness and obscurity, tribulation and anguish, affliction and great uproar, upon earth.

9 And the whole righteous nation was troubled, fearing their own evils, and were ready to perish.

10 Then they cried unto God, and upon their cry, as it were from a little fountain, was made a great flood, even much water.

11 The light and the sun rose up, and the lowly were exalted, and devoured the glorious.

12 Now when Mardocheus, who had seen this dream, and what God had determined to do, was awake, he bare this dream in mind, and until night by all means was desirous to know it.

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tion (x. 7), Mordecai and Aman. The fight between these individual beasts became the signal for preparation of war on the part of "all nations" (*πᾶν ἔθνος*) against "the righteous people" (*δικαίων ἔθνος*). The Vulg. here terms the former *nationes*, the latter *gentem justorum*, but does not always observe the distinction (see x. 8, 9). By the latter (called also in *v.* 9 "the whole righteous nation," *πᾶν ἔθνος δίκαιον, gens justorum*) is meant the people of the Jews (cp. x. 8; Wisd. x. 15, xvii. 2). The gathering of the nations is prophetically described in Joel iii. 2; Zech. xiv. 2.

8. Cp. the language of this verse with Joel ii. 2; Zeph. i. 15; St. Matt. xxiv. 29. The afflictions are recounted in pairs. For "obscurity" the Vulg. has *discrimen*, using the word in the sense of critical and dangerous circumstances. The couplet "tribulation and anguish" occurs in Rom. ii. 9 (cp. also viii. 35). The Gk. text B renders these verses: "And lo! two dragons, and both came forward to fight. And their cry arose, and all things were moved by reason of the noise of this cry. Against all the peoples there witnessed a day of darkness and gloom and confusion of battle; and every nation made ready to fight. And we called upon the Lord by reason of the noise of their cry."

10. The "little fountain" developing into "the great flood" or river (x. 6, *ποταμὸς*) is Esther.

11. As "the dragons" and "the fountain" are personifications, so "the light and the sun" personify the Powers of deliverance over "darkness and obscurity" (*v.* 8). Some compare Wisd. v. 6, which however does not imply personification. A yet more definite personification identifies them with guardian Angels, such as Michael, "the great prince which standeth for the children of God's people" (Dan. xii. 1), and Gabriel, "who maketh men to understand visions" (Dan. viii. 17).

devoured the glorious] *τοὺς ἐνδόξους*; Vulg. *inclytos*: not the proud or boastful, but those occupying positions of honour and glory such as Haman (*ἔνδοξος* is applied to him in xii. 6). So the Gk. text B, which in other respects has a curious variation: "Light, the sun rose up, and the rivers (reading *ποταμοὶ* instead of *ταπεινοὶ*) were swollen and engulphed those of high repute." On the imagery of this dream, see Additional Note.

12. *until night*] This limitation is absent from the Vulgate; and the Gk. text B connects chapters and events as follows:—"And Mardochæus, on rising from his sleep, pondered anxiously what his vision might mean, and what the Mighty One (cp. Luke i. 49) was ready to do. And he hid his vision in his heart, and at every opportunity was studying it out, until the day on which Mardochæus slept in the court of the king with Astagus and Thedeutus" &c.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 2, 5–11.

2. Artaxerxes is the name given by the LXX. to the Ahasuerus (אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ = Akhashverosh) of the Heb. and E. Versions of the canonical Book (see Esther i. 1. In this passage the Greek text B has Ἀσύηρος: cp. Tobit xiv. 15; Ezra iv. 6; Dan. ix. 1). אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ is the Hebrew form of the Persian Khshayarsha; in Greek, Xerxes. Modern critics are pretty well agreed that the Persian king alluded to in the Book of Esther and in these 'Additions' was not Artaxerxes (Longimanus), the son of Xerxes, but Xerxes himself, the son of Darius Hystaspis.

The Rabbinical commentators have a great deal to say about him. They extract fanciful meanings from this or that portion of his name, and they scold him in the most hearty fashion. He was called Ahasuerus, says one, because he blackened (שהשחיר) the faces of the Israelites; or, according to another, because he macerated (שהכחיש) their heads;

or, once more, because he made them drink gall (שהשקה אותן רוש ולענה). He was "brother" to (*i.e.* akin in character and act to) Nebuchadnezzar, because if the latter destroyed the temple of Jerusalem, the former hindered its restoration; he was a man who destroyed his wife (Vashti) at the bidding of his friend (Memucan = Haman; cp. Esther i. 15 &c.), and his friend (Haman) at the bidding of his wife (Esther; cp. Esther vii. 8). In the original of Esther i. 1 the emphatic הוא before אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ is taken to point him out as one of the five *bad* men similarly emphasised, viz. Nimrod, Esau, Dathan and Abiram (taken as one), and king Ahaz: cp. 2 Chron. xxviii. 22. (N.B. With laudable breadth of view the Rabbis specify also five *good* men thus singled out, viz. Abraham, Moses and Aaron (taken as one), David, Hezekiah, and Ezra.) Consequently he is *that* (boastful) man who ordered wines from the 127 lands of his 127 subject kings (Esther i. 1), that each might drink what was his wont: *that* unjust king, that fool, who exclaimed, "I had sooner my kingdom was shattered than that my decree should remain uncompleted:" *that* Ahasuerus whose demands were so foolish (*e.g.* in the case of Vashti), and whose decrees were so unjust (*e.g.* in that which commanded the destruction of the Jews), &c. &c. After a tempest of similar reproaches, one redeeming point is found for him: "Before Ahasuerus married Esther he was Ahasuerus; after his marriage with her, he behaved not unseemly." Cp. Wünsche, pp. 10, 11; Cassel, pp. 242–4.

Mordecai] The Targums on Esther ii. 5 and the Midrash give to the name an Aramaic etymology מרא דכא = fine Myrrh (cp. Bloch, p. 28), and thereby express his character and position: "As the myrrh is the chief of spices, so was Mordecai the head of the just men of his day" (Midrash, p. 43). "He was like the star Nogah, that star so brilliant among stars, and like the early dawn which precedes the full day. He was the Master of the Jews; he devoted himself to their greatness, worked for their welfare, and promised peace to the whole of his race" (cp. Targum Sheni on Esther x. 3; Cassel, p. 298; Midrash, p. 73). Rabbi Berachia, commenting upon Leviticus xxv. 47, discovers in the "sojourner or stranger who waxes rich," the Amalekite Haman who offered the king 10,000 talents of silver for permission to destroy Israel (Esther iii. 9), the "brother that waxeth poor," and in Mordecai the "one of his (the latter's) brethren who redeems him." Similarly Gen. xlix. 2 is made to furnish a characteristic application. Benjamin, the ravening wolf who "in the morning devours the prey," is king Saul, the first king of Israel, or the "morning" of Israel, and a descendant of Benjamin, who plundered the Amalekites. The wolf who "at even divides the spoil" is Mordecai, "of the tribe of Benjamin," who in the "evening" hour (*i.e.* the captivity) of Israel's existence divided with Esther the spoil of Haman (Esther viii. 7).

5–11. It has been already noted that some critics find in this passage an Egyptian colouring (x. 6, note). The water or river inundating like the Nile, the light (Ptah), and the sun (Ra) were Egyptian beneficent deities; and the dragon—whether the evil serpent, Apep (Apopis), the darkness, or the crocodile associated with "the almighty destroyer and blighter," the deity Set—was the type of the malevolent deity. These indications are so far in favour of what some critics hold, the Egyptian origin of these 'Additions.' The point must not, however, be pressed too far. The river Nile as a deity is male; not, as here, female. It is as the hawk, not as a dragon or serpent, that Horus "the great helper" fights the human-headed serpent Apep.[1] In the dream of Mordecai, if it be of Egyptian origin, the most exact Egyptian feature is the antagonism which it represents between good and evil. But this very antagonism is also the feature of Mazdeism. Hence other critics have ascribed to this dream a Persian origin. The distinctive dualism of Zoroastrianism was fully developed in the Achæmenian period. If its nature and teaching varied at different times and in different localities, it is curious to note that the times of Xerxes and Amestris—the date of events which these 'Additions' purport to describe—presented religious views at a stage parallel to the imagery of the text. In this reign Ormazd and Ahriman (to give the deified principles of light and darkness, good and evil, their modern spelling) were worshipped on equal terms (cp. Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 206). Altars were raised to both, and Amestris sacrificed "seven children to the god of darkness and the lower regions" (cp. Herod. vii. 114). Usually speaking, the serpent or dragon is the form assigned to Ahriman the evil, and he is opposed by Ormazd the good, not in the semblance of a dragon, but in that of men of kingly birth and presence, just as in Firdusi's Shah-Nameh the hero Feridun (or Thraêtaona) subdues the tyrant Zohak (the personification of the biting snake Azhi-dahâka). In these 'Additions,' however, the fighters are "two dragons," and they fight on equal terms. Is not this a reflexion of contemporaneous belief? Deities

[1] On the much-disputed points of Egyptian religion, myths, and divinities, consult *inter alia* Duncker, 'Hist. of Antiquity,' i. 42 &c.; Riehm, 'H. W. B. d. Bibl. Altertums,' *s. v.* Egypten; Sayce, 'The Ancient Empires of the East,' p. 59 &c.

whose worship had sunk to the same level may well have been conceived as antagonists of the same calibre. Water in the dream plays a most important *rôle*. The little fountain swelling into the great flood or river is evidently a considerable factor in the victory over the evil dragon which ensued. In the Zoroastrian religion Water was a deity which was held in hardly less honour than Fire. Of Water-deities Ardvîçûra Anâhita (Anaïtis) is a goddess of great fame and power (cp. Spiegel, 'Eranische Alterthumskunde,' ii. 54 &c.; Haug, 'Essays on the Religion of the Parsees,' p. 178 &c.). In the Avesta one Yasht of considerable length is devoted to her honour. She springs from the summit of a mountain and develops into a thousand springs and a thousand canals. Her strength is great as that of horses; before her swirling, rolling waves everything bows irresistibly. Dahâka the serpent comes to her with a subtle petition fatal to men. She refuses it, and accepting that of Thraêtona helps him to destroy the tyrant (Spiegel, 'Avesta,' iii. 47, 48).

The veneration of the Persians for rivers—the visible representations of irresistible power—as intelligible as it is familiar (cp. Herod. i. 138), was strong in the times in question. The dream of Astyages (Herod. i. 107), the father of Mandane, turns upon the very same idea, if more coarsely presented, which is found in the dream of Mordecai, the uncle of Esther. In both, Water becomes an overflowing flood. It was a parable fulfilled in the prowess of Cyrus, the son of Mandane and the ancestor of Xerxes. What then could be more natural than that a Jewish writer, living in Susa and familiar with the early legend, should apply it to Israel, the child for whom Esther travailed, and whose conquest over enemies she was the means of securing?

CHAPTER XII.

2 *The conspiracy of the two eunuchs is discovered by Mardocheus,* 5 *for which he is entertained by the king, and rewarded.*

AND Mardocheus took his rest in the court with Gabatha and Tharra, the two eunuchs of the king, and keepers of the palace.

2 [a]And he heard their devices, and searched out their purposes, and learned that they were about to lay hands upon Artaxerxes the king; and so he certified the king of them.

3 Then the king examined the two eunuchs, and after that they had confessed it, they were strangled.

[a] Esther 2. 21. & 6. 2.

CHAPTER XII.

1. *Gabatha and Tharra*] In Esther ii. 21, Bigthan (or Bigthana, vi. 2) and Teresh. The Vulg. varies between Bagathan and Bagatha, Thares and Thara. Josephus ('Antiq. Jud.' xi. ch. vi. 4) calls them Bagathous and Theodestes (as if following a reading תרוש instead of תרש. See Gk. text B, in xi. 12, note). Gabatha is the same name as Bagatha or Bigthana, the initial letters being reversed. The name given by Gk. text B, Ἄσταγος, corresponding to this, is probably Persian. Can it be a recollection of Atakas (or Matakas), the name of the eunuch-favourite (see xi. 2, note to *Mardocheus*), transformed by the scribe's necessity into a conspirator? Fritzsche points to the analogy of Astyages (Bel and the Dragon, *v.* 1) or Astakos (Thucyd. viii. 108). The special function of these "keepers of the palace" is defined by the Vulgate to be that of *janitores* (cp. Herod. iii. 140).

2. *purposes*] Μεριμναὶ is more than that. The distracting, anxious nature of their thoughts as to the success of their "devices" or reasonings (λογισμοὺς) is reflected in the *curæ* of the Vulgate. The Greek B had a different reading: "he heard their words (λόγους) and their calumnies." The same text adds that the object of the conspirators in laying hands upon the king was "to put him to death." They were angry, say some Rabbinical commentators, at the royal preference for Esther, they having desired the selection of another favourite; or they were irritated at the honours bestowed upon Mordecai. Therefore they purposed, says the Targum on ii. 11, to poison Esther and slay the king in his bed, or, according to the Targum Sheni (cp. Cassel, p. 266), to put a viper in the king's drinking-cup.. This latter version is probably a reflexion of contemporary experience which has found its parallel in Christian antiquity in the legend connected with the history of St. John the Evangelist.

he certified the king of them] After "having well considered it" (Gk. B). According to Esther ii. 22, "Esther certified the king *thereof* in Mordecai's name," Mordecai having (according to the Targum) been informed of the conspiracy by a holy spirit, and then reported it to the queen. Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xi. ch. vi. § 4) gives another version of the story. Theodestes had a Jewish servant named Barnabazos. He became acquainted with the plot, and told it to Mordecai. Mordecai through Esther communicated it to the king.

3. *they were strangled*] The E. V. followed the reading ἀπήγχθησαν. The present

4 And the king made a record of these things, and Mardocheus also wrote thereof.

5 So the king commanded Mardocheus to serve in the court, and for this he rewarded him.

6 Howbeit Aman the son of Amadathus the Agagite, who was in great honour with the king, sought to molest Mardocheus and his people because of the two eunuchs of the king.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *The copy of the king's letters to destroy the Jews.* 8 *The prayer of Mardocheus for them.*

THE copy of the letters was this: The great king Artaxerxes writeth these things to the princes and

Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 6.

Gk. text is ἀπήχθησαν, "they were led away," *i.e.* to death (cp. Vulg.). The text of Esther ii. 23 specifies their death to have been by hanging; Josephus, by crucifixion. Probably one and the same punishment—that accorded to rebels and traitors—is meant (see Esther ii. 23, note), viz. impalement (Herod. i. 128, vi. 30. See Rawlinson, 'A. M.' iv. 141, 208). The previous "examination" was probably (see the Gk. and Lat. Versions) by torture.

4. The Gk. B omits any mention of Mordecai himself writing down these events, but it specifies: "And Mardochæus's name was recorded in the book of the king for the sake of recalling to mind these things." The "book of the king" was probably one of the records laid up in the royal archives at each of the three capitals of the empire—Susa, Babylon, and Ecbatana. The Greek writer Ctesias of Cnidos, physician to Artaxerxes-Mnemon (B.C. 405–359), describes them as written on parchment, and containing not only annalistic records, but also long narratives (Sayce, 'Introd. to Ezra,' &c. p. 96). The names and deeds of "benefactors" were entered in them (Herod. viii. 85; Thucyd. i. 129. 3). See xvi. 2, note.

5. Gk. B adds that Mordecai "was to have an eye on every door," *i.e.* to watch the *janitores* (*v.* 1, Vulg.).

6. This verse gives the writer's explanation of Haman's hatred of Mordecai. According to Josephus ben Gorion (xth cent.), the eunuchs were relatives of Haman, and amongst his most trustworthy friends. The biblical narrative accounts for Haman's hostility as due to want of respect to his person (Esther iii. 1). The refusal of reverence would accentuate the anger, already great, felt at the loss of his supporters. The title "Macedonian," given to Haman by Gk. B here, and by the Versions generally in xvi. 10, is taken by some to mean not that he was of Greek origin, but Greek in his traitor-wish to subjugate Persia to Greece. This is not, however, supported by xvi. 10 (see note). The "Agagite" (thought by Oppert, 'Inscriptions Assyriennes des Sargonides,' p. 25, to be a place in Media) is in the Gk. text changed into Βουγαῖος (Vulg. Bugæus). This change, like that of Γωγαῖος, is probably due to a misreading (by alteration of the first letter) of "Agagite" (Agagæus). The suggestion that Βουγαῖος is a Gk. form of Bagoas (Bagæus, Herod. iii. 128, vii. 80) is coupled with as much conjecture as that which finds in Γωγαῖος a reflection of the name Gyges (Herod. iii. 122; cp. Additional Note to xiii. 12).

CHAPTER XIII.

1–7. These verses are in the LXX. placed in Esther, ch. iii., between *vv.* 13 and 14. The "copy of the letters" purports to be a "copy of the writing that the decree should be given out in every province, (and) published unto all the peoples." This edict against the Jews, professedly dictated by Haman, and that in favour of the Jews (ch. xvi.), pretending to be the work of Mordecai, are far more diffuse than any similar records of that past preserved to us. It is hardly correct to say that they contain "little that is either religious or moral" (Sayce, p. 110). In the Gk. text B the present letter is introduced thus: "And he (the king) gave his signature to the subjoined edict." In the Additional Note to *v.* 1 will be found the Targum Sheni form of the letter or decree. It will be seen at once how much it differs from that presented here.

1. *The great king*] The title of Darius Hystapis (the father of Xerxes) on the Behistán monument (see Vaux, 'History of Persia,' p. 89) is "the King, the King of Kings, the King of Persia, the great King of the provinces," &c.; and that of Artaxerxes (the son of Xerxes), "the great King, the King of Kings, the King of lands where all languages are spoken, the King of this great wide earth," &c. The inscriptions and Greek writers (cp. Herod. iii. 97, vii. 70) attest the accuracy of the assertion that the great empire extended from India to Ethiopia. Even had this not been the case, such a description would have been in accordance with the style of many ancient edicts in which lost and irrecoverable provinces were still reckoned as part of an indissoluble empire, much in the same way as the kings of England retained the title of kings of

governors that are under him from India unto Ethiopia, in an hundred and seven and twenty provinces.

2 After that I became lord over many nations, and had dominion over the whole world, not lifted up with presumption of my authority, but carrying myself alway with equity and mildness, I purposed to settle my subjects continually in a quiet life, and making my kingdom [1]peaceable, and open for passage to the utmost coasts, to renew peace, which is desired of all men.

[1] Or, *mild.*

3 Now when I asked my counsellers how this might be brought to pass, Aman, that excelled in wisdom among us, and was approved for his constant good will and stedfast fidelity, and had the honour of the second place in the kingdom,

4 Declared unto us, that in all nations throughout the world there was scattered a certain malicious people, that had laws contrary to all nations, and continually despised the commandments of kings, so as the uniting of our kingdoms, honourably intended by us, cannot [1]go forward.

[1] Or, *be settled.*

5 Seeing then we understand that this people alone is continually in opposition unto all men, differing in the strange manner of their laws, and evil affected to our state, working all the mischief they can, that our kingdom may not be firmly established:

6 Therefore have we commanded, that all they that are signified in writing unto you by Aman, who is ordained over the affairs, and is [1]next unto us, shall all, with their wives and

[1] Or, *second from us.*

France long after they had ceased to have any possession in that country. On the 127 satrapies, see Esther i. 1, note, and Additional Note to this verse. Evidently not satrapies proper are meant, but minor divisions of the empire. The satrap, or "crown-protector," was a tributary king, generally connected with the "great king" by birth or marriage. After payment of necessary satrapial expenses, the rest of the tribute (ranging as a total from 42,000*l.* to 250,000*l.* a year) was paid into the imperial exchequer. The Indian province, consisting of many subdivisions, is said to have paid by itself as much as 1,290,000*l.* in gold, and Babylonia 290,000*l.* (cp. Sayce, p. 55). The gold and silver were all collected at Susa, to which city converged the great imperial roads.

2. *lord . . . over the whole world*] Cp. the titles of the king in the previous note.

in a quiet life] ἀκυμάντους: lit., not washed or tossed by the waves, and therefore calm. Cp. Jas. i. 6, and the Vulg. here: *ut absque ullo terrore vitam silentio transigentes.*

peaceable, and open for passage to the utmost coasts] Instead of ἥμερον, "habitable," the E.V. seems to have read ἤρεμον, "peaceable" (cp. 1 Tim. ii. 2). The Gk. B rendering of the words "open" &c., viz. "traversable to the frontiers," illustrates more forcibly the implied fact that the border-provinces were always the weak point of the empire. These provinces adjoined powerful and restless foes; civil and military authority was weakest there, and in them revolts usually took their beginning.

3. *counsellers*] In Esther i. 4, "the seven princes of Persia and Media . . . which sat the first in the kingdom" (see note and on Ezra vii. 14). The qualities attributed here to Haman—"wisdom (σωφροσύνη) . . . goodwill (εὔνοια) . . . fidelity (πίστις)"—account for his "advancement" (cp. Esther iii. 1). His position (see also xvi. 11) was practically superior to that of first among the seven princes.

4. The language descriptive of the people of the Jews is based upon Esther iii. 8, but much expanded. The "certain people" is here "a certain malicious (δυσμενῆ, or "malevolent," Gk. B) people," further characterised in the account given by Josephus ('Ant. Jud.,' xi. ch. vi. § 5) as "separate, unsociable, neither observing the same religious practices as others nor using the same laws," and in his version of the edict (*ib.* § 6) as "a nation bearing malice to all men (δυσμενής: cp. the frequent charge made against the Jews of *odium humani generis*), different from them in laws, refractory to kings, strange in their moral practices" &c. Their evil influence was such that, according to Haman, they were able to prevent the union of the realm (συναρχίαν), so that "the kingdom never reached a stable condition" (Gk. B). See Additional Note.

5. A re-statement of the charge in *v.* 4, with variations. The Vulgate closes its rendering of this verse with a charge of disturbing the peace and concord of the provinces subject to the king.

6. *next unto us*] τοῦ δευτέρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν.

children, be utterly destroyed by the sword of their enemies, without all mercy and pity, the fourteenth day of the twelfth month Adar of this present year:

7 That they, who of old and now also are malicious, may in one day with violence go into the grave, and so ever hereafter cause our affairs to be well settled, and without trouble.

8 Then Mardocheus thought upon all the works of the Lord, and made his prayer unto him,

9 Saying, O Lord, Lord, the King Almighty: for the whole world is in thy power, and if thou hast appointed to save Israel, there is no man that can gainsay thee:

10 For thou hast made heaven and earth, and all the wondrous things under the heaven.

11 Thou art Lord of all things, and there is no man that can resist thee, which art the Lord.

12 Thou knowest all things, and thou knowest, Lord, that it was neither in contempt nor pride, nor for any desire of glory, that I did not bow down to proud Aman.

13 For I could have been content

Lit., "our second father." Cp. Vulg., "whom we honour as a father." This Version also calls him "chief over (*præpositus*) all the provinces." Cp. 1 Esdras iii. 7; Tobit i. 22.

be utterly destroyed] ὁλοριζὶ; lit., "root and all:" cp. the phrase "root and branch." The date—the 14th of Adar—was the first of the two days actually celebrated as festivals. Hence it was by degrees confounded with the day—the 13th—on which the slaughter was originally intended (see xvi. 20; Esther iii. 13, viii. 12, ix. 1). Gk. B repeats the identification of Adar with Dystrus (see x. 13, note), and adds, "to kill all the Jews and make a spoil of their children;" the latter interpretation being introduced as a merciful rendering of that previous clause which enjoined utter destruction of "wives *and children*." The insertion of the name "Jews" is in contrast with the noteworthy absence in the other texts (here and in Esther) of this defining title. The designation of the race to whom Haman shews his hostility as "a certain people" indicated his contempt; and the blind, uninquiring acceptance by Xerxes of his favourite's opinion of them is quite in accordance with what history records of a weak and effeminate king. See Additional Note.

8, &c. In the Gk. text of the Book of Esther, Mordecai's prayer is placed after iv. 17. It is quite intelligible that the piety of later times should have sought to reproduce the words expressing the anguish of both Mordecai and Esther (Esther iv. 16). In both prayers large use is made of biblical language. Josephus (*l. c.* § 8) gives merely an extract explanatory of the reason of Haman's hostility and Mordecai's refusal to worship him; but Josephus ben Gorion (see the extract in 'Critici Sacri' *in loco*) expands it at much greater length than even the Midrash on this passage (see Wünsche, p. 64). The Midrash (on Esther iv. 7, 8) also states that when Mordecai gave to Hatach the copy of the murderous decree for Esther's perusal he bade him give her this message: "The dream (x. 5 &c.) which I told thee in thy youth, seems about to come to pass. Up, therefore! Pray to God for mercy! Go in to the king, and make request of him for the preservation of thy people and thy family."

9. The repetition of the title "Lord, Lord" marks his earnestness, and the selection of that title (κύριε), as well as "the King Almighty," indicates the thought uppermost in the prayer—the irresistible Power of God. He rested on that thought in the face of a danger irresistible by the power of man.

if thou hast appointed . . . gainsay thee] Lit., "if it be Thy will to save . . . none can resist Thy will" (Vulg.). Cp. the belief on this point given in Additional Note to *v.* 6. The thought is repeated in *v.* 11 as if introductory to *v.* 12.

12. Had then Mordecai been resisting God's will when he refused to bow down to "uncircumcised" (Gk. B) Haman? God, Who knew "the race of Israel" (Gk. B) and knew His suppliant's heart, knew that had it been His will, His servant would "for the salvation of Israel" have kissed the soles (*vestigia*, Vulg.) of Haman's feet. Mordecai gives his reason in *v.* 14.

There is nothing unhistorical in Mordecai's conduct, nor exemplifying bigotry on his part, if the customs of the age and other instances of a similar resolution be recalled. Two wealthy Spartans of distinguished birth, Sperthias and Bulis, once came to Xerxes at Susa. They came prepared to give up their own lives in satisfaction for the lives of the heralds of Darius, who had perished at Sparta. The king's guards endeavoured to compel them to prostrate themselves and worship the king. They refused. "It is not

with good will for the salvation of Israel to kiss the soles of his feet.

14 But I did this, that I might not prefer the glory of man above the glory of God: neither will I worship any but thee, O God, neither will I do it in pride.

15 And now, O Lord God and King, spare thy people: for their eyes are upon us to bring us to nought; yea, they desire to destroy the inheritance, that hath been thine from the beginning.

16 Despise not the portion, which thou hast delivered out of Egypt for thine own self.

17 Hear my prayer, and be merciful unto thine inheritance: turn our sorrow into joy, that we may live, O Lord, and praise thy name: and [1]destroy not the mouths of them that praise thee, O Lord.

[1] Or, *shut*, or, *stop not*.

18 All Israel in like manner cried most [1]earnestly unto the Lord, because their death was before their eyes.

[1] Gr. *mightily*.

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our custom," they said, "to worship a man; neither have we come here for that purpose" (Herod. vii. 136). When Themistocles was an exile in Persia, he considered it his duty to pay this worship, on the ground that it must be pleasing to the gods who had so highly exalted the Persians. This δεισιδαιμονία was the exact opposite to the feeling paramount in the mind of Mordecai. Among Orientals prostration before superiors was general (Herod. i. 134; Rawlinson's 'A. M.,' iv. 180, 196; see Riehm, 'H. W. B. d. A. T.,' *s. v.* Kuss); and if the kissing of the feet appears to have been a sign of submission confined in Persia to kings (Xenophon, 'Cyrop.,' vii. 5, 32; see Schenkel, 'Bibel-Lexicon,' *s.v.* Kuss), Mordecai's willingness to accord it at God's bidding to a king's favourite would be an indication of humility. Cp. also Isai. xlv. 23, xlix. 23. See Additional Note.

14. Cp. Dan. iii. 18; 2 Macc. vii. 2. The Persian king was a sort of god upon earth; before him all bowed themselves down with the lowliest and humblest obeisance. His people accepted not only his deliberate will, but his merest caprice (cp. Herod. iii. 33–6, 80; Rawlinson, 'A. M.,' iv. pp. 112, 152). Xerxes (Esther iii. 2) had willed that the same reverence should be paid to Haman as was paid to himself; but the deification of Haman was impossible to any devout Jew.

neither will I do it in pride] A repetition of the protest in *v.* 12. The Gk. B reads: "Yea, I will not do it in temptation;" *i.e.* the temptation to me at this moment is to reverence Haman with divine honours, that by that means his anger may be turned from me and my people: "I will not do it" (cp. St. Matt. iv. 10).

15. *O Lord God and King*] The Gk. and Vulg. Versions add a title singularly appropriate in a prayer for God's people; *e.g.* Gk. B, "Who didst make a covenant with Abraham" (cp. Gen. xii. 2, 3). This portion of the prayer is replaced in the Midrash (Wünsche, p. 65) and prefaced in Josephus ben Gorion ('Critici Sacri' *in loco*) by a petition for the destruction of Haman: "And now, our God! deliver us out of his hands, that he may fall into his own pit which he hath digged, and be taken in the net which he hath laid for Thy saints (cp. Pss. vii. 15, ix. 15), that the tyrant may learn that Thou hast not forgotten the promise which Thou hast made to us" (Lev. xxvi. 44). "Let them know" (continues Josephus b. G.) "that Thou didst deliver us into captivity, not because Thy power was shortened that Thou couldest not save us, but that we were sold (into captivity) on account of the iniquities of our fathers, and carried away from our own land on account of our sins" (cp. Dan. ix. 7; Tobit iii. 4).

inheritance . . . portion (*v.* 16) . . . *inheritance* (*v.* 17)] Three distinct words,—κληρονομία, μερὶς, and κλῆρος: the first and last being more common than the second, and all three designating special aspects of God's favour towards His people. For μερὶς see Deut. xxxii. 9; Ecclus. xvii. 17. In this verse, as so often, the deliverance from Egypt is pleaded as a reason for extending renewed preservation to a people so wonderfully delivered (cp. Deut. ix. 26, 29).

17. *joy*] εὐωχίαν: lit. feasting, and usually of multitudes (cp. 3 Macc. vi. 30). The Gk. B reads εὐφροσύνην, "gladness."

destroy not] μὴ ἀφανίσῃς. The sense intended is probably the same as in xiv. 9, "stop the mouth." So Vulgate here: *ne claudas ora te canentium.*

18. "What was Mordecai's next step?" asks the Midrash. "He called the children together, enjoined them to abstain from bread and water, clothed them with sackcloth, and seated them upon ashes. And they wept, and cried, and busied themselves with the Law" (see the Additional Note). Cp. Esther iv. 16: and note the simpler statement of this verse. Their "cry" was *pari mente et obsecratione* (Vulg.).

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 1, 4, 6, 8, 12, 18.

1. *an hundred and seven and twenty provinces*] That number (cp. 1 Esdras iii. 2), say the Rabbis, was only half of that (arbitrarily placed at 252) over which David (cp. 1 Chron. xiv. 17), Solomon (cp. 1 Kings iv. 21), Ahab (1 Kings xviii. 10, 15), Nebuchadnezzar (cp. Dan. ii. 37, 38), Cyrus (Ezra i. 2), and Darius (Dan. vi. 26) are said to have reigned. And why only half? Because Ahasuerus had dared to divide (limit and so enfeeble) the kingdom of the God Who had placed His name in Jerusalem (Midrash, p. 12). When Esther became queen, she rightly became queen over 127 provinces, for was not that the number of the years of the life of Sarah (Gen. xxiii. 1), from whom she was descended (cp. Targum on Esther i. 1; Cassel, p. 11)?

The royal decree] In order that this might reach the 127 provinces, the king, says the Targum Sheni (on Esther iv. 1; Cassel, p. 273), sent for 127 scribes, one from each province; and the language of the decree was to the following effect:—"Ahasuerus the king to all peoples, nations, and languages (tongues) that dwell in my kingdom, greeting (cp. Dan. iv. 1). This is to make known that we have met with a man, not of our place or province, who hath made a league with us to destroy our enemies. This man's name is Haman. He is the descendant of king Agag, the son of Amalek the great, the son of Reuel, the son of Eliphaz, the eldest son of Esau; the descendant therefore of a wealthy and celebrated people. Haman hath addressed to us a petition on a trifling and insignificant matter, and hath represented to us the blameworthy customs and practices of the Jews. He hath told me that when the Jews came out of Egypt they were 600,000 strong; and he hath offered me 600,000 talents of silver, a talent per head, to give up to him this people for destruction. I have accepted this offer gladly. I have taken the money and have sold this people to be murdered. Therefore do ye also eat and drink and rejoice, as I eat, drink, and rejoice. Whosoever of you understands the use of the bow, let him seize his bow; or of the sword, let him grip his sword. Be strong on the 14th and 15th days of the month called Adar in our language. Spare not prince or lord or child, but slaughter them and seize upon their possessions, each one for himself. Further, I, king Ahasuerus, command all peoples, nations, languages, tribes, families, and cities, that wherever there be found Jewish man-servant or maid-servant there shall the owners of the same be executed at the gate of their city, because they have not obeyed my command that no Jew be met with in the territory of my kingdom."

In the Midrash (cp. Wünsche, pp. 54, 55) the king's letter resembles the above as little as it resembles the draft given in the text. Before Haman received the permission he sought, a long argument ensued between him and the king. "I cannot consent," the king is represented as saying. "Their God will not permit it. Remember what happened to other kings, far stronger and mightier than I, when they wished to lay their hands upon and destroy this people. They became a laughing-stock to all the inhabitants of the world, and so should we. Let me alone, and do not speak to me any more about them." Haman pressed the king, and the wise men were sent for. Ahasuerus met them in council, and asked them the question: "Do you advise us to devote this nation to destruction?" Their reply was unanimous. "Who has ever undertaken such a thing? Were you to destroy Israel, the world could not exist, for the world only exists through the Law given to Israel (Jer. xxxiii. 25). All nations would be strangers before God" (1 Kings viii. 41. Other texts follow illustrating the pre-eminence of Israel: *e.g.* Exod. iv. 22; Deut. iv. 7, xiv. 1; Ps. cxlviii. 14, 18). "How can a man who would lay his hand upon the children of God escape from Him Who disposes of things above and things below, in Whose hand is the life of all living things to raise up and bring low, to kill and to make alive? Consider what happened to such kings as Pharaoh and Sennacherib, who laid their hands upon Israel." Haman answered: "The God Who overthrew Pharaoh in the sea, and wrought wonders and deliverances for Israel, has long ago become old, and can accomplish nothing more (cp. Ps. xciv. 7). Did not Nebuchadnezzar go up and burn His temple, drive out and disperse His people among the nations? Where is there any trace of His power and might?" The king was convinced by Haman's reasoning, and the royal decree was issued. After alluding to Haman's royal descent and greatness, the decree describes the people whose destruction was the aim of Haman's "little and insignificant petition" as a people "despised by all nations, proud, opposed to the best interests [of the (Persians), insolent to the king, full of cursing, and unthankful towards their benefactors." As an illustration of this last point, the decree—written from Haman's (the Amalekite's) point of view—specifies the ingratitude of Israel to the Egyptians. The manner in which this is drawn out is curious. "The king of Egypt (Pharaoh)," says Haman, "gave them a friendly welcome into his country, assigned them the best province of his land to live in, fed them in the days of famine, and permitted them to build themselves store-houses. Yet could he not win them. They plotted against

him. 'We would go three days' journey and sacrifice to our God (cp. Exod. v. 3) and return. Lend us garments, silver and gold.' And he lent them silver, gold, and raiment, and they loaded innumerable asses with them, so that they emptied the land of Egypt, and then fled away. When Pharaoh discovered their flight, he pursued them in order to recover his property. What did they do? There was a man among them named Moses, son of Amram, who was a magician. He took a rod, spoke some magical words, and struck the sea so that it dried up, and the people passed through on the dry land. I do not know" (Haman is made to say) "how they passed through, or how the waters were dried up. When Pharaoh saw this, he followed them to regain his money; but he was thrust him into the sea, I do not know by whom; and in the sea he and his whole army sank. This people were thus unmindful of the goodness extended to them by the king, whence you may perceive that they were unthankful.

"Further, consider how this people treated my ancestors (Amalek) whom they conquered in war (Exod. xvii. 8 &c.). Amalek consulted the wicked Balaam. 'See,' he said to him, 'how this nation has behaved to the Egyptians who were so kind to them. How will they behave to other nations. What do you advise me?' 'Go,' answered Balaam, 'and make war with them. It is the only way in which you can equal them: for not only do they rely on the merits of their forefather Abraham, but thou also, as an offshoot of that patriarch, canst make thy boast of those merits.' Therefore did Amalek attack the Israelites. What did Moses do? He had a disciple, by name Joshua the son of Nun, a cruel and heartless man. To him said Moses, 'Choose out men and fight with Amalek' (Exod. xvii. 9). I do not know who these men were, whether they were magicians or warriors. Moses took his rod, and, in short, Amalek was discomfited and his people smitten (Exod. xvii. 13). Similarly they smote Sihon and Og (cp. Num. xxi. 21, 33) and the kings of Midian (cp. Num. xxxi. 8). No one could resist them. What else did that minister Joshua do? He brought the Israelites into the land of Canaan; and it was not enough that he plundered the country, but he slew thirty-one kings and divided their land among the Israelites, and made slaves of those whose lives he spared. . . . Their first king, Saul, attacked the country of my ancestor Amalek, and smote 100,000 horsemen in one day. He spared not man, woman, child, nor suckling. Why he killed them, I know not. And how did he behave to my grandfather Agag? At first he spared him; but then came one Samuel, who clave his head and gave his body to the birds of heaven (cp. 1 Sam. xv. 33); why, I know not. Then followed a king of the name of David, a son of Jesse, who in a shameless manner levelled all kingdoms with the ground (cp. 1 Sam. xxvii. 9). His son, Solomon, who followed David in the kingdom, built a house for the Israelites, which he called a Holy Place; why, I know not. Into this they used to go before they went forth to war, employed magical rites, and when they came out smote down everything and laid waste the world. In their pride they rebelled against their God. He had grown old, so that Nebuchadnezzar came, burnt up their temple, carried away the people out of their land, and placed them among us. Since then they have never altered their feelings and acts of hatred; and although they know themselves to be among us as exiles, yet do they revile us and despise our belief in our gods. Therefore have we determined upon their destruction. We have cast lots to determine at what time we should carry out our plan, and the lot has fallen for the 13th day of the month Adar. Now hold yourselves ready, when these letters reach you, to smite on the day specified all Jews, without exception, who live among you; children and old men, infants and women, let none remain."

4. The arguments used by Haman to defame and disparage Israel before king Ahasuerus (cp. Esther iii. 8, 9) are expanded both by the Midrash (cp. Wünsche, p. 53) and the Targum Sheni (on Esther iii. 8; cp. Cassel, p. 269). A few extracts from the latter are here given:—

Haman said to the king: "There is the people of the Jews, scattered and dispersed among the nations in all provinces of thy kingdom. They are full of pride and conceit. In the month Tebet they bathe in tepid water, in the month Tammuz in cold . . . They do not live after our customs, and take no pleasure in our commerce. When they see us, they spit and consider us unclean. . . . We do not marry their daughters, and they do not marry ours. Should any one of them be required for the service of the king, he makes all manner of pretences of being occupied (*e.g.* one day is Sabbath, another is the Passover feast &c.). The day on which they wish to buy anything from us they call a day legitimate (for such purposes); but the day on which we wish to buy anything from them they call a day forbidden (for such purposes), and close the market against us. When the first hour of the day comes, they say, 'This is the hour in which we must hear the Shema (Deut. vi. 4 &c.). The second hour is the hour for prayer; the third for eating; the fourth for thanking God for the bread and water He has given; the fifth for going out; the sixth for returning' &c. &c. One day in the week they call their rest-day (Sabbath). They go to their synagogues,

read their (sacred) books, translate their prophets, curse the king &c. Eight days after a birth they circumcise the foreskin of their sons without shame, in order—as they say—to distinguish themselves from other nations . . . In the month Nisan they have eight festival days. . . . On the day of the Passover they go to the synagogues, read &c. (as above), and say, 'As what is leavened is removed from what is unleavened, so shall the rule of tyrants be removed from us, and we shall be freed from these foolish kings.' In the month Sivan they have two festival days. They go to their synagogues, read &c.; then they go on the roof of their house of God, throw down apples, gather them together, and say, 'As the apples are gathered together, so may our sons be gathered together,' &c. . . . On the first day in the month Tisri they go to their synagogues, read &c., sound the trumpets and say, 'On this day our remembrance ascends before the heavenly Father. May our remembrance be for our best good, but that of our enemies for their misfortune.'"

Similar specialities of custom are adduced with respect to their observance of the 10th of Tisri, of the feast of Tabernacles (15th of Tisri). Then follow some historical recollections:—

"Once they had a king of the name of David. He dealt hardly with us (Amalekites) and wished to exterminate us. He killed two-thirds of us, and the remaining third he devoted to slavery. After David there arose a king of the name of Nebuchadnezzar; he warred against them, destroyed their temple, plundered their cities, and carried them into exile. Yet do they not put aside their pride, but say, 'We are the sons of great forefathers. Never have we, from the earliest times, bowed before any king or obeyed any superior.' They send letters commanding prayers that the king should die and our dominion cease. When their forefathers went into Egypt, they were only 60 persons; when they went out of it, they were 600,000: and now that they are in exile and have nothing, they say, 'We are the sons of righteous and good men,' though there are no people in the world more poor and more faulty than they. This people is dispersed in every city; some are engaged in trade, some are men of rank. What they sell they sell deceitfully, while they buy everything under its value. They do not observe the decrees of the king, and the king has no need to spare them."

Haman then offers the king the money—100 sos for each. He reckons the number of the Jews as the same as that which came out of Egypt, and he estimates 600,000 sos as = 10,000 talents of silver. "The matter wants, O king, only a stroke of thy pen; and the money shall be paid into the royal chest."

"So much the more," is the trustful reflection of the Midrash, "did Haman accuse the Jews here below, so much the more did the angel Michael defend them in heaven. 'Lord of the world,' he cried, 'Thy children are accused, not of idolatry, unchastity, or murder, but of faithfulness to Thy laws.' 'By the life of thee,' answered God, 'I have never forsaken them and never will (1 Sam. xii. 22), let them deserve it or not, for the world cannot exist without Israel. If this wicked man purposes to destroy Israel for 10,000 talents of silver, he shall be contemptuously rejected' (cp. Cant. viii. 7)."

6. The Targum Sheni (on Esther iv. 1; cp. Cassel, p. 274) thus describes what Mordecai did when he heard that the king's decree was written and sealed. "He rent his clothes, covered himself with sackcloth and ashes, and cried aloud: 'Alas! how great is our impending misfortune which the king and Haman have determined (to inflict) upon us. He hath not purposed to destroy the half of us and to spare the other half or even a third or a fourth of us, but we are all—everyone of us—to be extirpated, root and branch.' When the Israelites saw the just and much-respected Mordecai in this plight, they gathered round him in innumerable numbers. In the midst of this assembly Mordecai placed himself and addressed them: 'Dear people, people so dear to our heavenly Father, do you not know what is happening? Have you not perceived that the king and Haman have determined to destroy us from the earth? Ah! we have no prince upon whom we can stay ourselves, no prophet who will pray for us, no land to which we can flee, for to every place is the decree gone out and to every province are the messengers sent. We are like a flock without its shepherd, a ship without its steersman, orphans who have no father, and sucklings bereaved of their mother.' Then was the holy ark brought out into the gate of Susa; the holy book taken out, covered with sackcloth and strewn with ashes, and out of it was read Deut. iv. 30, 31. 'O people of Israel,' continued Mordecai, 'people beloved by and dear to God; let us take into consideration what was done by the inhabitants of Nineveh. [Then follows a summary of Jonah iii. 4–10.] We will do the same and ordain a fast. We have been driven out of Jerusalem. It was in consequence of our sins that the voice from heaven cried to Nebuchadnezzar and commanded him, Go up to Jerusalem, destroy it, and consume the Temple in flames. Then Nebuchadnezzar shook his head and wrung his hands, for he thought of what had happened to Sennacherib' (cp. 2 Kings xix. 35). As Mordecai thought upon these things, (again) he rent his clothes, and spoke, weeping, 'Woe to you, O Israelites! that such a fate be yours!'"

As an additional indication of the trouble which was then prevalent, the Targum gives the following conversation:—"An Israelite came to a heathen and said to him, 'I pray thee, take me, my wife, and children as slaves that we may escape death.' 'See you not,' was the answer, 'what king Ahasuerus hath decreed? Every heathen who shall receive a Jew shall equally with the Jew be punished with death.'"

8. The translation of the Chaldee Version (De Rossi's; cp. Beelen, 'Chrestomathia Rabbinica et Chaldaica,' ii. pp. 57, 64) of Mordecai's prayer is as follows:—

"And Mordecai the Jew prayed before the Lord his God and said, 'O God, Lord of all ages, my heart is not hid from Thee. It is not from pride of spirit or exaltation of heart that I have done this, and not bowed before Haman, this Amalekite. From fear of Thee have I acted. I was stirred up against him that I should not bow down to him, for I feared Thee, O God of ages, and would not give the glory due to Thee to any son of man made of flesh and blood. Wherefore I refused to bend the knee to this uncircumcised, unclean man; (I can) only (worship) Thy Name, the great and holy (Name) named over us. For what am I and my house that I should not bow to man in order to procure the redemption of Israel, and (seek) his help; yea, even to lick the dust of Haman's feet wheresoever he may set the sole of his foot? Surely in Thy word doth our soul hope, for Thou only art for us and our fathers. And now, O God, deliver us from his hand, and let him fall into the pit which he hath digged, and let him be taken in the snare which he hath hid and set for the feet of Thy saints. So shall all nations know that Thou hast not forgotten the covenant which Thou didst make with our fathers, and that Thou didst not deliver us into captivity, as on this day, because Thy hands were feeble: but on account of our sins were we sold (into captivity), and on account of our iniquities were we led away captives, for we have sinned against Thee. And now, O God, mighty to save, save us from his hand, and deliver us from his wicked devices. We are in trouble before Thee, deliver us! To Thee we flee to be raised up. Thou only canst establish the right hand of the poor, and deliver us from those who rise up against us. Remember that we are Thy portion from days of old, and that we are Thy beloved amongst the nations. In the divisions of men hast Thou separated us to be Thy lot, and among nations to be Thy beloved; and Thou hast sanctified us by Thy Name as (a mark of) separation from all people. And now, O God, wherefore should our oppressors say, "Surely they have no God to save them?" They will open their mouth to devour us Thine inheritance, and to praise their graven images and their idols (vanities), saying, "By these have we subdued this people." I pray Thee, O our God, deliver us from their hands. Let the nations be ashamed of their graven images and their temples, and their false gods; and let them put their hands to their mouths when they see Thy deliverance, O Lord. Have compassion upon Thy people and Thine inheritance. Let not the mouths of them who praise Thee be stopped, who continually, evening and morning, magnify Thy Name. Turn our sorrow into joy and praise. So shall we live and praise Thee for the good deliverance which Thou hast wrought for us.'"

The resemblances with the present Greek text and the differences from it will at once be seen by comparing the Version in the English Bible with this.

12. In the Targum Sheni on Esther ii. 3 (cp. Cassel, pp. 266–7) the king's servants, after listening to Mordecai's reasons (as in the text) for refusing to bow before Haman, turn upon him with this argument. "Why do you refuse, when surely one of your forefathers bowed before the ancestors of Haman?" "Who was he?" asked Mordecai. "Was it not your forefather Jacob who bowed before his brother Esau (Gen. xxxiii. 3), the forefather of Haman?" "I," answered Mordecai, "am descended from Benjamin. When Jacob bowed before Esau, Benjamin was not born, and he never bowed before man. . . . I will not bow before this tyrant and enemy, Haman."

Other reasons are ingeniously offered for Mordecai's refusal. (*a*) Haman, says the Midrash, concealed the image of an idol under his dress. To prostrate oneself before him was therefore to prostrate oneself before an idol (cp. also the Targum on iii. 2). Mordecai was acquainted with this: hence his refusal. (*b*) Haman had once been Mordecai's slave. There was a time when Haman and Mordecai were both sent out together on a military expedition. They had each their separate command, but Haman wasted his commissariat resources, and must have retreated from the fortress he was besieging had not Mordecai come to his rescue. But the condition of that rescue was that Haman must become Mordecai's slave. Therefore Mordecai would not prostrate himself before one who had once been his slave (see another version of the story in the Targum on Esther iii. 2). The first of these solutions is but a support of the fact that Mordecai based his refusal upon religious grounds; the second is a testimony to the Jewish dislike of others which, ready to sacrifice all to bigotry,

willingly invested Mordecai with pride and entire absence of feeling for a fellow-soldier in distress.

Cassel in his 'Commentary on the Book of Esther' (pp. 81–5, 94–8) elaborates a theory that the hatred felt by Haman, not for Mordecai only, but for the people of the Jews at large (Esther iii. 6), was based not upon mere vexation or annoyance at Mordecai's refusal to worship him, but upon a religious antagonism not less keen than that of Mordecai towards himself. The theory rests upon precarious etymologies and unsupported conjectures, and is quite unnecessary. Briefly it is as follows:—Xerxes was devoted to the Magian worship, and the elevation of Haman (Esther iii. 1) was due to an outburst of religious fervour. Haman's names indicate the religious tendencies of the man. In support of this "Haman" is derived from the sacred Haoma (Spiegel, 'Avesta,' ii. 75); and though the name—possibly Grecised under the form Omanes—does not occur in the classical nomenclature of Persians, yet it is traced in the "Umanish" king of Susiana found in the Behistân Inscription. The name "Hammedatha" and the designation "the Agagite" (Esther iii. 1) are alleged to indicate from their similar religious derivation a similar religious tendency. Hammedatha is Homdata (cp. the termination in the name Pherendates, Herod. vii. 67) or one sent (given) by Hom (Haoma). The Masoretic punctuation of אגגי (Agagi) is rejected, and its affinity maintained with the Neo-Persian גואגה (Guageh, a title of honour, perhaps reflected in the name Gyges, Herod. i. 8), which has the sense of the member of a corporation. What corporation or religious body did Haman then belong to? What but the Magian?—that indicated by his name and designation; and as a Magian, Haman resented the insult to the religion he professed, and determined to punish it. Mordecai's contempt and refusal was a revolt against the recognized established religion. It was Judaism pitting itself against Mazdeism; and in so far as Haman could secure it, victory should rest with the latter.

18. The Targum Sheni (on Esther iv. 16; cp. Cassel, pp. 279, 283) narrates that when Esther's command to gather all the Jews in Susa was obeyed, there were collected 12,000 young men of priestly descent. "These took trumpets in their right hands and the Book of the Law in the left, and cried aloud with tears to Heaven: 'O God of Israel! Here is the Law which Thou hast given us. Behold! Thy people is about to be destroyed from the world. Who shall then read Thy Law and make mention of Thy Name?' Then fell they on their faces and cried, 'Hear us, O Father! Hear us, O King!' so that even the heavenly hosts wept, and the patriarchs sprang out of their graves. . . . In that night the wailing of the children of Israel ascended to Heaven and sounded like the cries of rams and she-goats. The Angels were affrighted, and said to one another, 'Is the hour come for the end of the world?' And they gathered themselves together and went into the presence of the Lord of the world. 'What is that cry like a goat's cry which I hear?' asked the Lord of the world. 'It is no goat's cry,' answered the Divine Mercy; 'it is the cry of the young Israelites whom the decree of Haman hath ordered to be destroyed.' Immediately was the Lord of the world full of goodness and compassion towards His people; and He determined to break the seals wherewith the miserable lot for Israel was sealed. He commanded the Angel of Unrest to go down, to make Ahasuerus restless, and take away his sleep." This was done, and the events described in Esther vi. followed.

CHAPTER XIV.

The prayer of queen Esther for herself and her people.

QUEEN Esther also, being in fear of death, resorted unto the Lord:

2 And laid away her glorious apparel, and put on the garments of anguish and mourning: and instead of precious ointments, she covered her head with ashes and dung, and she humbled her body greatly, and all

CHAPTER XIV.

1. *being in fear of death*] ἐν ἀγῶνι θανάτου κατειλημμένη; lit. taken with the fight of death. The E. V. followed the reading ἀγωνίᾳ (cp. 2 Macc. iii. 14, 16). See Additional Note.

2. *her glorious apparel*] *i.e.* her royal robes. The dress of the Persian queen is described as splendid; on her head she wore a tiara or crown (cp. *v.* 16; Esther i. 11, ii. 17). "Precious ointments" were freely used by the upper classes among the Persians, and were thought to have been a Persian invention. Men as well as women used them largely (see Rawlinson, 'A. M.' iv. pp. 164, 172, 203; cp. Esther ii. 12). On the violent contrast implied in Esther's conduct here, cp. Lam. iv. 5, "They that were brought up in scarlet embrace dunghills." See also Isai. iii. 24; Mal. ii. 3.

she humbled her body greatly] The Vulgate

the places of her joy she filled with her torn hair.

3 And she prayed unto the Lord God of Israel, saying, O my Lord, thou only art our King: help me, desolate woman, which have no helper but thee:

4 [a]For my danger is in mine hand.

5 From my youth up I have heard in the tribe of my family, that thou, O Lord, tookest Israel from among all people, and our fathers from all their predecessors, for a perpetual inheritance, and thou hast performed whatsoever thou didst promise them.

6 And now we have sinned before thee: therefore hast thou given us into the hands of our enemies,

7 Because we worshipped their gods: O Lord, thou art righteous.

[a] 1 Sam. 28. 21. Job 13. 14. Ps. 119. 109.

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adds "with fasting" (so Josephus b. Gorion and Luther. Cp. Esther iv. 16). The words which follow are taken in the same sense by the Vulgate: *omnia loca, in quibus antea lætari consueverat, crinium laceratione complevit*, the curled elaborateness (cp. Grotius in 'Critici Sacri') of which was hateful to her. Gk. B gives another but less probable sense: "every token of her adornment and delight on her braided hair she covered with humiliation."

3. Esther's prayer is elaborated at considerable length and in feeling terms by Josephus b. Gorion (see 'Critici Sacri' *in loco*). The Midrash (Wünsche, p. 64) gives but a brief epitome of the prayer, and in language very dissimilar from that of the 'Additions.' See Additional Note.

Thou only . . . me, desolate woman] The alliteration of the Gk. σὺ μόνος . . . μοὶ τῇ μόνῃ, lost in the E. V., is preserved by the Vulgate, *rex noster solus . . . adjuva me solitariam.* The title "King" is dwelt upon throughout the prayer (cp. *v.* 12), as recalling the omnipotence and sole empire of the heavenly King of kings over the earthly king of kings (cp. xiii. 1, note), the "fleshly king" (*v.* 10). "I sit alone," Josephus b. Gorion makes her say, "in the house of the king, fatherless and motherless; but Thou art the Father of the orphan. As a poor orphan will wander from house to house asking alms, so do I go from window to window (of this house) looking up to heaven and asking (grace). Have mercy upon us!"

4. *my danger is in mine hand*] Gk. B, "my life is in my hand" (cp. 1 Sam. xxviii. 21; Job xiii. 14; Ps. cxix. 109). The E. V. and LXX. would perhaps mean simply "danger is near me or before me." Josephus b. G., adopting the sense "life," makes Esther (like Sara, the daughter of Raguel, Tobit iii. 12, 15) debate the advantage or the contrary of continuing to live: "My life is in my hand. Take it from my hand if it seem good in the eyes of Thy Majesty. But if Thou be not willing to take it, and dost will that I should continue in life to celebrate Thy Name (for in the grave there is no mention of Thy goodness), deliver, I pray Thee, the sheep of Thy pasture from these lions (see *v.* 13) who rise against them to destroy them."

5. *From my youth*] Rather, "from my birth" (ἐκ γενετῆς, St. John ix. 1). As Gk. B gives it, Esther had "heard from the book of her fathers" what God had done for His people; an interesting testimony to the ancient belief in the preservation of the O. T. writings among the "fathers" of Israel when in exile, and to Esther's special study of them. The Vulgate *a patre meo*, and the words of Josephus b. G.—"my father and mother have told me, and Mardochæus, Thy servant my teacher (*educator*), hath taught me"—rather recall the lessons imparted to her by others and equally never forgotten.

thou . . . tookest Israel &c.] Cp. Gen. xii. 1–3; Deut. xxvi. 5; Joshua xxiv. 2. The Gk. B adds at the end of the verse, "and didst provide what they asked for."

7. *we worshipped their gods*] Idolatrous images (see *v.* 8) are probably meant. The explanation (Grotius, Josephus b. G.) that the words refer to the national sins in the past of Israel and Judah (*e.g.* 2 Kings xvii. 10–16, 29–41; xxi. 7, 21; xxiii. 26, 27) is natural and easy; but not so probable as that the author of this prayer blamed a practice which marked renegade Jews of the time of Esther who lived in the Persian dominions (cp. "now" in *v.* 6, and see Additional Note). It is well known that the spirit of the Zendavesta was wholly averse to idolatry, and that in the earlier and purer days of Persian greatness images of the gods were utterly unknown among Persians (Rawlinson, 'A. M.' iv. 333). But with the growth of luxury and from the time of the accession of Xerxes, contact with foreign religious systems of idolatrous character gradually debased the pure and spiritual conceptions of the Zoroastrian. Mithra and Anaitis were honoured with statues, and the cultus of the latter was degraded by lascivious rites. The degenerate Persian and—if the words of the text have any historical reference to this later period—the degenerate Jew debased themselves by a sensualistic Nature-worship (cp. Rawlinson, 'A. M.' iv. 343–6).

8 Nevertheless it satisfieth them not, that we are in bitter captivity: but they have stricken hands with their idols,

9 That they will abolish the thing that thou with thy mouth hast ordained, and destroy thine inheritance, and stop the mouth of them that praise thee, and quench the glory of thy house, and of thine altar,

10 And open the mouths of the heathen to set forth the praises of the [1]idols, and to magnify a fleshly king for ever.

11 O Lord, give not thy sceptre unto them that [2]be nothing, and let them not laugh at our fall; but turn their device upon themselves, and make him an example, that hath begun this against us.

12 Remember, O Lord, make thyself known in time of our affliction, and give me boldness, O King of the [3]nations, and Lord of all power.

[1] Gr. *vain things.*
[2] Gr. *be not.*
[3] Or, *gods.*

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8. *they have stricken hands with their idols*] Lit. "they have laid their hands upon the hands of their idols." "Just as men," says Grotius ('Critici Sacri' *in loco*), "establish fellowship by joining of hands (Jer. l. 15; 1 Macc. xi. 50), so did they indicate their alliance with the gods by touching the hands of the images." The figure of joining hands is a familiar one for contracts or agreements (cp. Ezra x. 19). The Vulg. gives a slightly different sense, "They attribute the strength of their own hands to the power of their idols." "They praise," paraphrases Josephus b. G., "their images and worship them, saying, You have brought the Jews into our power,"—a conception common among Syrians and Assyrians (cp. 1 Kings xx. 23; 2 Kings xviii. 22, 33, 34); but far removed from the pure Persian belief, which, in attributing to Ormazd all victory and conquest, did so as to a spiritual Being, and not as to one represented by an image.

9. The words "destroy . . . altar" indicate intentions indirectly confirmed by the history of the times. While Darius reigned the Jews had profited by their opportunities and restored the Temple at Jerusalem (B.C. 514). In the beginning of the reign of Xerxes (B.C. 485) men "wrote unto him an accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem" (Ezra iv. 6). The result was that during his reign of twenty years the Jews of Jerusalem seem not only to have been forced into inactivity; but their condition, religious and social, became every day worse. There was "great affliction and reproach" (cp. Neh. i. 3, v. 3. Sayce, 'Introduction to Ezra,' &c., p. 59). Reminiscences of this religious distress may be reflected in this passage.

10. *the praises of the idols*] εἰς ἀρετὰς ματαίων. The A. V. translates ἀ. "praises" in 1 Pet. ii. 9. The rendering of the Rev. V. there, "excellences" (cp. the marg. rendering of the A. V. "virtues"), expresses more effectively the force of the original. The LXX. uses μ. for idols as "vanity" in 2 (iv.) Kings xvii. 15; Jer. viii. 19. The apposition ἀρεταὶ ματαίων is, from its paradox, very striking.

a fleshly king] Σαρκικὸς, as distinguished from and inferior to πνευματικὸς, is the type of what is perishable (Job xxxiv. 15; Isai. xl. 6) and opposed to what is divine (Rom. vii. 25; Gal. v. 17); the mark of an earthly king of kings as inferior to the heavenly. The quasi-deification of the Persian king has already been mentioned (xiii. 14, note).

11. *give not Thy sceptre*] The sceptre was the symbol of royal authority (cp. Gen. xlix. 10; Num. xxiv. 17). To give over such authority to idols, "vain" gods, "them that be nothing" (τοῖς μὴ οὖσι; cp. 1 Cor. viii. 4, 10, 19), is deprecated in language reflecting familiarity with local usage. The "golden sceptre" of the Persian king (see engraving in Rawlinson's 'A. M.' iv. 153) was about 5 ft. in length, ornamented with a ball or knob at the head, and tapering to a point. If held out to one coming unsummoned into the presence of the great king, such intrusion was considered condoned; if not, the intruder would be punished with instant death by the attendants (cp. xv. 10; Esther v. 2). Cp. the history in Herod. iii. 76, 118 of the manner in which Darius Hystaspis and his fellow-conspirators entered the palace of the Pseudo-Smerdis.

him . . . that hath begun this] Gk. B supplies "evil." The Vulg. renders, *eum qui in nos cœpit sævire disperde*. The word (παραδειγμάτισον) translated here, "make (him) an example," is in Heb. vi. 6 translated "put (him) to an open shame."

12. Gk. B adds after "affliction," "and break us not in pieces." In the second clause, the prayer, hitherto embracing the national distress, becomes personal. Esther prays for herself, and her prayer (to *v.* 18) is first of all for courage (ἐμὲ θάρσυνον) and confidence (*fiduciam*, Vulg.). The title she uses, "O King of the nations," is in the Vulg. *rex deorum*. The latter title affirms the superiority of Israel's God over the gods of the

13 Give me eloquent speech in my mouth before the lion: turn his heart to hate him that fighteth against us, that there may be an end of him, and of all that are likeminded to him:

14 But deliver us with thine hand, and help me that am desolate, and which have no other help but thee.

15 Thou knowest all things, O Lord; thou knowest that I hate the glory of the unrighteous, and abhor the bed of the uncircumcised, and of [1]all the heathen.

[1] Gr. *every stranger.*

16 Thou knowest my necessity: for I abhor the sign of my [1]high estate, which is upon mine head in the days wherein I shew myself, and that I abhor it as a menstruous rag, and that I wear it not when I am [1]private by myself,

[1] Gr. *pride.*

[1] Gr. *quiet*, or, *private.*

17 And that thine handmaid hath not eaten at Aman's table, and that I have not greatly esteemed the king's feast, nor drunk the wine of the drink offerings.

18 Neither had thine handmaid

Persians; the former expresses His dominion over that and every nation however victorious.

13. *eloquent speech*] λόγον εὔρυθμον, a word applied to musical time and cadence, and descriptive here of the effects Esther's *sermo compositus* (Vulg.) might produce; "make my words pleasing" (adds Gk. B). The "lion" in this verse stands evidently for the king. In Scrip. the "roaring of the lion," the king of beasts, is used to illustrate "the fear" or "the wrath" of a king of men (cp. Prov. xix. 12, xx. 2; and see also Ps. xxii. 21; Ecclus. xxviii. 23; and cp. 1 Pet. v. 8, 2 Tim. iv. 17). Thus Esther regards Xerxes as one whose heart required "turning" from hostility to favour. In the monuments the victory of the king over the lion or some grotesque monster (cp. Rawlinson, 'A. M.' iv. 313) represents the victory of the good principle over the evil. Here Esther prays that the king may change his friendship for Haman into hatred, as one "fighting against" God's people.

14. *me that am desolate*] μοὶ τῇ μόνῃ: cp. *v.* 3, note.

15. How hateful "mixed marriages" or marriages with "strangers" were to the more devout-minded Jews of the times in question may be seen from Ezra x. 2; Neh. xiii. 23–27. Esther pleads the "necessity" (*v.* 16) which had forced her (Esther ii. 8–17) into a hateful alliance. Hence the Rabbis asserted that the king was never permitted to embrace Esther herself, but only her spirit (cp. Cassel, p. 71). What she can do in private (*in diebus silentii mei*) she does as a contrast to what she is forced to do in public. The king is to her "unrighteous" (ἄνομος), *i.e.* not guided by the law of Moses, "uncircumcised," and a "heathen" (lit. a "stranger," ἀλλότριος), not a member of God's chosen people. According to the Targum Sheni, Esther objected to go to the king "unbidden," on the ground that Mordecai had himself taught her that every Israelitish woman who had connexion with a heathen had no portion among the tribes of Israel. When she at length consented to go, she did so urging, "Hitherto have I gone to the king against my will. Now I will go; and if I die, I shall have a share in the world to come" (cp. Cassel, pp. 277–9).

16. *the sign of my high estate*] The royal crown (see Esther i. 11, ii. 37). "I wear it not," she says in Gk. B, "save on the day when I appear in public."

17. Herodotus states (v. 18) that the Persians had the custom, when they gave feasts, of placing at their side their wives and concubines. Here to eat at Haman's table —*i.e.* to eat at the table of any courtier, however high his position—is represented as a degradation, from which she, Esther, had been spared. The Gk. B, "Thy servant did not eat at their tables along with them," sinks the reference to Haman, and perhaps imagined such an occasion as that (Esther i. 10) which led to the downfall of Vashti. Esther, if compelled to be present, had at least refused to partake of the food offered (cp. Dan. i. 13, 15).

I have not greatly esteemed the king's feast] Cp. Esther ii. 18. In the time of Xerxes the habits of temperance and sobriety which had marked the ancient Persian régime were abandoned. The one meal a day was made to last from morning till night, and a feast would extend over "seven days" (cp. Esther i. 5). The sole drink—water—was replaced by wine, each man priding himself on the quantity he could drink, with the natural result that most feasts terminated in drunkenness. (Rawlinson, 'A. M.,' iv. 194, 195). One terrible story is given in Herodotus (ix. 110, 111) of the use made of the king's (Xerxes') birthday-feast by the revengeful Amestris. Cp. also the history of Herodias (St. Matt. xiv. 6–10).

the wine of the drink-offerings] A biblical

any joy since the day [1]that I was brought hither to this present, but in thee, O Lord God of Abraham.

19 O thou mighty God above all, hear the voice of the forlorn, and deliver us out of the hands of the mischievous, and deliver me out of my fear.

[1] Gr. *of my change.*

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expression (cp. Deut. xxxii. 38) for wine poured out and drunk in honour of heathen gods. If any allusion be intended to Persian religious rites, the words may refer to the Haoma-drink, the intoxicating beverage "which was drunk by the faithful for the benefit of themselves and the gods" (Sayce, 'The Ancient Empires of the East,' p. 269; cp. Spiegel, 'Avesta,' ii. p. lxxii., &c.). The principle actuating Esther was the same as that at work in the case of Daniel (i. 8) and among the early Christians (1 Cor. viii.).

18. *since the day that I was brought hither*] *ἀφ' ἡμέρας μεταβολῆς μου, i.e.* from the day of a promotion or exaltation (Esther ii. 16) hateful to her.

19. *the voice of the forlorn*] *ἀπηλπισμένων*, "the despondent" (cp. Judith ix. 11). This portion of the prayer is amplified by Josephus b. G. as follows: "Now therefore, our God, the Father of orphans, stand at the right hand of Thy orphan who placeth her trust in Thee. Grant to her that she may obtain mercy in the eyes of this man, even king Ahasuerus. I fear him as the kid fears the lion. Humble him and depress him, together with those who are of his counsels, that being humbled he may be more lenient and more easily disposed toward my supplication; and that also on account of the grace and beauty which Thou, my God, art about to give me (cp. xv. 5; Josephus, 'Ant. Jud.' xi. ch. vi. § 8), at the time when I shall approach him to beseech him on behalf of my people. Incline his heart to hate Thine enemies and love Thy servants, the Israelites, who are Thy holy nation and Thy pure inheritance. For the heart of the king is in the hand of the Lord: the heart, I say, of kings is in Thy hand, O God, powerful, terrible, and glorious. Deliver us, I beseech Thee, from that fear and trembling with which I am afraid and tremble (cp. xv. 5), that I may come to him relying upon Thy goodness, and depart from him in peace."

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 1, 3, 7.

1. The Targum Sheni on Esther iv. 10 &c. (cp. Cassel, p. 277) represents as very strong the unwillingness of Esther to go to the king unbidden. Mordecai stirred in her "the fear of death" by the following arguments:—

"Perhaps thou thinkest that thou wast raised up (of God) only to be queen, or that thou needest not to pray for the Israelites. Should the foot of but one Israelite stumble, do not suppose that thou shalt escape punishment, for it was thy forefather Saul who hath brought this evil upon Israel. Had he obeyed what the prophet Samuel told him, the tyrant Haman, of the descendants of Amalek, had never fallen upon us. Had Saul slain Agag, then the son of Hammedatha had not trodden us down and sold us for 10,000 talents to king Ahasuerus; and God would not have delivered the Israelites into the hands of two tyrants.

"In former days Amalek, the ancestor of Haman, fought with Joshua, son of Nun, at Rephidim, and through the prayer of Moses Amalek was swept from the earth. Do thou arise and pray to our heavenly Father for Israel. He Who was just in those early days will also be just in these later ones. Is Haman the tyrant stronger than He? Is his command of more account? Is he stronger than his ancestor Amalek, whom God destroyed? Is he stronger than those thirty-one kings whom Joshua, at God's command, attacked and slew? Is he stronger than Sisera, who came against Israel with 900 chariots of iron . . . whom God gave into the hands of a woman who slew him? Is he stronger than Goliath, who defied the hosts of Israel, but fell to David and was killed by him? . . . Therefore do not cease from prayer or from supplication to the Creator. Often were the Israelites saved from destruction through the prayers of their ancestors; and He, Who at all times works miracles for them, will deliver to us also our enemies, that we may work our will upon them.

"Do not imagine that thou alone amongst all the Jews wilt escape. Shouldest thou neglect thy duty at this time, the Holy One, the deliverer of Israel, will bring them deliverance from elsewhere and by other means, but thou and thy father's house shall fall to the ground. Who can tell but that thou art called to royal dignity for this very end—to blot out the sins of the house of thy tribe?" According to the Targum on Esther iv. 12, the Angels Michael and Gabriel conveyed this message to Esther.

3. The Chaldee Version of Esther's prayer (as given by De Rossi; cp. Beelen, p. 67) may be thus translated:—

"And she fell upon her face and prayed, saying, 'I pray Thee, Lord God of Israel, King of kings and Creator of all things, Whose possessions are the heaven and earth, Who ruleth over the heights of heaven and the depths of earth, the sea and the depths and all the creatures (monsters) thereof: help (Thy) servant who sitteth alone, and hath no helper but Thee. In my solitude (desolateness) I sit here, and in the house of this king, without father or mother. Alone am I. Just as a poor orphan asketh food for mercy's sake from house to house, so do I ask Thy mercy and goodness from window to window of this house of king Ahasuerus, from the day when I was brought here till the present. O God, my life is as it were in my hands, that I should be put to death. Take my life from me if it seem well to Thee. But if it please Thee not, deliver the sheep of Thy pasture from the mouths of these lions, who open their mouths to devour them. I have heard from my fathers, and I myself have understood, how Thou didst lead our fathers from the midst of the peoples, and didst bring them out of Egypt, and didst slay all the first-born of Egypt on account of them. Thou didst lead Thy people from among them, and didst shew Thy mighty hand and uplifted arm to the Egyptians on account of Thy people. Thou didst make them to go through the wilderness, as a horse passeth through the desert, and cattle in the valley. Thou didst give them bread from heaven (to satisfy) their hunger; and when they were thirsty, Thou didst bring water out of the hardest rock. (Thou didst give them) flesh-meat and fowls of the air to satisfy them, and water out of the great rock at their desire. Thou didst feed them forty years in the desert, (in) a land without inhabitant; and Thou didst wipe out before them kings great and mighty. Thou didst cause them to possess the land, and in great goodness didst give them a notable land, a good possession. And when our fathers sinned against Thy great name, Thou didst deliver them into the hand of those who led them away captive; and lo! they are in exile this day.

"'I have also understood that Thou didst speak by Moses, Thy servant (cp. Levit. xxvi. 44), "When they be in the land of their enemies" (*i.e.* in the kingdom of Babylon), "I will not cast them away; neither will I abhor them" (*i.e.* when in the kingdom of the Medes and Persians); "to destroy them utterly" (*i.e.* when in the kingdom of Greece); "and to break My covenant with them in the kingdom of Edom; for I am the Lord their God" (even) in the days of Gog and Magog. But now our exile is not enough (punishment) for us, for they make us work severely; and they say that Thou didst not deliver them (*i.e.* other peoples) into their hands; but they praise their graven images and worship them and laud them, saying, "Ye are they who did deliver the people of the Jews into our hands." Therefore the soul of Thine handmaid is constrained to hold aloof from this people and to hate them: as the rag of a menstruous woman is put away, even so do I hate them. Also I hate and put far from me all the garments of my glory and all the ornaments of my beauty, and the crown of a queen which is on my head. I have had no gladness from the day they brought me here until now save in Thy word only, my King and my God. Do Thou therefore, O God, the Father of orphans, stand this day at the right hand of Thy orphan servant, whose hope is in Thy word, in Thy goodness, and in Thy mercy. Give me grace before Ahasuerus the king, for Thy servant feareth him as the kid is afraid before the lion. O God, I pray thee, soften (or humble) him and all his councillors that he may be gentle and kind to Thy handmaid on account of the favour and grace and splendour and beauty which Thou, my God, shalt give to Thy handmaid. And put it into his heart to hate their (*i.e.* Thy people's) enemies, and to have mercy upon Thy servants; for the heart of kings is in Thy hand, O God, glorious and terrible and strong. Deliver me now from the fear of him of whom I am afraid and whom I dread, and I will go into his presence in the name of Thy word. Set Thy fear upon him and bless; let the fear of Thee be in his heart, that I may depart from his presence in peace.'" The version of the prayer given by the shorter Targum (on Esther v. 1) is singularly offensive.

7. The Midrash at some length (cp. Wünsche, p. 57) and the Targums on Esther iv. 1 (cp. Cassel, p. 257) more briefly advance as a reason for the proposed destruction of the Jews that God was wroth with them for having partaken of the feast of Ahasuerus (cp. Esther i. 1–8). According to the Targum, the Jewish "princes and servants, nobles and princes of the provinces" (cp. Esther i. 3), "refused to remain when they saw exposed the vessels taken from the Temple of Jerusalem; and the people" (an expression taken to mean the Jews, Esther i. 5) "changed countenance when they saw those vessels;" but the presence of any Jew at all was, according to the Midrash, in distinct disobedience to the counsel of Mordecai. "The wicked Haman," says the Midrash, "came with subtlety against Israel to Ahasuerus and said, 'The God of the Jews hates debauchery. Give a feast, bring together loose women, and command the Jews to come, eat, and drink according to every man's pleasure.' When Mordecai

heard of this, he charged the Israelites, 'Go not to eat at the feast of Ahasuerus. He hath invited you only to have matter of accusation against you before God.' But Mordecai's warning was not regarded. The Jews went, in number 18,500. They ate, drank, became intoxicated, and gave themselves up to lust. Then went Satan into the presence of God with this accusation, 'Lord of the world! how long wilt Thou be favourable to this nation? Behold, how they turn from Thee in heart and belief. If it seem well to Thee, destroy them out of the world, for they shew no penitence.' 'What then,' answered God, 'will become of the Law?' 'Lord of the world!' continued Satan, 'be content with the spiritual beings;' and God declared Himself content with the proposal. 'What shall I do,' said He, 'to a nation for whom I have wrought so many signs and wonders against their enemies? I will make the remembrance of them to cease from among men (Deut. xxxii. 26). Bring me a roll,' He said to Satan, 'that I may write upon it the decree of their destruction.' Then the Thorah (the Law) appeared before God in widow's garments, and wept before Him, so that the ministering Angels were also moved to tears. 'Lord of the world!' she cried, 'if the Israelites are to exist no more, what use shall we (the Commandments) be in the world?' (quoting Isai. xxxiii. 7.) The Sun and the Moon also heard the lamentation, and they drew in their light and covered themselves in sadness (cp. Isai. l. 3). Then ran Elijah, of blessed memory, in haste to the Patriarchs:—'How long are you, fathers of the world, sunk in deep sleep, and take no thought of the danger in which your children find themselves! The ministering spirits (of God), the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, Heaven and Earth are weeping bitterly, and do ye stand afar off and remain unconcerned?' 'What is the matter?' asked the fathers. Elijah answered, 'Because the Israelites partook of the feast of Ahasuerus, this fate is impending over them: they are to be extirpated out of the world, and the remembrance of them blotted out.' 'What can we do for them?' answered the fathers. 'Were we not punished for disobedience to the Law of God?' Then went Elijah to Moses. 'O thou true shepherd!' he said, 'how often didst thou help the Israelites in times of trouble, and didst turn aside their destruction! (cp. Ps. cvi. 23.) What sayest thou in this distress?' (cp. Isai. xxxvii. 3.) Moses asked, 'Is there a good man among them?' 'Yes,' was the answer, 'and his name is Mordecai.' 'Go then, and tell him that he there (as I here) must persevere in prayer to God that He will have mercy upon (His people).' 'Alas, O true shepherd,' answered Elijah, 'the decree for the destruction of Israel is already issued.' 'If it be sealed with clay,' continued Moses, 'our prayer to God can be heard; but if it be sealed with blood, then its contents will hold good.' 'It is sealed with clay,' replied Elijah. 'Then go,' said Moses, 'and cause Mordecai to know.'"

CHAPTER XV.

6 *Esther cometh into the king's presence.* 7 *He looketh angrily, and she fainteth.* 8 *The king doth take her up, and comfort her.*

AND upon the third day, when she had ended her prayer, she laid away her mourning garments, and put on her glorious apparel.

CHAPTER XV.

The "addition" contained in this chapter is placed by the LXX. at the commencement of ch. v. of the canonical Book of Esther. It is prefaced in the Vulgate by three verses, which are a reflexion of Esther iv. 13, 14: "Et mandavit ei (haud dubium quin esset Mardochæus) ut ingrederetur ad regem, et rogaret pro populo suo et pro patria sua. Memorare, inquit, dierum humilitatis tuæ, quomodo nutrita sis in manu mea, quia Aman, secundus a rege, locutus est contra nos in mortem; et tu invoca Dominum, et loquere regi pro nobis, et libera nos in morte."

The "addition" is evidently an amplification of the brief statements of Esther v. 1, 2. The introduction of such dramatic features as the wrath of the king changed into unbounded affection when he witnessed the fainting of Esther (*v.* 8) is also to be found in the narrative given by Josephus ('Antiq. Jud.' xi. ch. vi. § 9), the Midrash (Wünsche, p. 65), and Josephus b. G. ('Crit. Sacr.' *in loco*).

1. *upon the third day*] See Esther iv. 16, v. 1. "Never," says the Midrash (Wünsche, p. 67), "did the Israelites find themselves in trouble longer than three days;" and the saying is illustrated by reference not only to this case, but to that of Abraham (Gen. xxii. 4), of the Patriarchs (Gen. xlii. 17), of Jonah (ii. 1), and of Hosea (vi. 2).

her mourning garments] LXX. τὰ ἱμάτια τῆς θεραπείας, which would rather mean "the garments of her service." In Esther ii. 12, θ. is the Gk. rendering for a word translated by A. V. "purifications." The "garments of mourning" mentioned in xiv. 1 are not ἱ. τ. θ., but ἱ. πένθους. Accepting the sense "service" or "worship," the words "garments of

2 And being gloriously adorned, after she had called upon God, who is the beholder and saviour of all things, she took two maids with her:

3 And upon the one she leaned, as carrying herself [1]daintily;

[1] Or, *delicately*.

4 And the other followed, bearing up her train.

5 And she was [1]ruddy through the perfection of her beauty, and her countenance was cheerful and [1]very amiable: but her heart was in anguish for fear.

[1] Or, *rose-coloured*.

[1] Or, *as amiable*, or, *smiling*.

6 Then having passed through all the doors, she stood before the king, who sat upon his royal throne, and was clothed with all his robes of majesty, all glittering with gold and precious stones; and he was very dreadful.

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service" would refer more probably to the service or worship Esther had been rendering to God (Ecclus. xxxv. 16) than to the service (Vet. Lat. *operationis*) or duties which were assigned to her position in the harem of the king. The Vulg. *vestimenta ornatus* is thought by Fritzsche to be a wrong reading for *vestimenta oratus*.

2. *being gloriously adorned*] LXX. γενηθεῖσα ἐπιφανής; cp. xiv. 1. The splendour of the dress of the Persian queen is a well-attested fact; yet is it noteworthy that while the dress of the Persian king and men can be faithfully reproduced from existing monuments (cp. Esther viii. 15), no representation of a Persian female has yet been found on the sculptures (Rawlinson, 'A. M.,' iv. 173, 176). On the dress worn by Hebrew women see Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' *s. v.* Dress; and Riehm's 'H. W. B. d. B. A.' *s. v.* Kleider.

two maids] In Esther ii. 9, seven are mentioned as assigned to her; according to the Targum, one for each day of the week. The Targum also gives their names. These maidens, say the Rabbis, were remarkable for their beauty (explaining thus הראיות in Esther ii. 9), and to them Esther gave whatever portion was assigned to her, in order to shew that she had no desire for anything in the king's palace. Cp. Cassel, pp. 59, 264. The "house of the women" or Gynæceum was, at Susa, a building separated from the king's house by a court (Esther v. 1), and contained at least three ranges of apartments. The Queen Consort appears to have had paramount power over all the inmates, whether male (eunuchs) or female, of her own suite (Rawlinson, 'A. M.,' iv. 174). The word ἅβρα (maid) is of doubtful origin (? חברה). The meaning "a favourite slave" is derived from ἁβρός, "graceful," "delicate." It was a frequent epithet among Asiatics. The *famula* of the Vulg., and the θεράπαινα of Josephus, sufficiently indicate its sense here.

3. *as carrying herself daintily*] Or, according to Gk. B, "as one delicately nurtured:" cp. the Vulg. *quasi præ deliciis et nimia teneritudine corpus suum ferre non sustinens*. The Midrash and Josephus b. G. see in the attitude of Esther, not weakness but queenliness. To lean upon one attendant, and to have the "gold-bedecked" train lifted from the ground by another, were marks of royal dignity assumed by the Persian queens when walking.

5. *but her heart was in anguish for fear*] Lit., "straitened" (ἀπεστενωμένη) from fear. The intensity of the contrast is like that attributed to Aeneas:

> "curisque ingentibus æger
> Spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem."
> VIRG. *Aen.* i. 209.

The Vulg. expresses differently the same fact: *gratis ac nitentibus oculis, tristem celabat animum, et nimio timore contractum.*

6. The sculpture from Persepolis (given in Rawlinson, 'A. M.,' iv. 153) illustrates this verse. The king sits upon his throne bearing upon his head the *kidaris*, or the peculiar stiff cap, the base of which was encircled by a blue and white fillet or diadem. The royal robe, made long and flowing but confined round the waist with a girdle, with wide sleeves and close fit about the neck, was of purple colour, sometimes embroidered with gold and (probably) of rich silk material. Its costliness is indicated by the remark of Plutarch, that the entire dress of a Persian king was worth 2,925,000*l*. On his person he bore many golden ornaments. In his ears were golden ear-rings often inlaid with jewels, round his neck hung loose a golden collar of twisted work or chain, and golden bracelets with jewelled centres were upon his wrists. Attached to the golden girdle was a short straight sword, the plainness of which was a foil to the magnificence of the sheath, frequently formed of a single jasper, agate, or lapis-lazuli stone. The throne itself was little more than a high-backed, elevated seat, cushioned, but without arms; it was made apparently of wood, overlaid with plates of gold or silver so as to present an appearance of solid metal. It was supported on legs terminating in lions' feet, while the legs of the necessary footstool terminated in the

7 Then lifting up his countenance that shone with majesty, he looked very fiercely upon her: and the queen fell down, and was pale, and fainted, and bowed herself upon the head of the maid that went [1]before her.

[1] Or, *with her, or, by her.*

8 Then God changed the spirit of the king into mildness, who [1]in a fear leaped from his throne, and took her in his arms, till she came to herself again, and comforted her with loving words, and said unto her,

[1] Gr. *in an agony.*

9 Esther, what is the matter? I am thy brother, be of good cheer:

10 Thou shalt not die, though our commandment be [1]general: come near.

[1] Or, *as well thine as mine.*

11 And so he held up his golden sceptre, and laid it upon her neck,

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feet of bulls. "Thus the lion and the bull, so frequent in the symbolism of the East, were here again brought together, and represented as supports of the throne" (Rawlinson, p. 158. See Additional Note). The king—thus arrayed, holding in his hand "the golden sceptre" (xiv. 11, note), and seated on his throne under the embroidered canopy, supported by four pillars of gold inlaid with precious stones—"was very dreadful" (*terribilis aspectu*, Vulg.): all the more dreadful, says Josephus ('Ant. Jud.,' xi. ch. vi. § 9), from these visible accessories of majesty. Herodotus (vii. 187) describes thus the personal appearance of Xerxes: "Of the many myriads of men (who went on the expedition to Greece), not one of them was, for beauty and stature, more entitled to possess power." Yet was he a great coward (cp. Herod. viii. 103).

7. It was part of the court ceremonial that no one could enter the royal presence unless permitted to do so and introduced by the court chamberlain (cp. xiv. 11, note): and prostration—in token of worship of the deified man—was required from all (cp. xiii. 12, note). The Midrash and Josephus b. G. attribute the fierce looks of the king to Esther's neglect of the former point of etiquette. "There was a decree which ordained that if any approached the king, not having been summoned, they should die. Now Esther had entered the royal presence without having been called" (Josephus b. G.). She had come to him in "the perfection of her beauty" (*v.* 5, ἀκμῇ κάλλους); he "looked upon her" in the perfection of his anger (ἀκμῇ θυμοῦ); or as Gk. B expresses it, "like a bull in the height of his rage," a simile not without its interest when it is remembered how often in Persian palaces colossal human-headed bulls flanked the portals of the propylæa or gateways leading to the great buildings and throne-rooms (see woodcut in Rawlinson, 'A. M.,' iv. 267). "With flaming eyes," says the Vulg., "he shewed the fury raging within his breast;" or as Josephus b. G. puts it, "his eyes flared as with the flame of torches, on account of the greatness of the anger which increased more and more in his heart."

fell down] Cp. Esther viii. 3. The expression is too strong for Gk. B, which reads, "was terrified." The Vulg. and Josephus b. G. both alter the last words of this verse into "she rested her weary head upon her handmaid."

8. The Midrash (Wünsche, p. 65) opens this verse thus: "Our God saw the danger, and He had compassion upon His people. He turned away the sorrow of the orphan who had trusted in Him, so that she found favour before the king, and He increased her beauty and excellence." The same thought is amplified by Josephus b. G. The king, *festinus et metuens* (Vulg.), leaped up from his seat and then down from his throne (ἀνεπήδησεν ἀπὸ). The seat of the Persian throne was very high from the ground, and the king's feet rested on the stool (*v.* 6, note). Hence the Greek expresses literally the two rapid movements which the Persian king would have to make to reach Esther.

9. *thy brother*] A term of endearment (cp. Song of Solomon viii. 1), and implying protection.

10. *though our commandment be general*] Viz. the commandment which forbad approach to the king unsummoned (*v.* 7, note). It was general in that it applied to all subjects; but Esther (cp. xvi. 13) as queen (Josephus), as wife and friend (Midrash), was unaffected by it: *Non enim pro te sed pro omnibus hæc lex constituta est. Accede igitur, et tange sceptrum* (Vulg.). The Gk. B gives a different and less natural sense: "our business is mutual, and the threatening was not for thee. Behold the sceptre is in thy hand."

11. The Vulg. reads: "And as she still held her peace, he held up" &c.; and puts the final words of *v.* 12 more tenderly, "Why dost thou not speak to me?"

13. According to Josephus ('Ant. Jud.,' xi. ch. vi. § 9) Esther answered, "My lord, I cannot easily tell thee the cause why this (faintness) so suddenly happened to me; but when I saw thee, so great and glorious and terrible, my heart" &c.

12 And embraced her, and said, Speak unto me.

13 Then said she unto him, I saw thee, my lord, as an angel of God, and my heart was troubled for fear of thy majesty.

14 For wonderful art thou, lord, and thy countenance is full of grace.

15 And as she was speaking, [1]she fell down for faintness.

16 Then the king was troubled, and all his servants comforted her.

[1] Or, *she fell in a swoon.*

I saw thee . . . as an angel of God] The Midrash and Josephus (both the historian and J. b. G.) omit this title. Probably they considered it unseemly as addressed to a heathen king. Achish, the woman of Tekoah, and Mephibosheth gave to David the same title when they laid stress upon his excellence and wisdom (1 Sam. xxix. 9; 2 Sam. xiv. 17, 20, xix. 27). Here, as was natural, it was the "majesty" of Xerxes which elicited the expression from one familiar with the semi-deification which fenced in a Persian king. The Gk. B has a curious variation: "My heart was melted by the glory of thy rage, my lord. And her face was covered with sweat" (see Fritzsche's note *in loco*).

15. *for faintness*] *Pæne exanimata est* (Vulg.). "Again," says Josephus b. G., "as she spake with the king, she bowed her head upon her handmaid through weakness (from want of food) and sorrow. And the king, greatly distressed, wept before Queen Esther. Therefore did all the servants of the king pray the queen to speak to her lord the king, and set at rest the mind of him whom they saw to be so anxious. Then Queen Esther said to the king, If it please the king, I will make for him a banquet to-morrow, and there will I tell him for what cause I came into his presence unsummoned." Cp. the account in Esther v. 3, 4.

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO VERSE 6.

6. *the royal throne*] Very wonderful things are told in the Targums on Esther i. 2, in the Targum Sheni especially (cp. Cassel, p. 244 &c.), about this throne, its fashion, and its vicissitudes. "It was the throne of Solomon, which Hiram, the son of a widow of Tyre, had constructed. It was overlaid with the gold of Ophir and set with marbles and precious stones. No kingdom and no king possessed one like it (cp. 1 Kings x. 18–20). The pedestal would seem to have been hexagonal, each surface adorned with alternate figures of 12 lions and 12 eagles. Six steps led up to the throne: on the first step squatted a golden bull and a golden lion; on the second, a golden bear and a golden lamb; on the third, a golden eagle [according to Reiss (Grätz's 'Monatschrift,' 1881, p. 474), a tigress. He reads נמרא here, and an eagle, נשרא, in the next line] and a golden owl; on the fourth step, a golden eagle and a golden peacock; on the fifth, a golden cat and a golden cock; on the sixth, a golden hawk and a golden dove . . . When the king (Solomon) wished to pass to any place, the throne moved on wheels. When the king put his foot on the first step, the golden bull raised him to the second; from the second he passed to the third, and so on till he reached the sixth, when the eagles received him and seated him on the throne. . . . Once seated there, there came a great eagle, took the royal crown and set it upon his head; then by a mechanical arrangement a great serpent, lions, and eagles arose and protected the head of the king: a golden dove alighted from a pillar, opened the ark, took out the Book of the Law, and gave it to the king in accordance with the words of Moses (Deut. xvii. 18, 19). When the High Priest came to greet the king, and the ancients collected and sat on the right and left of the throne to administer justice, and there came witnesses who purposed to give false witness, then the wheels moved, the oxen bellowed, the lions roared, the bears growled, the lambs bleated, the owls whooped, the cats mewed, the peacocks cried, and the cocks crowed; and the hearts of the false witnesses were so struck with terror that they said to themselves, 'We must speak truth; otherwise the world will come to an end.'

"Now when the Israelites sinned, Nebuchadnezzar the tyrant king of Babylon came against them, and plundered the city &c. He wished to sit upon this throne, but he did not know its mechanism; consequently when he put his foot upon the first step the lion clawed him with its right claw and gave him a wound on his left foot, which he carried with him to the day of his death. After Nebuchadnezzar came Alexander, the Macedonian, and brought king Solomon's throne to Egypt. Sisak (So), king of Egypt, saw this glorious throne and wished to sit upon it. He (like Nebuchadnezzar) did not know the mechanical device by which to ascend the throne, and he too received a claw on his left foot from the right paw of the lion, which gave him the name of the limping Pharaoh till he died. Later on Antiochus Epiphanes came to Egypt, laid waste the land, and

carried away the throne on a ship. One of the feet of the throne with its golden chain was broken, and to this day no goldsmith has ever been able to restore it to its place. When the kingdom of this king came to an end, Cyrus the Persian followed him in the kingdom; and to him, because he had forwarded the rebuilding of the Temple, was accorded the great honour, which no other king ever had, of sitting on the throne of king Solomon." Cp. further A. Jellinek, 'Bet ha-Midrash,' ii. 83–6, v. 34–9.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 *The letter of Artaxerxes,* 10 *wherein he taxeth Aman,* 17 *and revoketh the decree procured by Aman to destroy the Jews,* 22 *and commandeth the day of their deliverance to be kept holy.*

Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 6.

THE great king Artaxerxes unto the princes and governors of an hundred and seven and twenty provinces from India unto Ethiopia, and unto all [1]our faithful subjects, greeting.

[1] Or, *well affected to our state.*

2 Many, the more often they are honoured with the great bounty of [1]their gracious princes, the more proud they are waxen,

[1] Gr. *their benefactors.*

3 And endeavour to hurt not our subjects only, but not being able to bear abundance, do take in hand to practise also against those that do them good:

4 And take not only thankfulness away from among men, but also lifted up with the glorious words of [1]lewd persons, [1]that were never good, they think to escape the justice of God, that seeth all things, and hateth evil.

[1] Or, *needy.*

[1] Or, *that never tasted prosperity.*

CHAPTER XVI.

This "addition" is placed in the LXX. after Esther viii. 13. In its diffuse and florid style as well as in its moral disquisitions, this decree differs greatly from other Persian decrees or letters recorded in Scripture (Ezra i. 2–4, iv. 17–22, vi. 3–5, vii. 11–26) and elsewhere (cp. ch. xiii. See also Sayce's 'Introduction to Esther,' &c. p. 31). The Gk. text B introduces it here with the words, "And he wrote the subjoined edict."

1. Cp. xiii. 1, note. The words "and unto all our faithful subjects, greeting," are a free rendering of the LXX. τοῖς τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσι. This may also apply to the princes, as in the Vulgate, *qui nostræ jussioni obediunt*, or in Gk. B, "who mind our affairs." The introduction, however, by the E. V. and Targum of the "third estate of the realm" is in accordance with the royal intention expressed in Esther viii. 9; and the characteristic of their "faithfulness" noted is that they are ready to take the king's part (cp. 1 Macc. x. 20), or to be of the same mind as he was. To limit the title "faithful subjects" to Jews is inaccurate. See Additional Note.

2. *their gracious princes*] Lit. "benefactors" = "those that do them good" (εὐεργέταις, *v.* 3; cp. xii. 4, note; St. Luke xxii. 25). The title Euergetes was given to Ptolemy III. (B.C. 247) by the Egyptians, in grateful recognition of his restoration of the statues of the national deities which Cambyses had carried away to Persia (see Daniel xi. 9, note). It is also the title given to Syloson the Greek and to Histiæus the Milesian as "benefactors" to Darius Hystaspis (Herod. iii. 140, vi. 30), and to Phylakos, son of Histiæus, as a "benefactor" to Xerxes (Herod. viii. 85, 90). The special treachery against "benefactors," alluded to in *vv.* 2, 3, is further defined in *v.* 12.

3. *not being able to bear abundance*] κόρος, lit. *satietas*, "satiety," "surfeit," the consequence of which is insolence (ὕβρις), with which it is often joined. Cp. the proverb τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν. The sense intended is given by the Vulg. *datam sibi gloriam non ferentes*. The benefits conferred upon such as Haman do but increase their pride, and (as *v.* 4 points out) even worse—their ingratitude.

4. The Vulg. paraphrases, *Nec contenti sunt gratias non agere beneficiis, et humanitatis in se jura violare, sed* &c. The "glorious words of lewd persons" are their vain-glorious or boastful words (κόμποις). There is nothing in the Greek texts or Josephus corresponding to "lewd persons"; the word used is ἀπειράγαθοι, *i.e.* persons without experience of good, or (*al.*) who have never received a favour, or (as E. V.) "that were never good." The Gk. B, "unused to suffering" (ἀπειρόπαθοι), reflects the truth that where suffering is there vainglory is not.

the justice of God, that...hateth evil] According to the Gk. "the evil-hating justice of God" &c. Without pressing too strongly the opinion that there is in this and similar verses not only a statement of the feeling of the God of the Hebrews against wickedness, but also a reflexion of the Persian belief of the essential antagonism between good and evil, it may be admitted that the tone of thought, the conspiracy against the king (*v.* 3)—the living

5 Oftentimes also fair speech [1]of those, that are put in trust to manage their friends' affairs, hath caused many that are in authority to be partakers of innocent blood, and hath enwrapped them in remediless calamities:

6 Beguiling with the falsehood and deceit of their lewd disposition the innocency and goodness of princes.

7 Now ye may see this, as we have declared, not so much by ancient histories, as ye may, if ye search what hath been wickedly done of late through the pestilent behaviour of them that are unworthily placed in authority.

8 And we must take care for the time to come, that our kingdom may be quiet and peaceable for all men,

9 Both by changing our purposes, and always judging things that are evident with more equal proceeding.

[1] Or, *of our friends, put in trust to manage the affairs.*

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representative of the Good Principle—and the epithet used by Esther to describe his antagonist as "Haman the Evil, an adversary and an enemy" (Esther vii. 6), are imbued with local colouring and appropriately express Persian opinion (see Cassel, p. 211).

This and the previous verse specify the king and his subjects as the objects of Haman's hostility. Between this and the next verse the Vulg. interposes words which specify individuals amongst the subjects, viz. such as Mordecai and the Jewish people (cp. *v.* 13). "They have broken out into so great madness, that they endeavour to undermine by lies (Vulg. *mendaciorum cuniculis conentur subvertere*) those who diligently perform the duties entrusted to them, and so administer all things as to be worthy of universal praise."

5. Where "falsehood" or the lying principle has thus for a time succeeded, rulers themselves are often and, in consequence of the deception practised upon them, the unintentional ministers of injustice. The Gk. text is difficult (see the paraphrase of Josephus), while it contains some striking expressions. Argument couched in persuasive language (παραμυθία is something more than "fair speech"), when addressed to too confiding princes by unscrupulous men, who are anxious only to forward the interests of their friends, may produce two effects:—(*a*) it may cause those already in authority to shed innocent blood (cp. for the phrase 1 Sam. xxv. 26; 2 Sam. xvi. 7; Ezek. xxiv. 6; St. Matt. xxvii. 4); a deed which brings vengeance in its train, and enwraps (περιβάλλειν) the doer as in a garment of incurable (ἀνηκέστοις) calamities: (*b*) it may be the means of raising to authority (so Gk. B) those who have committed such deeds of blood.

6. Note the contrasts. On the one hand, "falsehood (παραλογισμὸς; cp. Col. ii. 4) and deceit;" on the other, "innocency (ἀκέραιον; cp. St. Matt. x. 16, Rom. xvi. 16) and goodness" (εὐγνωμοσύνην, the character of the εὐγνώμων, the kind-hearted and considerate man). The former is the product of a bad disposition (κακοήθεια), and, as the Vulg. adds, is a characteristic of those who "estimate others by their own nature."

7. *by ancient histories*] If Persian, such as were alluded to in Esther ii. 23, vi. 1. These "records," if perpetuating the deeds of benefactors (the Persian Orosangæ; cp. Herod. viii. 85, 90), preserved also the acts of rebellion which often evoked them (cp. Esther ii. 23). This was also done in the Inscriptions at Behistán and Naksh-i-Rustám, which illustrate the rebellion and destruction of Gomates the Magian, the pseudo-Bardes (or Smerdis, Herodotus), and the civil wars which by the help of Ormazd he was successful in quelling.

what hath been wickedly done of late] Cp. *vv.* 13, 14; Esther iii. iv. The events are idiomatically described by the LXX. as ὅσα ἐστὶ παρὰ πόδας: cp. Josephus, "before our eyes," and our own idiom, "at our very doors." The Vulg. expands the clause, *ex his quæ geruntur quotidie, quomodo quorumdam suggestionibus regum studia depraventur.*

9. *changing our purposes*] This seems so untrue to the dictum (*e.g.* Dan. vi. 8, 15) that the law of the Medes and Persians once promulgated was irreversible, that two solutions have been proposed: (1) the Vulgate apologises for such seeming inconsistency, *Nec putare debetis, si diversa jubeamus, ex animi nostri venire levitate, sed pro qualitate et necessitate temporum, ut reipublicæ poscit utilitas, ferre sententiam.* (2) Fritzsche would change the Greek χρώμενοι ταῖς μεταβολαῖς into οὐ χ. τ. διαβολαῖς, "not using calumnies," an alteration partly supported by the language reported in Josephus, "not giving heed to calumnies (διαβολαῖς) and accusations." But neither apology nor alteration of the text is needed. The power of a Persian king to "change his purpose" and supersede decrees is historical. Cambyses, a predecessor of Xerxes, wished to marry his sister. This was not customary. Therefore he summoned the royal judges and asked them if there was any law permitting such a marriage. They answered that they could find no law permitting a brother to marry his sister, but

10 For Aman, a Macedonian, the son of Amadatha, being indeed a stranger from the Persian blood, and far distant from our goodness, and as a stranger received of us,

11 Had so far forth obtained the favour that we shew toward every nation, as that he was called our father, and was continually honoured of all men, as the next person unto the king.

12 But he, not bearing his great dignity, went about to deprive us of our kingdom and life:

13 Having by manifold and cunning deceits sought of us the destruction, as well of Mardocheus, who saved our life, and continually procured our good, as also of blameless Esther, partaker of our kingdom, with their whole nation.

14 For by these means he thought,

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that they had found a law which permitted the king of Persia to do whatever he pleased. Cambyses married his sister (Herod. iii. 31. Cp. Dan. vi. 14, note). The Persian king was to his subjects "the sole fountain of law and right, irresponsible, irresistible" (Rawlinson, 'A. M.' iv. 152). Law was swallowed up in loyalty, in submission to the regal caprice or command, *Sic volo, sic jubeo.*

Xerxes was somewhat given to changing his purpose. Cp. the vacillation which marked his conduct before undertaking the expedition against Greece (Herod. iii. 12–19). Here the motive for change is a higher one. It is frankly admitted that the original "purpose" was bad. And further, for the future, a more just line of conduct is promised, viz. "always to discriminate the matters brought under the royal notice with more 'equal' (*i.e.* equitable, merciful, ἐπιεικέστερον, as in xiii. 3) proceeding."

10. In the Vulg. this verse is introduced by the words: *Et, ut manifestius quod dicimus intelligatis* &c.

Aman, a Macedonian] See xii. 6, note. The Vulg. adds to the description "a Macedonian" that he was this *animo et gente*: cp. *v.* 14. The eunuchs, Haman's friends, who conspired against Xerxes, are said by Josephus ben Gorion to have had the intention of taking the head of the Persian king as a present to the king of Greece. All this may be taken as so much explanation of the Hellenizing tendencies of Haman, or as an effort to remove from Persian-born men the stigma of conspiracy against their king. The opinion that the designation "a Macedonian" was, like "an Agagite," only a mode of expressing hostility of intention, is not borne out by the language of this verse; neither is there any support from MS. or otherwise for the conjecture that the original text was "a Median," which a Greek scribe altered into "a Macedonian."

11. *he was called our father*] This is additional to the title "next unto the king" given to him not only in this verse, but in different words in xiii. 3 (cp. Esther iii. 1; 2 Chron. xxviii. 7; 1 Esdras iii. 7). The title was one of respect among Orientals (cp. 2 Kings v. 13).

12. *not bearing his great dignity*] Vulg. *in tantum arrogantiæ tumorem sublatus est*; or, as Josephus describes him, "he neither bore his good fortune, nor used well the great good" (which had come to him). On the other hand, the character of Mordecai is that of a "saviour and continuous benefactor" (εὐεργέτην; see *v.* 2), one *cujus fide et beneficiis vivimus* (Vulg.); and Esther, the "partaker both of our life and kingdom" (Josephus), is "blameless." The Targum Sheni curiously, if unconsciously, calls her blamelessness in question by asserting that one out of three motives which had induced Esther to invite Haman twice to a special banquet (Esther vi. 4, 8) was her desire to inflame the king with jealousy and induce the self-questioning: "Why does Esther invite Haman alone out of all my great men?"

The conspiracy of Haman is represented as cumulative, both in point of wickedness and as regards the position of those it aimed at, viz. (1) the king, (2) Mordecai, (3) Esther, (4) the whole nation (*i.e.* of the Jews). The Israelites, says the Targum Sheni, tried to sell their children to the Persians in order to save them from death. The king's decree forbad any such purchase (see xiii. 6, end of Additional Note).

14. The object of Haman's conspiracy here given finds no support in the canonical Book of Esther. Cp. the Targums on Esther vii. 6. Such an aim may well have been in the minds of conspirators who knew what reverses had befallen the Persians in the wars with Greece; and it is consistent with such knowledge that the narrative here should present Haman as a Macedonian. In the canonical Book, the motive attributed to Haman is that of hatred to the Jew Mordecai personally, growing into a scornful intention of destroying his nation (Esther iii. 5, 6; ix. 24). Cupidity had further some share in determining Haman's actions (Esther iii. 11; vii. 4). But as regards the king individually,

finding us destitute of friends, to have translated the kingdom of the Persians to the Macedonians.

15 But we find that the Jews, whom this wicked wretch hath delivered to utter destruction, are no evildoers, but live by most just laws:

16 And that they be children of the most high and most mighty living God, who hath [1]ordered the kingdom both unto us and to our progenitors in the most excellent manner.

17 Wherefore ye shall do well not to put in execution the letters sent unto you by Aman the son of Amadatha.

18 For he, that was the worker of these things, is hanged at the gates of Susa with all his family: God, who ruleth all things, speedily rendering vengeance to him according to his deserts.

[1] Or, *prospered.*

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there are — if anything — indications that Haman had no sinister intentions against him, even if he used him as a weak tool for his own purposes (Esther iii. 7, vii. 4). Haman had, in fact, nothing to gain, but everything to lose by exchanging his position of chief favourite (Esther iii. 1, 2; v. 11) for that of arch-conspirator.

destitute of friends] LXX. ἐρήμους. The Vulg. expands the thought underlying this word, *illis* (*i.e.* Mordecai and Esther) *interfectis, insidiaretur nostri solitudini.*

15. *this wicked wretch*] Lit. "thrice-wicked" (ὁ τρισαλιτήριος). The epithet is also applied to Nicanor (2 Macc. viii. 34; xv. 3); a man as hateful to the Jews as Haman. The Midrash (Wünsche, p. 4) expresses the relations between Israel and Haman by quoting the text, "he (*i.e.* Israel) leaned his hand on the wall, and a serpent (Haman) bit him" (Amos v. 19).

16. The conception of the character of the Jewish nation and of the Lord God of the Jews given in this verse is Jewish (cp. similar language in Dan. vi. 26; Ezra i. 3, vii. 21, &c.) rather than Persian. The title "children (sons) of the living God" is a title applied by Hosea (i. 10) to the children of the Restoration. Cp. Wisd. ii. 18.

who hath ordered the kingdom &c.] Darius Hystaspis, the father of Xerxes, was wont to attribute—judging from the inscription over his tomb at Naksh-i-Rastám—all that he had done to the favour of Ormazd. Ormazd was the "great god who had created heaven and earth, who made man," and had raised Darius to be "king, sole king of many kings" &c. "He made me king," says the inscription, "and I am king. By the grace of Ormazd, I have restored the earth. . . . All that I have done have I done through the grace of Ormazd." The monotheistic spirit of such language lent itself readily to application here to the "progenitors" of Xerxes, Darius (cf. Ezra vi. 8 &c.), and Cyrus (2 Chron. xxxvi. 23; Ezra i. 2. Cp. also the language of Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iv. 34–7). To the words *cujus (Dei) beneficio et patribus nostris et nobis regnum est traditum*, the Vulg. adds *et usque bodie custodietur.*

Persian popular sayings appraised these progenitors as follows: "Darius was a trader, Cambyses a master, and Cyrus a father. The first, because he made profit of everything; the second, because he was severe and arrogant; the last, because he was mild, and always aimed at advancing the good of his people" (Herod. iii. 89; cp. ix. 122).

17. *sent unto you*] The Vulg. adds "in our name." This qualification and the being signed with the king's seal made the letter irrevocable (Esther iii. 12, iv. 8; Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15): "Wherefore," continues the Vulg., "judge (these letters) to be void" (or of none effect). Josephus places in the king's mouth language more imperial and formal: "I—having found that the Jews . . . live in the most excellent manner, and hold besides to the God Who hath preserved the kingdom to me . . .—not only absolve them from the revengeful punishment (decreed) in the letters sent . . . ., but I wish to give them all honour, and I have crucified him who devised these things against them" &c. See *v.* 9, note.

18. *he is hanged . . . with all his family*] Or impaled (ἐσταυρῶσθαι); see xii. 3, note. As a matter of fact, the family of Haman was not put to death at the same time as Haman himself (Esther viii. 7, ix. 10). The so-called anachronism is, however, of slight importance when weighed against the certainty of what would occur (cp. Dan. vi. 24). Relationship to a rebel was a death-warrant. According to the Midrash on Esther vii. 9 (Wünsche, p. 71), the prophet Elijah assumed the form of "Harbonah, one of the chamberlains," and pointed out to the king the gallows prepared by Haman for Mordecai. Haman's death instead of that of his intended victim is quoted by the same authority as an illustration of Prov. xi. 8, "The righteous (Mordecai) is delivered out of trouble, and the wicked (Haman) cometh in his stead." See Additional Note.

his deserts] LXX. τὴν καταξίαν. Vulg. *quod meruit.* On the thought that not man

19 Therefore ye shall publish the copy of this letter in all places, that the Jews may freely live after their own laws.

20 And ye shall aid them, that even the same day, being the thirteenth day of the twelfth month Adar, they may be avenged on them, who in the time of their affliction shall set upon them.

21 For Almighty God hath turned to joy unto them the day, wherein the chosen people should have perished.

22 Ye shall therefore among your solemn feasts keep it an high day with all feasting:

23 That both now and hereafter there may be safety to us, and the well affected Persians; but to those which do conspire against us a memorial of destruction.

24 Therefore every city and country whatsoever, which shall not do according to these things, shall be destroyed without mercy with fire and sword, and shall be made not only unpassable for men, but also most hateful to wild beasts and fowls for ever.

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but God took vengeance, see Deut. xxxii. 35; Ps. xciv. 1. The Gk. B reads, "there having been paid back to him the quite deserved retribution of the Judge, Who always sees to the bottom of all things."

19. *live after their own laws*] Lit. "permit them to use their own laws." Cp. the similar permission given by Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, to Ezra (vii. 25, 26). Antiochus the Great gave the same permission to the Jews who received him so readily (Joseph. 'Antiq.' xii. 3), and Cæsar Augustus gave a similar liberty to the Jews settled in Asia, Libya, and Cyrene (*ib.* xvi. 6).

20. *even the same day*] Viz. the day fixed by Haman for the destruction of the Jews (Esther iii. 13; viii. 11). The Jews were to avenge themselves on those *qui se ad necem eorum paraverant* (Vulg.).

21. *the chosen people*] LXX. "the elect;" a well-known name for the Jews (*e.g.* 1 Kings iii. 8; 1 Chron. xvi. 13; Ps. cv. 6; Isai. xliii. 20), but not likely to have been used by a Persian king.

22. *an high day*] Lit. a notable (ἐπίσημον) day: "notable" in the sense described in the LXX. of *v.* 23 (see specially Gk. B), "that now and hereafter it may be to the well-affected Persians a memorial of deliverance, but to them who lay plots a memorial of destruction." The Gk. B renders *vv.* 21, 22: "It has been decided by the Jews throughout the kingdom to keep the fourteenth day of the month, that is Adar, and to celebrate by a festival the fifteenth, because in them the Almighty wrought for them deliverance and joy."

23. The Vulg. paraphrases: "Celebrate (the day) with all gladness, that it may be known in times to come that all who faithfully obey the Persians receive for their fidelity a worthy reward; but that they who act treacherously against their kingdom perish on account of their wickedness."

24. *which shall not do according to these things*] Or, as the Vulg. explains: *civitas quæ noluerit solemnitatis hujus esse particeps.* The language of the latter part of this verse reflects that of such passages as Jerem. xxxii. 43, lii. 3; Ezek. xxv. 13, xxxii. 13. Cp. also the language of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. iii. 29) and of Darius (*ib.* vi. 26). The reason for such extermination is appended by the Vulg. *pro exemplo contemptus et inobedientiæ.* To this verse the LXX. (cp. Josephus) adds the following sentence: "And let these copies be set forth before all eyes throughout the whole kingdom, and that the Jews" &c. (continuing as in Esther viii. 13).

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 1 AND 18.

1. The Targum Sheni (on Esther viii. 13; cp. Cassel, p. 293) gives the tenor of this second edict as follows:—

"The king Ahasuerus to all the inhabitants of the islands and continents, to all governors of the provinces, to all princes and warriors of all lands, sendeth greeting. From this writing you shall most distinctly understand that I, although reigning over all the inhabitants of the islands and the continents, am not proud on account of my dominion. Much rather will I continually walk in the way of gentleness and humility, and reign peaceably, so as to secure you a truly happy life. To all who live in my kingdom, and to all who wish to trade with peoples and tongues either in the islands or on the continents, I am the same from one end of the land to the other. I would point out also to you that, notwithstanding the blamelessness and the faithfulness

of that people which loves all peoples alike, honours all kings alike, and deals honestly towards all their superiors, there are some persons who stand near the king, and to whom rule is entrusted, who have deceived the king by their intrigues and information, and have caused to be issued writings which are unjust before God, wicked in the sight of men, and grievous to the king. In accordance with the petition which these persons have presented to the king, a righteous people is to be broken up, and much innocent blood shed. Yet this people has done no evil nor deserved death. Much more are they an upright people, such as Esther, known for all her virtues, and Mordecai, skilled in all knowledge. There is no fault to be noted in them or in their nation.

"I thought indeed that the intention (abovenamed) had reference to another nation, and knew not that their speech was about the Jews, who are the children of the Lord of the world, Who is called the Creator of heaven and earth; Who, under circumstances of greater and mightier pomp than mine, hath ever guided them and their forefathers.

"Haman also, the son of Hamdatha of India, and of the family of Amalek, who was with us, and enjoyed at our hands great goodness, honour, and worth, whom we exalted and called 'father of the king,' and who sat at the king's right hand—understood not how to bear honour and to exercise authority, but purposed to destroy the king and deprive him of his kingdom. Wherefore have we condemned this Haman, son of Hamdatha, to be hanged in expiation of his deeds; and the Creator of heaven and earth hath made him atone for his thoughts."

18. The Rabbinical reflections connected with the hanging of Haman on the gallows he had erected for Mordecai are characteristic and suggestive.

(*a*) Why did Haman choose that form of death for Mordecai in preference to any other? "Haman," says the Midrash (cp. Wünsche, p. 65), "had 365 counsellors, as many as the days of the year; but no one gave him such good counsel as his wife Zeresh (cp. Esther v. 10, 14). He told her how Mordecai behaved to him (cp. Esther v. 9); and she said, 'If this man be a Jew, you can only get at him by some means which has not been practised upon any person of his nation. If you were to cast him into a furnace of fire, out of just such an one were Hananiah and his companions delivered; or into a den of lions, out of that Daniel came forth; or into a dungeon, out of one Joseph escaped. Would you place him over a heated vessel of copper? yet from that death was Manasses saved, in consequence of his prayer to God. Would you banish him into the wilderness? in such did his forefathers increase in great numbers, and survived temptations. Would you blind him? yet in his blindness Samson slew many Philistines. Crucify him! for we find no record of any of his people having to meet that sort of death.' The advice pleased Haman, and he made the gallows." Cp. also the Targums on Esther v. 14; Cassel, pp. 283, 288.

(*b*) But of what kind of wood did he make the gallows? "At the moment," say the Rabbis, "that Haman purposed preparing the gallows, God spake to the trees, 'Which of you will give yourself that Haman the wicked may hang upon you?' The various trees pleaded one after another to be exempted, on the ground (principally) that the Israelites were in Scripture compared with them. Thus argued the fig-tree (Hos. ix. 10), the vine (Ps. lxxx. 9), the pomegranate (Song of Songs iv. 3), the nut-tree (Song of Songs vi. 11), the myrtle (Zech. i. 8), the olive-tree (Jer. xi. 6), the apple-tree (Song of Songs ii. 3), the date-tree (Song of Songs vii. 8), and the willow-tree (Isai. xliv. 4). The acacia and fir trees prayed to be excused, since from them the beams of the Tabernacle and the Temple had been made; the cedar and palm tree, on the ground that they were the representatives of the upright (Ps. xcii. 13). At last the thorn came forward. 'Lord of the world! I have nothing which depends on me. I offer myself that this unclean man may hang on me. I am called a thorn, and he is a thorn which would bring sorrow to Israel. It is fitting that a thorn hang upon a thorn.' From the thorn was the wood taken and the gallows made. When they brought it to Haman, he reared it before the door of his house and shewed his servants how they were to hang Mordecai upon it. And a voice called to him out of heaven, 'This wood is exactly suited for thee: since the six days of Creation it has been so determined'" (a statement which the Rabbis support by finding the name Haman in the המן עץ of Gen. iii. 11).

(*c*) Who hanged Haman (see Esther vii. 9, 10)? "The king," says the Targum Sheni, "commanded Mordecai to do this: and thus in Mordecai was fulfilled Prov. xvi. 7. 'Go,' said the king, 'take Haman, the enemy and oppressor of the Jews, and hang him on the gallows which he hath prepared for himself. Torture him, and deal with him according to your pleasure.' Then Mordecai went from the presence of the king, took Haman, and said to him, 'Come with me, Haman, thou enemy, hater and oppressor of the Jews, that I may hang thee on the gallows which thou hast erected for thyself.' And Haman the tyrant said to Mordecai the just: 'Before I am brought to the gallows, I pray thee bring me not to the gallows on which common criminals are hung. I am a man who have thought scorn of well-known heroes, and

have had under me the princes of provinces. Through my words have I made kings tremble, and a speech of mine has set lands in a state of fear. Vice-king was my title, and I have been called "father of the king." My desire is that thou shouldest deal with me as I had it in my mind to deal with thee. Oh! spare my honour. Do not kill me, do not hew me in pieces as once my ancestor Agag was hewn in pieces. Be good to me, Mordecai, and do not act towards me as a murderer, for among you are none such. Oh! remember not against me the hatred of Agag and the vengeance of Amalek. Revenge not thyself on me as upon an enemy, and deceive me not as my forefather Esau deceived. . . I am too shamefaced to look upon thy countenance, and I cannot open my mouth before thee, because I followed the advice of my wife and friends about thee. I pray thee, Mordecai, my master, spare my life, and do not destroy my name so hastily as that of my ancestor Amalek. Hang not my grey head on the gallows. If thou must cause me to die, behead me with the royal sword wherewith all the nobles of the kingdom are beheaded.' Then began Haman to cry and to weep; but Mordecai paid no attention to him. And when Haman saw this, he raised a lamentable cry in the midst of the palace garden and said: 'Hear me, ye trees and plants which I planted when I, the son of Hamdatha, journeyed from Alexandria to Bar-Panthera. Gather yourselves together and take counsel, for Haman shall be hanged on whichsoever of you is 50 cubits high' (cp. Esther v. 14). 'I am too short,' said the vine, 'and he must not be hanged on me, because men get from me wine for the drink-offering.' The fig-tree said, 'He cannot be hanged on me, because men pluck from me the first-fruits, and from me Adam and Eve had their clothing.' The olive-tree said, 'Not on me, because from me is obtained the oil for the lamps of the Temple' &c. &c. 'Of me,' said the cedar, 'make the gallows, and hang upon it the barbarous Haman and his ten sons.' So they hanged Haman on the gallows which he had prepared for Mordecai, and the anger of God was stilled."

(*d*) The sons of Haman. The Targums (on Esther ix. 10 &c.; cp. Cassel, p. 295) give their names (to which some assign an etymological element bearing upon the fire-worship of the Persians; cp. Cassel, p. 226). It is illustrative of the hatred with which the later Jews regarded Haman and his family that they represent the ten sons as hanged on the same gallows as their father; a space of three cubits being assigned to each body, with an intervening space of one cubit between any two bodies, and the top of all being occupied by the body of Haman. Further, Mordecai is represented as coming to the spot where the eleven bodies were hanging, and thus addressing Haman: "Thou hadst purposed to do evil to the Israelites; but He Who knoweth all things, open or secret, hath permitted the evil to fall upon thine own head. Thou didst intend to kill us and deprive us of the protection of our heavenly Father, but now have we wrought our will upon thee and thy sons, and have hanged thee and them under thine own (protecting) wings." The bodies were left hanging many days; and when it was pointed out to Esther that this was a breach of the command (Deut. xxi. 23), she answered, "If the sons of Saul remained hanging for six months (in expiation of Saul's treatment of the Gibeonites: see 2 Sam. xxi. 1–10), how much longer ought Haman and his sons to hang, who wished to destroy all Israel?" Lastly, it is stated (Cassel, p. 230) that even in the present day when the ten names are read in the synagogues they are read in one breath, as a remembrance that the souls of all the ten passed away as in one breath, in expiation of the crime by which they purposed destroying Israel in one day.

In the 4th century and probably earlier the Jews, when celebrating the Purim festival, represented Haman as crucified; but by it they intended also to mock the crucified Christ: "Judæos quodam festivitatis suæ solemni Aman ad pœnæ quondam recordationem incendere, et sanctæ crucis assimulatam speciem in contemtum Christianæ fidei sacrilega mente exurere." Hence Theodosius in A.D. 408 forbad the practice. Cp. Cassel, p. 205.

THE

WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

INTRODUCTION.

CONTENTS, LANGUAGE, STYLE, AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK OF WISDOM.

IN the Middle Ages the line

"Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando,"

was accepted as a rough outline of the subjects which should be explained in the Introduction to a sacred book. In the case of books of which the author is unknown, the more natural order is to begin with '*quid?*' We will therefore describe the character of the Book of Wisdom before we enter on other inquiries.

I. CHARACTER OF THE BOOK. ('QUID?')

The book falls into two main divisions—the first (I.) general and hortatory (i.–ix.); the second (II.) mainly consisting of historic illustrations (x.–xix.). The first division consists of two sections: (A.) Commendation of Wisdom as the guide to a blessed immortality (i.–v.); (B.) Commendation of Wisdom as the source of all moral and intellectual blessings (vi.–ix.).

FIRST SECTION. A. CHAPTERS I.–V.—*Wisdom the Guide to Immortality.*

Writing in the person of King Solomon, the author begins by an appeal to rulers to love righteousness, because the attainment of wisdom is only possible to those who live pure and moral lives. Wisdom is life and immortality; sin leads to punishment and death (chap. i.). In the next chapter he sets forth the sceptical despair, the sensual Epicureanism, and the malignant violence of scorners and apostates (ii.). With these he contrasts the hopes and blessings of the righteous and of their offspring, shewing that even a short and childless life is better than a godless old age and numerous offspring, since the righteous, under the protecting care of God, attain to a blessed immortality, whereas He arms Himself against the wicked (iii.–v.).

B. CHAPTERS VI.–IX.—*Wisdom is to be sought as the Source of all blessings.*

Having thus defended the cause of Wisdom against ungodly scorners, he appeals once more to all earthly potentates to remember their responsibility and to seek and pray for wisdom.[1] Wis-

[1] Ewald prefers to join ch. vi. to the first section, in which he says that "the fundamental thought, complete in itself, is even outwardly brought to a close." Certainly after this section there is a perceptible change of method, and "the art shewn in the preceding portion is in abeyance."

dom is the true secret of power, the greatest of all earthly blessings, and the glorious source of all that is morally or intellectually to be desired. Without Wisdom man is ignorant, feeble, sensuous, unspiritual; he can be saved by Wisdom alone.

SECOND SECTION. CHAPTERS X.–XIX.—*Historical Illustrations.*

After these high eulogies of Wisdom as the source of immortality and of every blessing, the writer devotes the rest of the book to illustrations of Wisdom as a power in human history. The heroes of Wisdom are the heroes of Faith. Wisdom preserves the just and punishes the wicked, both individually and nationally.[1] She preserved Adam, and punished Cain and his guilty race; she preserved Abraham and Lot, but punished the people of Sodom; she preserved Jacob and Joseph, and she delivered Israel by the instrumentality of Moses (x.). The remaining chapters are chiefly occupied with a contrast between the punishment of Egypt and the fatherly providence which protected Israel. It is assumed throughout that the difference between the two nations consisted in the possession of Wisdom by the Israelites, and the neglect of it by the Egyptians. The writer therefore takes the opportunity to point out the relation between sin and punishment, and—more generally—the laws which determine the nature and limits of divine retribution. In the 12th chapter he shews, by the case of the Canaanites, that sinners are never destroyed by sudden and overwhelming ruin until they have first been warned by preliminary chastisements intended to lead them to repentance. He then introduces a digression (xiii.–xv.) to illustrate the nature, the origin, the folly, and the mischief of idolatry, reserving his sternest denunciations for the worship of clay images and of animals—forms of idolatry which were specially predominant in Egypt.[2] Throughout the four last chapters he develops a series of elaborate parallels between the fortunes of the Egyptians and the Israelites, founded on the narrative of the Plagues and of the Exodus. He dwells especially on the insect plagues, and the fire and hail, as contrasted with the gifts of quails and of manna (xvi.); on the plague of darkness contrasted with the light enjoyed by the Israelites in Goshen (xvii.); on the plague of the firstborn (xviii.); and on the passage of the Red Sea (xix.). He ends somewhat suddenly with a thankful recognition of God's love and mercy to His people (xix. 22).

[1] In this section Solomon is no longer referred to, and after ch. xi. the *special* references to Wisdom entirely disappear.

[2] The Jewish author whose poem was attributed to Phocyllides is more tolerant in his tone. He thinks that Polytheists might still obey the will of God.

LANGUAGE.—The language of the book is marked by a twofold peculiarity. (1.) On the one hand it abounds in Hebrew expressions, which prove that the author has been trained among Jewish associations; (2.) on the other, it shews a singular mastery of the Greek language in its later epoch of mingled decadence and development.

(1.) The Hebraic colouring is due to the use of Old Testament phrases and conceptions, of which many are derived from the LXX. These were no doubt adopted by the writer partly because he was a Jew, and was familiar with the Greek version of the Scriptures, and was addressing his own countrymen; but partly also from a literary desire to write in accordance with his assumed character of King Solomon, and therefore to assimilate his style, at least to some slight extent, to that of the older Sapiential books. Among the Hebraic phrases we may mention *ἁπλότης καρδίας*, i. 1; *μερίς, κλῆρος*, ii. 9; *τρίβοι*, ii. 15; *λογίζεσθαι εἴς τι*, ii. 16; *πληροῦν χρόνον*, iv. 13; *ὅσιοι τοῦ θεοῦ*, iv. 15; *εὑρίσκεσθαι*, in the sense '*to be recognised as*,' vii. 29, viii. 11; *εὐθύτης ψυχῆς*, ix. 3; *ἄριστον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τινος*, ix. 9; *ἐν χειρί τινος*, xi. 1; *ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας*, viii. 21; *υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων*, viii. 6; *αἰὼν* in the sense of '*world*,' xiii. 9; *πλήττειν ἀορασίᾳ*, xix. 17. To these may be added expressions directly borrowed from the LXX., such as *ἐνωτίζεσθαι, ὀρθρίζειν ἐπί τι*, &c.[1] Further than this, the structure of the writer's periods is Hebraic. He uses but few

[1] See further Grimm, 'Einl.' 5.

connecting particles, and those the simplest (such as καὶ, δέ, γάρ, δίο, ὅτι, διὰ τοῦτο), though he occasionally shews, by some faultlessly elaborate sentence (as in xii. 27), that he could easily have adopted a more Greek-like structure for his periods if he had felt inclined to do so. In the later chapters he abandons the 'sapiential' style, and launches into unrestrained rhetoric. Hence we infer that the more Hebraic form of the earlier chapters must be partly due to a desire to carry out his pseudonymity in an artistic manner, and that he abandoned this plan at a later stage of his work because he found it useless, and because it hampered the free play of his genius. At any rate the Hebraic parallelism is chiefly observable in the earlier chapters.

(2.) The writer uses such thoroughly classical phrases as ἀγῶνα νικᾶν (iv. 2) and διεβίβασεν αὐτοὺς θάλασσαν ἐρυθράν (x. 15), and was evidently a master of Greek vocabulary. He even knew Greek well enough to be able to deal with it autocratically and in an independent manner. He is fond of compound words, such as κακόμοχθος, xv. 8; ὁμοιοπαθής, vii. 3; γηγενής, vii. 1; πολυχρόνιος, ii. 10; ὀλιγοχρόνιος, ix. 5; πετροβόλος, v. 22; παντεπίσκοπος, vii. 23; φιλάνθρωπος, i. 6; κακότεχνος, i. 4; δυσδιήγητος, xvii. 1; γενεσιουργός, xiii. 5, &c. He uses some words which are almost or entirely peculiar to himself, such as ἀκηλίδωτος, iv. 9; νηπιοκτόνος, xi. 7; τεκνοφόνος, xiv. 23; γενεσιάρχης, xiii. 3; βραχυτελής, xv. 9; εὐδράνεια, xiii. 19; μετακιρνᾶσθαι, xvi. 21; εἰδέχθεια, xvi. 3. Of some words, such as πρωτόπλαστος, and the powerful but strange word ῥεμβασμός, iv. 12, he was probably the inventor. Some of his expressions, such as "*a hope full of immortality*" (iii. 4), and "*O Lord, thou Lover of souls*" (xi. 26), are so happy and suggestive that they have passed into the current religious language of the world.

STYLE.—1. The style of the writer shews that he was naturally of a poetic temperament, and that he had been a student of Greek lyric and tragic poetry.

α. To this we owe such expressions as ἀδελφοκτόνοις συναπώλετο θυμοῖς, x. 3; λυθρῶδες αἷμα, xi. 6; ἀμβροσία τροφή, xix. 21; ἀπότομος (v. 20, 22; vi. 5, 11; xi. 10; xii. 9; xviii. 15); κνώδαλα, xi. 15, 16; ἄβατος, xi. 2. See especially the lyric outbursts in ii. 7–11; v. 9–13; xi. 8–10; xiii. 17–19; xvii. 17–21.

β. He is familiar with such Greek customs as initiation into the mysteries (viii. 4), the use of garlands at banquets (ii. 8), of wreaths to crown the victors in games (iv. 2), of little shrines (*aediculae*) for domestic deities (xiii. 15), and of the images of protecting gods at the prow or stern of vessels (xiv. 1). He uses such purely Greek terms as στεφανηφορεῖν, βραβεῖον, πρυτάνεις, πομπεύειν, ἆθλα, ἀγών, &c.

γ. Among Greek figures of speech he constantly employs *Chiasmus*, a means of giving emphasis to words by introversion of position, of which we have an instance in the first verse (see note), and in almost every chapter.

δ. In one passage he shews that he was familiar with the *Sorites* of the logicians. See notes on vi. 17–20.

ε. In some Greek poets (especially in Æschylus) we find an *accumulation of epithets* to a single substantive (πύργωσις ἐπιθετῶν). Philo, and other writers of the Alexandrian and later epochs, have imitated this peculiarity. A specimen of this occurs in vii. 22, 23, where there are twenty-one epithets to the word Wisdom. But the *number* of the epithets (3×7) is decided by Kabbalistic considerations.

ζ. *Antithesis* is of quite incessant occurrence. Perhaps the most striking instance is in xiii. 18, 19.

η. *Assonances* are frequent. In the very first verse we have ἀγαπήσατε . . . φρονήσατε . . . ζητήσατε; ἐν ἀγαθότητι . . . ἐν ἁπλότητι. Other instances are: ἀδόλως . . . ἀφθόνως, vii. 13; οὖς . . . θροῦς, i. 10; ἀσεβοῦς . . . χνοῦς, v. 15; εὐμαθῶς . . . εὐπρεπῶς, xiii. 11; ποθοῦσιν . . . ἀπελθοῦσαν, iv. 2. The writer evidently delighted in the rhythmical collocation of words.

θ. *Alliteration* is incessant, as in βέλους βληθέντος, v. 12; πανοπλίαν . . . ὁπλοποιήσει, v. 18; ἰδίας ἰδιότητος, ii. 23; δίκαιος . . . δικαίως καταδικάσει, xii. 15; ὁσίως . . . ὅσια . . . ὁσιωθήσονται, vi. 11.

ι. We also find such marked *parano-*

masiae as ποταμοὶ . . . ἀποτόμως, v. 23; ἄτραπον . . . τρόπιος, v. 10; στενοχωρίαν . . . στενάζοντες, v. 3; μύσους μύστας, xii. 6; προδοσία . . . προσδοκία, xvii. 12; ἄργα . . . ἔργα, xiv. 5.

κ. Balanced clauses and assimilated endings (παρίσωσις, παρομοίωσις, Arist. 'Rhet.' iii. 9) occur in almost every chapter: as παροδεύσω . . . συνοδεύσω, vi. 22; εὐώδωσε . . . διώδευσαν, xi. 11; παισὶν . . . ἐμπαιγμὸν . . . παιγνίοις, xii. 25, &c.

2. Yet with all this Hellenic culture, this knowledge of the wealth of Greek vocabulary, and this power of putting its plasticity to the test by the invention of new derivatives, it is doubtful whether the writer does not fall into actual mistakes as to the meaning of words. It is, for instance, almost certain that he makes a wrong use of μεταλλεύω. The verb means 'to mine' (as in Deut. viii. 9, LXX.), but the writer twice over (iv. 12; xvi. 25) uses it in the sense of 'exchange' (Vulg. *transvertit*), as though he confused it with μεταλλοιόω. Similarly he uses the word φιλόψυχος in the sense of 'lover of souls' (xi. 26), whereas in classic Greek it has no other sense than that of 'cowardly' ('clinging to life').

3. The *rhythm* of the writer is very peculiar. The balanced antitheses of which we have spoken shew, to a marked extent, the influence of Hebrew parallelism (as in i. 1; ii. 1–6; vii. 17–21; xi. 9, 10, &c.); and yet the rhythmic clauses constantly recall the Greek iambic and hexameter, as well as the strophes and antistrophes, and the free asynartete metres of the Greek choruses. Thus we find such endings and beginnings as συναπώλετο θυμοῖς (x. 3); αὐτὴν ἐκ πόνων ἐῤῥύσατο (x. 9); ἔθηκε τρανὰς (x. 21); αἰῶνι δίδοσθαι (xviii. 4), &c. We are expressly told by Epiphanius that the book was written stichometrically ('De Mens. et Pond.' iv.), for he calls it a στιχήρης βίβλος. Nicephorus says that it contained 1100 στίχοι. In the Alexandrian MS. there are only 1098; but it is probable, from the additions found in the Vulgate, that one or two may have accidentally dropped out; as, for instance, in i. 15. We may say in general that the style is neither prose nor poetry, but the highly artificial rhetoric of a decadent period, which is put into the mouth of all interlocutors alike.

General Character.—1. The method of treatment which is adopted throughout shews that the author of the Book of Wisdom is fanciful rather than imaginative. He entirely lacks that fusing '*esemplastic*' power of imagination which enables great writers, like Milton and Dante, to compress an image into a single word or line. His effects are produced, not by one powerful delineation, but by the accumulation of particulars. His causal connexions (especially the incessant γάρ) are often loose. His *forte* is poetical description far more than sustained reasoning. With great rhetorical power he frequently becomes fantastic, and sometimes almost grotesque, in his combinations and descriptions. He passes lightly over difficulties; manipulates history by a purely subjective process; and leaves many antinomies not only unsolved, but even unnoticed. In studying the book it is impossible to resist a doubt that the tumultuous verbiage sometimes shrouds indefiniteness of conception. The writer is stronger as a stylist than as a logician. He is an eclectic without clear conception or definite system.[1] Throughout the historical section of his book he is at his best as regards the force of his expressions and the energy of his fancy, but at his worst as regards wearisome detail, tasteless exaggerations, hagadistic credulity, and narrow particularism. The vague obscurity of many passages is not due to deficient powers of expression, but to the want of precision in the writer's thoughts. The lack of simplicity betrayed by the exaggerations of the style—its occasional pomposity and its artificial elaborateness—is found also in the method of treatment. The book is in many respects the most valuable of the apocryphal writings. The author was abler, more eloquent, and more

[1] "Il touche à tout, il ne développe rien. La Sapience de Salomon n'affecte pas les allures d'une discussion raisonnée et scientifique. Elle a les qualités et les défauts de ce *dilettantisme rhétorique* qui est le caractère propre de la littérature philosophique des Grecs des siècles de la décadence." (Reuss.)

profound than the Son of Sirach; and his style, with all its faults, is superior to that of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Books of Maccabees, which have something of the same character. Still the Book of Wisdom is, as a whole, far inferior to the humblest of the canonical writings. It resembles in many particulars the Epistle to the Hebrews, but that Epistle is incomparably more logical, more truthful, more original, and more rich in divine instructiveness than the best efforts of the pseudo-Solomon.

2. But though the writer is neither faultless nor inspired, he has high claims on our respect and gratitude, and his book is the most beautiful and important work of Jewish Alexandrianism: for

i. He combines his Hellenic training with Hebraic faithfulness.

a. He had evidently been a student of Greek philosophy, especially of Plato and the Stoics. This is proved by such expressions as *Πρόνοια*, xiv. 3, xvii. 2; *πνεῦμα νοερόν* and *λεπτόν*, *μονογενές*, *εὐκίνητον*, *πολυμερές*, vii. 22; *διήκειν καὶ χωρεῖν διὰ πάντων*, vii. 24; *ὕλη ἄμορφος*, xi. 17; *διοικεῖν*, viii. 1, &c.[1] To these we may add the mention of the four cardinal virtues: *σωφροσύνη*, *φρόνησις*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *ἀνδρεία*, viii. 7;[2] the Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of souls (vii. 1; viii. 19, 20); the description of the body as the tabernacle (*σκῆνος*) of the soul (ix. 15);[3] the notion that the body is the source of sin (i. 4; viii. 20); and the cosmogonic views indicated by such words as *στοιχεῖα* and *σύστασις κόσμου* (vii. 17). The conceptions that there is a soul of the world (i. 7; vii. 24; viii. 1); that God "has ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight" (xi. 20); and that God is *τοῦ κάλλους γενεσιάρχης* (xiii. 3),[1] are derived from Greek and not from Hebrew sources. The Sorites in vi. 17–20 shews an acquaintance with Greek forms of logic, and the selection of epithets in the characterisation of Wisdom (vii. 22–26) is probably founded on Stoic models.

β. Yet, though thus saturated with Greek culture, the writer remains a rigidly orthodox Jew. "The stuff is still Hebrew, but shot, as it were, with hues reflecting the light of Western speculation." Even when he adopts the language of Greek philosophy, he is not betrayed into dangerous errors, but confines himself within limits in which he can claim, at least by fair inference, the support of Old Testament revelation. He sees that Philosophy could not teach the idea of the True God (xiii. 9). Philo and Josephus were alike anxious to present Judaism to the Greek world in an attractive form, as an intelligent and philosophic religion. Josephus, in his 'Antiquities,' perpetually endeavours to colour and to smooth down everything which would have been shocking to refined prejudices, and thus he assimilates the worthies, the institutions, and the history of Judaism to Greek and Roman models, so far as this was at all possible. Philo, by the aid of an allegorical system, which he perpetually tells us that he did not invent,[2] but which had already been used by Aristobulus, and which was, so to speak, in the air, made Moses the precursor of Plato. The writer of the Book of Wisdom, so far from shewing any such anxiety, speaks of the views and practices of the whole heathen world with a scorn and indignation as severe as that of the sternest Apostles.

[1] See the notes on these passages.

[2] These are also found in Philo, 'Leg. Allegg.' i. 19, and in 4 Macc. i. 18, v. 22, xv. 7, where *εὐσέβεια* stands for *φρόνησις*. See Ewald, v. 480, &c.

[3] *φθαρτὸν γὰρ σῶμα βαρύνει ψυχήν, καὶ βρίθει τὸ γεῶδες σκῆνος νοῦν πολυφροντίδα*, ix. 15. This is a clear reminiscence of Phædo, p. 81, c.: *ἐμβριθὲς δέ γε τοῦτο οἴεσθαι χρὴ εἶναι καὶ βαρὺ καὶ γεῶδες καὶ ὁρατόν· ὃ δὴ καὶ ἔχουσα ἡ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ βαρύνεται.* The chief *Stoic* elements are the conceptions of 'Providence' (xiv. 3; xvii. 2); the soul of the world (vii. 24), and the inherent dignity of manhood (xii. 8). The chief *Platonic* conceptions are those of 'matter' (xi. 17); pre-existence (viii. 20); the 'prison-house of the body' (ix. 15), and its natural sinfulness (i. 4; viii. 20).

[1] On this last passage see Gfrörer, 'Philo,' ii. 212: "Ein schönes Bild das schon für sich allein, ohne andere Beweise für einen Hellenistischen Verfasser unseres Buches sprechen würde; denn in keinen jüdäischen Schrift wird man je die Schönheit im griechischen Sinne gepriesen finden."

[2] 'De Septen.,' 18, 19. 'De Vit. contempl.' 3. (See many other passages referred to by Zeller, 'Philos.' iii. 225; Siegfried, 'Philo,' 26.)

ii. His Judaism is specifically Alexandrian, and he moves within the same circle of conceptions as his compatriot Philo. But though he exaggerates the historic narrative of Moses, he does not allegorise it away until nothing literal is left, as was the manner of Philo.[1] It is clear that he approaches more nearly than Philo to the Christian verities, and departs less widely from the truths which he had learnt from the Scriptures of his fathers.

iii. He has used expressions which are so full of value that they are freely adopted, whether from him or independently, by the writers of the New Testament. We find in him such words as πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγαπᾶν. He constantly recognises the Fatherhood of God. St. John has, in common with the author, σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα (John iv. 48; Wisd. viii. 8); εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (1 John ii. 17; Wisd. v. 15); ἄξιοι γάρ εἰσι (Rev. iii. 4; comp. Wisd. iii. 5). St. Peter uses ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς (1 Pet. ii. 12; comp. Wisd. iii. 7). St. Paul adopts the beautiful combination χάρις καὶ ἔλεος (1 Tim. i. 2; Wisd. iii. 9, iv. 15). The word πανοπλία, with the general description which it suggests (Wisd. v. 17–23); the allusion to the potter and the clay in Wisd. xv. 7; the remark that the visible reveals the invisible (Wisd. xiii. 5); and the description of the ruinous effects of idolatry (Wisd. xiv.), bear some resemblance to more than one passage of St. Paul (see Eph. vi. 13–17; Rom. i. 20, ix. 20–23, and i. 24–27), though we cannot (with Nitzsch) go so far as to say that they have suggested them. There are several turns of expression in the Epistle of St. James which make it highly probable that he had read and that he valued the Book of Wisdom.[2] Lastly, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews was undoubtedly acquainted with this book, and made some use of it. Words so striking as πολυμερῶς and ἀπαύγασμα (Wisd. vii. 22, 26), with the train of thought which they suggest, are found in Heb. i. 1–3, and could only have been derived from this book. The connexion of the Word with a sword is found alike in Wisd. xviii. 22 and Heb. iv. 12. In both books 'death' is connected with the devil (Wisd. ii. 24; Heb. ii. 14). The phrase τόπος μετανοίας (Wisd. xii. 10; Heb. xii. 17); the application of the word θεράπων to Moses (Wisd. xviii. 21; Heb. iii. 5); and the conception of "the heart-searching eye of God" (Wisd. i. 6; Heb. iv. 12), are common to both. So also are the words ὑπόστασις, μέχρι τέλους, τελειότης, βεβαίωσις, πρόδρομος, εἴσοδος, ἔκβασις (in the sense of 'outcome' or 'death'); εὐάρεστος, ἀμίαντος, μετετέθη (of Enoch, Wisd. iv. 10; Heb. xi. 5), and many more.[1] To whatever extent the importance of these facts may be minimised, it remains true that the writer of this book had an honourable share in moulding the religious phraseology in which the Gospel was ultimately to be preached. "In the nervous energy of his proverbial style," says Ewald, "and in the depth of his representation, we have a premonition of St. John, and in the conception of heathenism a preparation for St. Paul, like a warm rustle of the spring ere its time is fully come."[2]

iv. Lastly, the book marks the highest point of religious knowledge attained by the Jews in the period between the close of the Old Testament canon and the beginning of the Gospel dispensation. It approaches the truth of an individual immortality beyond the grave (ii. 23; viii. 17; xv. 3; vi. 19); it expresses the nature of God as being predominantly 'love' (xi. 26; xii. 10); it represents love as the final law of creation (vii. 22, 23; xi. 24–26); and in its picture of the righteous sufferer it almost attains (however unconsciously) to a prophetic picture of the death of

[1] On his partial approximation to the allegoric method (as in i. 13, 14; xvi. 6, 7; xviii. 24, &c.), see Gfrörer, 'Philo,' ii. 207 fg.

[2] Compare James i. 5 with Wisdom viii. 21.

,,	i. 17	,,	,,	i. 14.
,,	i. 19	,,	,,	i. 11.
,,	iii. 9	,,	,,	ii. 23.
,,	v. 4–6	,,	,,	ii. 20.

[1] Nachtigal and others have supposed a reference to the Book of Wisdom in Luke xi. 49, ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ εἶπεν. But though the book is quoted by Clemens of Alexandria under the title ἡ θεία σοφία ('Strom.' iv. 16), the passage in St. Luke only bears a very remote resemblance to Wisdom ii. 12–20. See too Stier, 'Die Apokryphen,' p. 186 ff.

[2] 'Hist. of Israel,' v. 484 (E. Tr.).

Christ (ii. 13–20).[1] Whatever may be our estimate of the book in other respects, it undoubtedly holds an important position in the *Praeparatio Evangelica*—the development of thought and of circumstances which prepared the way for the Gospel of Christ.

v. But the greatest theological advance in this book is shewn by the writer's eschatology. Before the Christian era Paganism had almost lost that belief in the immortality of the soul which many Greeks and Romans had derived partly from the reasonings of Plato, and partly from their contact with Oriental theosophies.[2] Even Cicero, when writing familiarly to his friends, and speaking as a citizen, shews that he scarcely believed the doctrine.[3] By writers like Juvenal and Seneca it is more or less entirely set aside.[4] By all except the most enlightened of the early Jews it seems to have been but dimly apprehended. But it gained strength during the Babylonian Captivity, until in Ezekiel and Daniel we find it clearly intimated; and in the days of our Lord the Pharisees had come to believe not only in the immortality of the soul, but even in the resurrection of the body. Tacitus was struck with the hold which this doctrine had taken upon their minds.[5] It must have been prevalent in the days of the Maccabees, or it would have been impossible to celebrate a solemn service on behalf of the dead.[6] Yet even in the Book of Ecclesiasticus the expressions used are vague and inconsistent, and are to be interpreted by views far more indefinite than the actual words connote to us.[7] Of the resurrection of the body there is scarcely even an ambiguous trace. But in the writer of the Book of Wisdom we see greater decision with respect to these subjects. He says nothing about resurrection, but he believes that immortality is conferred by virtue and wisdom; and although some of his expressions might be referred to an immortal remembrance, in other places he teaches that holy souls shall enjoy a conscious blessedness hereafter in the presence of God;[1] not, perhaps, in mortal bodies, but in a sort of disembodied light.[2] It is equally clear that he believed in a state of future retribution for the wicked, which he describes as thick darkness and hopeless death.[3] There is, indeed, a formal contradiction between some of the terms he uses, since in some places he says that the wicked shall be destroyed and annihilated, body and soul (i. 11), and yet that they shall be in conscious pain (iv. 18–20). Bretschneider and others have tried to reconcile the discrepancy by the notion of a purgatory which is to end in annihilation; Grimm and others, by regarding the "destruction" (i. 12) spoken of as "the second death" (Rev. ii. 11)—a *moral* extinction, which Philo also describes as "an endless death."[4] It may be considered doubtful whether the views of the writer went beyond a belief in the continuance of *some sort of retribution* beyond the grave, and he sometimes seems to mingle the conceptions of the posthumous condemnation of the bad by the living with those of a divine judgment pronounced upon the soul immediately after death.

vi. In one respect, however, the Book of Wisdom shews retrogression rather than progress. The very heart — the purest centre—of the religion of Israel, as represented by the Prophets, was the Messianic hope. It was the conviction that a Divine Deliverer would set them free from all perplexities, and—in spite of the miseries of the ideal "Just Man," as represented by suffering Israel—would vindicate His people, would redeem them from the hand of their enemies, and would fulfil to the utmost the great promises made to their fathers. This hope had sustained the heart of the

[1] "Quorum in uno, qui appellatur *Sapientia Salomonis*, passio Christi apertissime prophetatur." (Aug. 'De Civ. Dei,' xvii. 20, § 1.)
[2] Pausanias, 'Messeniaca,' xxxii.
[3] Cic. 'Pro Cluent.' lxi.
[4] Juv. 'Sat.' ii. 149; Senec. 'Ep.' 24.
[5] Tac. 'Hist.' v. 5.
[6] 2 Macc. xii. 44.
[7] Ecclus. vii. 17; xvii. 27, 28; xix. 19; xlviii. 11, &c.

[1] See Wisdom i. 15; ii. 22, 23; iii. 1–14; iv. 2, 7; iv. 10–v. 5; v. 15; vi. 18, 19; viii. 17; xv. 3.
[2] Wisdom iii. 7.
[3] Wisdom i. 12, 16; ii. 25; iii. 11, 18; v. 14, 15; vi. 10; xvii. 21.
[4] Philo, 'De poster. Caini,' § 3; 'Leg. Allegg.' i. 33 (Opp. i. 65). See Siegfried, pp. 252, 299. Compare Prayer of Manasses, *v.* 13.

Chosen People in the midst of their most overwhelming trials. The expected Messiah was, to some extent, national and exclusive, but the greatest prophets had admitted that He should not only dash the nations in pieces like a potter's vessel, but that he should be a Light to lighten the Gentiles. But during the period which followed the Captivity, and among the Jews who were most imbued with foreign influences, this hope (as is the case among many modern Jews) had altogether vanished, or had become indistinct in its outlines. In the Book of Wisdom, as in Ecclesiasticus, there is no personal and no suffering Messiah. The Messianic hope has come to mean nothing but the dominance of Israel and the universal worship of Jehovah (Wisd. iii. 8; v. 16; viii. 14).[1] Mention is made, indeed, of "a faithful prophet" in 1 Macc. xiv. 41; but on the whole the advent of a Divine Deliverer of the tribe of David has been merged, alike by Philo[2] and by the other writers of the Apocrypha,[3] into a vast, a dazzling, and an incoherent dream. Even in the Psalms of Solomon there is a Messianic kingdom, but there is no Messiah. What the Jew had gained in culture by contact with heathendom, he had lost in faith. The nation, after the Maccabean struggle, began to settle on its lees, content for the most part with religious formalism and material comfort.

II. Author of the Book. ('Quis?')

The consideration of the book itself—its style and language, its contents and tone of thought—has already shewn us some facts about the author. It enables us to affirm with confidence that he was an Alexandrian Jew of cultivated intellect, who was familiar with the Old Testament in the Septuagint Version, and who had some acquaintance with Greek literature and philosophy. He had at least a smattering of scientific knowledge, or at any rate was acquainted with the names and subjects of various sciences (vii. 17–20; viii. 8) which had been successfully developed in the heathen world (xiii. 9). He was familiar with the charm of art (xiv. 14, 18), even in its highest developments (xv. 4, 5). He was also capable of nice discrimination between the different grades of idolatry, and could treat with relative tolerance its least ignoble forms (xiii. 1–9). He had, in some form or other, become acquainted with the speculations of Euhemerus as to the origin of some forms of idolatry from reverence to ancestors or passionate affection for lost relatives (xiv. 15), or the apotheosis of rulers (xiv. 16, 17). He had heard of the speculations of Epicureans (ii. 6–9) and Materialists (ii. 2–5). He had grasped the Hellenic conception of the beauty of the external world, and of the inferences which that beauty suggests (xiii. 7–9). He was not unacquainted with moral speculation (xvii. 11) and psychological analysis (xvii. 12). All these circumstances make it certain that the book could not have been written by a *Palestinian* Jew. The special familiarity with Egyptian animal-worship (xv. 18), and with the manufacture not only of clay idols, but of these idols deceitfully coloured and gilded to imitate metal (xv. 9), indicates a writer whose home was in Egypt. The Jews of Palestine cherished an almost fanatical hatred against the "wisdom of Javan." They maintained that the subtlest elements of spiritual truth evaporated in the crucible of an unhallowed language. They said that the God of Shem could not speak in the unblessed accents of the sons of Japheth. As a counter-manifesto to the exultation of the Alexandrian Jews on the publication of the Law in Greek, they kept that anniversary as a fast, and said that it was a day of evil omen, as

[1] Compare Ecclus. iv. 15; x. 13; xxxv. 17–19, and *passim*.

[2] In Philo the conception of the Logos supersedes that of the Messiah. Perhaps the nearest approach to Messianism in his writings is found in 'De Execrat.' (Opp. ii. 435, 436.) See Ewald, v. 307–312.

[3] The chief expectations are a recall of the Dispersion and a revival of Prophecy (Bar. ii. 34, 35; iv. 36: 2 Macc. ii. 18); the conversion of the heathen (Tobit xiii. 11–18; xiv. 6, 7); the endless glory of Israel (Ecclus. xxxvii. 25, xliv. 13; 2 Esdras vi. 56–59); the coming of Elijah (Ecclus. xlviii. 10, 11); universal peace (Ecclus. i. 23, 24). See on this subject Hilgenfeld, 'De Messia Judaeorum;' Drummond, 'The Jewish Messiah;' Oehler in Herzog, *s. v.* Messias; Hambürger, 'Talm. Wörterb.,' *s. v.* Messias; Grätz, 'Gesch. d. Juden,' 217 fg.; Weill, 'Le Judaïsme,' iv. 401–483, &c.

deadly as that on which Israel had danced around the golden calf (Frankel, 'Vorstudien,' i. 61). It was the aspiration of the learned Rabbi Jochanan Ben Napuchah to unite the *tallith* of Shem with the *pallium* of Japheth (Midr. Rabba, § xxxvi. on Gen. ix. 23; Jer. Sotah, *ad fin.*, &c.). But in these larger and more liberal views the school of Gamaliel stood alone among the Jews of Palestine. The narrower Rabbis placed Greek learning under the same category as Egyptian thaumaturgy, and declared that, if Greek knowledge could be sought at all, it could only be at times which belonged neither to the day nor to the night (Menachoth, 99. 2). The fury which assailed the whole career of Gamaliel's greatest pupil—the Apostle to the Gentiles—was due in great measure to the Heaven-taught universality of sympathy which made him enter into the feelings and sympathise with the gifts of the Gentiles.

We may conclude with certainty that the book is *not a translation.*[1] If it had not been written in Greek, it could not have abounded in the assonances and paronamasiae by which it is characterised.[2] A translation may, indeed, occasionally and accidentally fall into such a mode of expression, but in no faithful translation could they possibly be of frequent occurrence.[3]

1. From all this it is clear, without any further argument, that we may at once set aside the pseudonym of SOLOMON. It is highly improbable that the writer ever intended any one of his readers to suppose that he was reading the actual words of the wise king. The book was written as a manifesto, a polemic, an exhortation to contemporaries who had apostatised from Judaism into materialism, or idolatry, or open immorality. The adoption of the name of Solomon belongs only to the literary form, and could neither have deceived, nor was for a moment intended to deceive, the contemporaries for whom the book was written. The supposed Solomonian authorship is only introduced in a direct and secondary manner (vii. 1–21; viii. 10–16; ix. 7, 8). In highly uncritical periods the pseudonym may have been taken for a reality, but it is at least doubtful whether the abler Fathers (Clemens of Alexandria, Didymus, Origen), in quoting passages from the book as being by 'Solomon,' meant this popular reference to be regarded as a critical decision.[1] A modern writer might traditionally assign a passage of Ecclesiastes to Solomon, or of one of the later Psalms to David, in a sermon or general allusion, merely with reference to ordinary custom, and yet he would think it hard if this were treated as representing a deliberate and critical opinion as to the authorship. The title 'Wisdom of Solomon' in the Syriac, Arabic, and other versions, is so far from indicating a real belief as to the authorship, that the Syriac version distinctly mentions the opinion that the name was only assumed. The Vulgate calls it *Liber Sapientiae.* Even Jerome, in his preface to the book, speaks of it as '*pseudepigraphus.*' That any modern critic should have supported the Solomonian authorship (as was done by J. A. Schmid in 1858), only proves that in the nineteenth century writers can still be found to maintain a preconceived hypothesis, so absurd as to need no refutation. A theory given up by St. Jerome and St. Augustine as untenable even in their day, need not delay us now.[2]

The writer was probably induced to adopt his transparent pseudonym because 'Solomon' had become a sort of

[1] It has been mistakenly supposed that Nachmanides professed to have seen a Hebrew original of the book; what he had seen was a translation of it into Hebrew. (Grimm, p. 9.)

[2] See Jer. 'Praef. in libr. Sal.'

[3] For instance, in the LXX. (Ps. xiii. 3) we have *ἠχρειώθησαν· οὐκ ἔστι ποιῶν χρηστότητα.* In our own Anglican version we have "He that *wavereth* is like a *wave* of the sea" (Jas. i. 6). But there are more phenomena of this kind in the Book of Wisdom than in all the LXX. put together.

[1] Similarly St. Augustine sometimes quotes it as Scripture ('De Civ. Dei,' xi. 10, § 1), and yet was well aware (Id. xvii. 20, § 1) that it was not by Solomon. Some confusion has been introduced into the question by the fact that all the five Sapiential books (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus) are constantly referred in a general way to 'Solomon.'

[2] "Non autem esse ipsius (Salomonis) non dubitant doctiores." (Aug. 'De Civ. Dei,' xvii. 20, § 1.)

collective name for all sapiential Hebrew literature, just as all Psalms were collected under the name of David, and Greek fables were usually assigned to Æsop. It was traditionally supposed that Solomon was a master of all wisdom (Eccles. i. 16, &c.; Ecclus. xlvii. 13; Wisd. vii. 17–21; Jos., 'Antt.' ii. 5). All known Hebrew proverbs of any value had been collected under his name. It was therefore naturally borrowed by the writer of a book who so many centuries later handled some of the same topics in something of the same style. As the Book of Ecclesiastes is written from the standpoint of Solomon in his old age, weariness, and repentance, the author of the Book of Wisdom makes him speak as a king yet youthful and innocent (viii. 10).[1] This gave a sort of ideal weight to his appeal to rulers, as well as to his denunciation of the Epicureanism, which the Hellenising apostates whom he has in view may possibly have supported by a misuse of passages quoted from the Book of Ecclesiastes.[2]

2. St. Augustine's conjecture that the book was written by JESUS, SON OF SIRACH ('De doctr. Christ.' ii. 8), may be left without further notice, because it has found no follower, and was even withdrawn by the writer himself ('Retractt.' ii. 4).

3. The perverse hypothesis (?) of J. M. Faber that the book was written by ZERUBBABEL (!) may be noted in passing, as a literary curiosity.

4. Lutterbeck suggested that the author was the philosophic and Hellenising Jew ARISTOBULUS, the friend of Ptolemy Philometor. But we know nothing of the writings of Aristobulus except from fragments preserved by Eusebius in the 'Praeparatio Evangelica.' There is nothing in these fragments, beyond a single commonplace of Alexandrian philosophy, which lends any probability to the conjecture. Aristobulus, "King Ptolemeus' master" (2 Macc. i. 10), who lived in such intimate relations with the Egyptian royal family, could never have written vi. 1–5; nor does the highly prosperous condition of the Jews under Ptolemy Philometor accord with the general tone of a book which implies that "the righteous," *i.e.* all orthodox and faithful Jews, were liable to violent persecutions (ii. 10; iii. 10; xii. 22, &c.).

5. Nor again can the book be by PHILO, as was conjectured by "nonnulli scriptorum veterum" (Jer.), Nicolas of Lyra, Luther, Strigel, Calovius, and others.[1] We can assign decisive reasons for the rejection of this opinion. It is true, of course, that the writer moves within the general circle of Philonian conceptions,[2] and also that the few political indications of the book suit well with the era of Philo: but

(1.) The *style* of the book is wholly unlike that of Philo. It is more living, impassioned, and eloquent, while at the same time it is more rhythmical, artificial, and euphuistic. The structure of the periods is in general far simpler, while at the same time it is more poetic and ornamental.

(2.) The *treatment of Scripture material* is different. The author of the Book of Wisdom is more of a Hagadist than Philo; *i.e.* he makes greater use of the Jewish Hagadoth, or traditional extensions of the Mosaic history. Philo allegorises rather than exaggerates. Pseudo-Solomon exaggerates rather than allegorises. It seems strange that any commentator who is at all familiar with Philo's habitual method of dealing with Scripture should suppose that he could possibly have written a book of which the method is so un-Philonian as that of the Book of Wisdom.[3]

(3.) Philo rarely quotes the Psalms or

[1] Ewald, 'Gesch.' iii. 2, 553.

[2] For special passages which Solomon could not have written, see ix. 8; xv. 4, 14.

[1] The Muratorian Canon has "Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis scripta," and Dr. Tregelles conjectures that ὑπὸ Φίλωνος may have been corrupted in the original Greek into ὑπὸ φίλων ('Journ. of Philolog.' 1855, p. 37). Reuss contents himself with the remark that the assignment of the book to Philo by St. Jerome and others "prouve seulement que l'étude de la philosophie philonienne était fort peu avancée encore." (Introd. p. 505.)

[2] See notes on i. 4; viii. 19, 20, &c. Siegfried, 'Philo,' pp. 222, 223.

[3] In Philo the symbol is everything; the fact little or nothing. This is not at all true of the author of Wisdom. He scarcely goes beyond the strictest limits of the Old Testament when he identifies the serpent of Paradise with the

the Prophets. In pseudo-Solomon there are frequent allusions to both.

(4.) The *manner* of the two writers is different. In reading Philo we are sailing amid "a dead sea of icy abstractions;" in reading pseudo-Solomon we move amid a series of burning pictures.

(5.) The *philosophy* of the two writers is different. In Pseudo-Solomon we find no trace of two conceptions which in Philo's writings are predominant and fundamental—namely, the trichotomy of human nature (see notes viii. 19; ix. 15, &c.)[1] and the doctrine of ideas.[2]

(6.) The *terminology* of the writers is different. In pseudo-Solomon the word '*Logos*' has none of the prominence which it has in Philo. There is no speculation about the Logos, nor is it to the same extent hypostatised. In ix. 2, xi. 17, xvi. 12, xviii. 15, pseudo-Solomon hardly goes beyond the limits of the Old Testament.

(7.) The two writers are not even agreed *in their view of Wisdom*, for in Philo Wisdom is almost identical with the Logos (Gfrörer, 'Philo,' i. 213; see 'Leg. Allegg.' [Opp. i. 56]; 'Det. pot. insid.' § 31 [Opp. i. 213]; 'De profug.' § 20; Siegfried, 'Philo,' p. 222)—a thought on which the author of 'Wisdom' does not touch.

(8.) The *theology* of the two writers is different. Both recognise the predominant love of God, but pseudo-Solomon believes in an evil spirit (ii. 24), whom Philo ignores. They take different views of the Serpent in Paradise (ii. 24, Philo, 'De Mund. Opif.' 56; 'De Agric.' 22; 'Leg. Allegg.' iii. 21), and of the brazen serpent, which pseudo-Solomon takes literally (xvi. 5, 7), and Philo regards as a symbol of sober-mindedness ('De Agric.' 21; 'Leg. Allegg.' ii. 20).

(9.) Further, there are several minor discrepancies between Philo and this writer: as in vii. 2; viii. 20; xi. 15; xvii. 14. Both writers deal ably with the origin of idolatry (xii. xiii.; Philo, 'De Monarch.' i. 1–3); but even on this point it will be seen from the notes that their views are not identical.

We may then regard it as certain that Philo did not write the Book of Wisdom, which is not included in the list of his books either by Eusebius ('H. E.' ii. 18), or by Jerome ('Catal. Script. Eccl.').

6. Little need be said about the supposition of Drusius, Wernsdorf, &c., that the Book of Wisdom was written, or edited (Bellarmin, Huetius, &c.) by the ELDER PHILO; for of that writer we know next to nothing, and Josephus names him as *a heathen* who had written about the Jews ('c. Ap.' i. 23). Whether this Philo be the same as the author who wrote a Greek poem about Jerusalem is uncertain, and is a matter of little importance.[1]

7. Only one other name has been suggested. Noack attributed the book to APOLLOS.[2] That Apollos could not have written it *after his conversion* is abundantly evident, but Dean Plumptre has argued with great ingenuity that he wrote it before his conversion. His two papers on the subject were published in the 'Expositor' (vol. i. pp. 329, 409), and, like all the works of the learned author, are full of ingenuity. He points out (1) resemblances of thought between the Book of Wisdom and the Epistle to the Hebrews (which, in common with an increasing number of critics, he accepts as the work of Apollos). (2.) Affinity of language between both books and the writings of Philo. (3.) The fact that both the Epistle to the Hebrews and that of Clemens Romanus to the Romans shew an acquaintance with the Book of Wisdom, Clemens being the first Christian writer who quotes or notices it. (4.) The style of the Book of Wisdom resembles what we should expect of Apollos from the reference to him in Acts xviii. 24–28. (5.) Apollos, like the writer of this book, was a cultivated

devil (ii. 24); or describes the brazen serpent as "a symbol of salvation" (xvi. 5–7); or calls the pillar of salt "a monument of an unbelieving soul" (x. 7). He goes a little farther in passages like x. 10–17; xvii. 21: but even there he scarcely approaches the manner of Philo. The nearest resemblance is in xviii. 24.

[1] Philo, 'De Congr.' 6; 'Leg. Allegg.,' i. 22. Gfrörer, i. 382. Siegfried, 235–242. Dähne, i. 288.

[2] See especially Philo, 'De Vict. offerent.' 13.

[1] See Fabricius, 'Bibl. Graec.' iii. 736.

[2] 'Der Ursprung des Christenthums,' i. 222. Noack supposes that Apollos wrote it with the help of the Apostle Paul!

Alexandrian Jew, acquainted with the works of Philo, or at least with his familiar conceptions, and (assuming him to have written the Epistle to the Hebrews) fond of stately words and sentences, yet so modest as to suppress his own name. (6.) Clemens of Rome is familiar both with the Book of Wisdom and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and quotes them in near juxtaposition. (7.) They are united in the same sentence by Irenaeus (Euseb. 'H. E.' v. 26). Ably as the theory is elaborated, it falls to the ground when we remember (i.) that there is absolutely no resemblance between the *general* style of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Book of Wisdom; (ii.) that the method of referring to the facts and words of the Old Testament is very different in the two books; and (iii.) that in the Epistle to the Hebrews we scarcely find a trace of the familiarity with Greek learning and philosophy which is so remarkable a feature of the Book of Wisdom.

We must therefore give up all attempts to discover the actual name of the author of the Book of Wisdom. We must also reject three other vague conjectures respecting him.

α. There is not a tittle of evidence for the notion that he was one of the traditional seventy translators of the Hebrew Bible into Greek.

β. Nor can we infer that he belonged to the sect of the Therapeutae.[1] No such inference can be drawn from iii. 13–15, where preference is given to virtuous childlessness over wickedness abounding in offspring; nor from the declared superiority of brief and virtuous life to dishonoured age (iv. 8, 9); nor from the assumed direction to pray towards the sun (xvi. 28); nor in any other passage of the book.

γ. Nor can it be held that he was a Christian.[2] There is no trace in the book of any knowledge of Christ; nor of the Incarnation; nor of the Atonement; nor of the Resurrection; nor indeed of any doctrine distinctly Christian. How different is the writer's tone towards idolatry from that which breathes through the courteous and noble speech of St. Paul at Athens! Luther said of the book quite truly that it "*stark jüdele*."[1] Here and there (as in i. 13; ii. 23; vii. 6; viii. 21; xiv. 3, &c.) the writer seems to have a theoretic glimpse of the truth so nobly stated by St. Peter and St. Paul, that "in every nation they who fear God and work righteousness are accepted of him" (Acts xi. 35), and that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him," since we are all "the offspring of God" (Acts xvii. 26–29). But he has not sufficient grasp of this theoretic truth to save him from the narrowest and most repellent form of Jewish particularism (vi. 4–7; x. 15; xi. 1–15; xii. 19–22; xv. 2, 14; xviii. 1, and *passim*), to an extent which even leads him to misunderstand the plainest lessons and misinterpret the plainest facts of Jewish history (iii. 16–18; iv. 3–5; x.–xix. *passim*). In point of fact the Jehovah of the Book of Wisdom is essentially that which the New Testament teaches us that He is *not*—namely, "a respecter of persons" (xi. 10).[2] If the writer's eschatology shews some development in its apparent recognition of future retribution (iv. 19) and future blessedness (v. 1), and of a day of future reckoning (iii. 18; iv. 20), yet on the other hand he not only falls behind the writers of the New, but even below the prophets of the Old Testament, in the fact that he seems (as we have seen) wholly to have lost sight of that hope of a personal Messiah which is the very heart of the truest Judaism. In this he resembles Philo in one of the weakest of his religious characteristics. Salvation with the author of the Book of Wisdom consists in the attainment of wisdom. It is an arbitrary fancy which sees in the allusion to the Ark in xiv. 7, "blessed is

[1] See Gfrörer, 'Philo,' ii. 265. Dähne, 'Alex. Religionsphil.' ii. 170. Jost, 'Gesch. d. Judenth.' i. 378.

[2] Kirschbaum, Weisse, &c.

[1] See Ewald, 'Gesch.' iii. 553. It is clear that the passages chiefly referred to (iii. 5; iv. 2, 10; v. 17; vii. 26; ix. 8, 15 ff.; xi. 10, 24; xiv. 7) are quite insufficient to prove that the writer was a Christian.

[2] This is all the more remarkable because the Wisdom-literature of the O. T. (Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes) is absolutely free from the taint of particularism.

the wood whereby righteousness cometh," any real prevision of the Cross of Christ; nor is there anything which can be interpreted into a Christian reference in ii. 17–20 or v. 1–5. Though some passages may perhaps be reckoned as "*unconscious* prophecies," one fact should be decisive: the book does not contain the faintest trace of the Incarnation, and *therefore no Christian could have written it.*

UNITY OF THE BOOK.

As to the unity and completeness of the book there can be little doubt. Houbigant, in the middle of the 18th century,[1] was the earliest to suggest that the first nine chapters were by Solomon, and the remainder by a translator. The attempt to disintegrate the book was carried still further by Eichhorn and Bertholdt. Bretschneider divided it between four different authors, and finally Nachtigal (1799) tried to prove that it was an anthology of the praises of Wisdom to be chanted in antiphons, and composed by *seventy-nine* different authors! It is not worth while to dwell further upon perverse hypotheses and fantastic arguments which have long been exploded and abandoned. The difference of treatment and method in the first and second sections arises from the difference of subject-matter, but the style of thought and language is identical throughout. There is in every section the same monotony of causal connexions (especially by means of γὰρ and ὅτι), and the treatise is marked by a clear unity of purpose from beginning to end.

Grotius, followed by Grätz, thought that the book had been manipulated by a Christian *interpolator*. The latter points to such passages as ii. 24; iii. 13; iv. 1; xiv. 7, in proof of his hypothesis.[2] A reference to these passages will convince most readers that iii. 13, iv. 1, belong rather to moral philosophy than to any distinct Christian teaching; ii. 24 alludes to a notion which is equally found in Josephus and in the Rabbis; xiv. 7 is nothing but an allusion to the Ark, which has been applied to the Cross by Christian readers.

[1] 'Prolegomena in Script.' ii. 160.
[2] Gratz, 'Gesch. d. Jud.' iii. 443.

IDEAL OF WISDOM.

There were among the ancient Hebrews three great classes of religious teachers—Priests, Prophets, and those who for want of a better name may be called Moralists, Humanists, or the Wise (Jer. xviii. 18).[1] The Priests were mainly concerned with the *minutiae* of the Levitic law, and were occupied in securing that accurate observance (ἀκρίβεια) of all the Mosaic institutions which constituted the ideal of "righteousness" (צְדָקָה, δικαιοσύνη). The Prophets, conscious of the slothful formalism which resulted from exclusive attention to external regulations, spoke with almost scornful depreciation of rites and ceremonies, and with all the passion of genius enforced the supreme importance of eternal laws. The Sages taught in a less exalted tone the lessons of prudential experience. They began indeed (Prov. i. 7), and ended (Eccles. xii. 13), with the fundamental truth that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge," and that "to fear God, and keep His commandments, is the whole duty of man." But they did not trouble themselves with all the sacerdotal prescriptions which were afterwards known as the Halakha, and, instead of adopting the method of lofty theoretic teaching, they contented themselves for the most part with broad practical instruction delivered in the form of gnomes or proverbs. To this kind of teaching was given the name of 'Wisdom' (חָכְמָה), and the literature to which it gave rise is hence known as 'the Chokmah' or Sapiential literature. It cannot be called a Hebrew Philosophy.[2] The Jews had no philosophy, and the books which dealt more or less directly with 'Wisdom' are too popular, too undeveloped, too loosely

[1] These Humanists or Gnomologists were found among other Eastern nations: 1 Kings iv. 30; Jer. xlix. 7; Obad. 8.
[2] Michaelis inaccurately speaks of Solomon as "a philosopher." So too Oetinger and De Wette. But Ritter rightly refuses this title to Jewish modes of thought. Dr. A. B. Davidson points out that the Hebrew Wisdom differs from all secular philosophy: (1) in its starting-point; (2) in its method. It aims at the *recognition*, not the *discovery* of God. It professes to verify, not to infer. It takes secure refuge from speculative difficulties in moral facts.

unsystematic to be dignified with any such title. A nation which was absorbed in the contemplation of a uniquely revealed religion had little or no need for a speculative philosophy.

The Sapiential books of the Old Testament are the Books of Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes; and they shew a gradual and remarkable development in the views of the Jewish writers.

1. At the earliest stage, in the Book of Proverbs, we see an absolute and unclouded belief in the truth that happiness and holiness, sin and sorrow, are severally united; that even in their earthly circumstances the wicked are miserable and the godly are blessed (Prov. xi. 31; x. 27; xvi. 19, 20, &c.). It is *the era of principles*, theoretically accepted as though they were true without exception.

2. It was impossible that this era should last long. Its fundamental hypothesis was out of harmony with universal experience. In some of the Psalms (xxxvi., xxxix., xlix., lxxiii.), we already find that the facts of life have come into hard collision with this beautiful theory, and that "the equation between occurrence and principle" is not found to be so perfect. The wicked sometimes prosper; the good are sometimes plunged into misery and misfortune. The Psalmists strain every nerve to explain these facts in accordance with the accepted orthodoxy. It is *the era of difficulties*. The mode of meeting them was of necessity partial and arbitrary, for it often rested on the assumption that the prosperity of the ungodly before they died was always overthrown by visible retributions.[1] The writer of the magnificent Book of Job endeavoured to grapple with the problem still more closely. He sets before us the picture of the great and holy Sheykh of Uz suddenly, by no fault of his own, but through the envy of the Evil One, ruined, pauperised, hopelessly bereaved, smitten with incurable leprosy, and reduced to sit upon his dunghill, a very scorn of men, amid the taunts of orthodox friends, who with ever-increasing bitterness urge him to confess the secret crimes which, in accordance with the current religionism, can alone explain the crushing incidence of such misfortunes. Though all appearances are against him, though his own previous conceptions seem to be shaken to their foundations, the sufferer still proclaims his unshaken trust in God. The youthful Elihu, discontented alike with the complaints of Job and the dogmas of his friends, attempts to found his vague Theodicaea on the infinite greatness and power of God and the ignorance of man. Then God, as with a thunderclap, closes the controversy, not condescending to argue or to justify His ways to man, but pointing him to the proofs of transcendent mercy and omnipotence in the works of nature; bidding him listen to the hawk's cry and gaze on the plumes of the ostrich; pointing him to Behemoth crashing through the forests and Leviathan tempesting the seas; turning his gaze on the clouds, and the lightning, and the constellations, and the dawn. And then in the end, when the problem has been faced, when Job confesses and is content, he is again crowned with sevenfold prosperity.

3. Then followed *the era of quiescence*. The disharmony between theory and experience was admitted, and as far as possible utilised as an additional reason for moral steadfastness. The Book of Ecclesiastes presents the problem of life in this later aspect. It sets before us the despair and scepticism of a sated worldling, not the anguish of an afflicted saint. The Jewish thinker of that epoch had begun to see that the appeal to God's omnipotence was not a solution of the difficulty, but only the expression of a trust that it would some day be solved. Yet even through despair and satiety the Preacher learnt by means of evil that good is best; and he too, while he does not even profess to offer any explanation of the insoluble, discovers and proclaims that the only thing which can make life tolerable is trustful obedience to the law of God.[1]

After the close of the Old Testament canon, Sapiential literature still survives,

[1] See Ps. xxxvii. 25, 35 ff.

[1] See some suggestive papers on the Wisdom of the Hebrews, by Dr. A. B. Davidson, in 'The Expositor,' xi. 321; xii. 381, 436.

though under different conditions and in altered forms. In the Apocrypha, the Books of Wisdom, of Ecclesiasticus, and of Baruch belong to this class of literature. Outside the Apocryphal canon we have the Fourth Book of Maccabees; the writings of Philo, in which we have a sort of eclectic philosophy of religion; and books like the Book of Enoch, in which the Sapiential element melts away into that apocalyptic literature in which the literary activity of the Jews expended itself during the last epoch of their national existence.

The service rendered to the main object of the Wisdom-literature by these later books is due to the ever-deepening conviction of a sentient and individual life beyond the grave. This, indeed, must ever remain the most important factor in our attempts to solve the mysteries of life,—the undeserved prosperity of the wicked, and the sufferings of the innocent. The Psalmists had pushed back the solution to the end of *mortal* life, and had to be content with the belief that in the long run, and as the general rule, the godly are not ultimately forsaken, nor the wicked finally prosperous. But gradually men came to recognise that it is by no means always that in this life the intolerable wrong is atoned for. Job was restored to health and wealth, but after all Job might have died on his dunghill or in misery as thousands of good men have done before and since. But the later 'Humanists' push the solution beyond the limits of this life altogether, and build their justification of God to man on the doctrines of their eschatology.

The Book of Wisdom belongs to a period during which the Jews had been profoundly affected by Hellenic influences. Already during the Babylonish captivity they had been providentially taught the lesson that

"'All wisdom is not hid in Moses' law,
The Pentateuch, and what the Prophets wrote.
The Gentiles also know, and write and teach
To admiration, led by Nature's light."

When they came into close contact with the infinite charm of Greek thought and Greek life in its better and purer phases, all but the most obstinately narrow among them learnt yet more clearly that they were neither the sole children of God's love nor the exclusive recipients of His blessings. In Alexandria especially—where they had equal civil and political privileges with the other citizens; where they forgot their own language and knew no language but the common Greek; where their own sacred books were no longer a sealed and mystic volume, but had been placed in the Alexandrian library at the request of the Egyptian princes, and were open to the study of every intelligent heathen; where they themselves became familiar with the profound philosophical writings of Plato, of the Stoics, and of other Greek schools of thought,—in Alexandria more than in any other city of the Roman Empire, it was impossible for an educated Jew to be unaffected by Hellenic influences.

The adoption of Hellenising *customs* as distinguished from Hellenic modes of thought never made much progress among the Jews. It was viewed with profound disfavour. Jason and Menelas, the priests who tried to introduce Greek practices among the Jews, are called "ungodly wretches" by the author of the First Book of Maccabees. Some Jews carried their admiration of heathendom to the extent of apostasy, and even voluntarily obliterated the marks of circumcision which every Jew regarded as the seal of God's covenant with his race.[1] It is against such apostates—who openly adopted the Epicurean motto, "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die," and were faithless to the guide of their youth—that the religious polemic of this book, and its historical arguments, are chiefly directed.

On the other hand, the moral and religious *thoughts* of the Alexandrian Jews became deeply imbued with principles which they had learnt from Greek philosophy. Hellenic customs were evil; Hellenic culture was admirable. Whatever might be the opinion of the Rabbis

[1] ἐπισπασμός, 1 Cor. vii. 18; Jos. 'Antt.' xii. 5, § 1. The attempts to introduce Hellenising innovations for the overthrow of Judaism are described in 1 Macc. i. 11–15, 41–61; 2 Macc. iv. 10–15. Those who thus tried to obliterate their circumcision were called מְשׁוּכִים. See Ewald, 'Hist. of Isr.' v. 268–271 (E. Tr.).

of Jerusalem, the Theosophists of Alexandria firmly believed that Greek studies were in no respect injurious to their national faithfulness. Philo, however much he platonises, never for a moment forgets that he is a righteous and orthodox, though illuminated and intellectually emancipated, Jew. He adopts a syncretism by which he is able to reconcile the Timaeus with the First Book of Genesis, and the Old Testament in general with the Platonic dialogues and the writings of the Stoics. In those writings he found that the philosophers, by applying the method of allegory to the Homeric writings, were able to reconcile Homer with Thales, and Anaxagoras, and Aristotle. Philo applies the same method to the Old Testament until he and other Jewish *literati* persuaded themselves that the Greek philosophy was profoundly religious, and the Jewish religion profoundly philosophical. Indeed Aristobulus (B.C. 160)[1] and other Jewish writers believed and endeavoured to prove that all Greek poets and philosophers, from Orpheus and Pythagoras downwards, had come into contact with Hebrew teachers, and were ultimately, however unconsciously, the pupils of Moses.[2]

We have already seen that the author of Wisdom was familiar with the thoughts of Greek philosophers, and that to a certain extent—but not to any extent inconsistent with orthodoxy—he had adopted them. Upon him and his contemporaries the old problem of the Book of Job was pressing in a different form. He was no longer in the blooming period of Aristobulus, when the Jews stood in high favour with the government, and when the bitter envy and hostility of other races in the city had not yet been excited. After the days of Ptolemy Physkon, race hatreds raged in Alexandria until they culminated in the brutal persecutions which the Jews had to endure at the hands of their fellow-citizens in the days of Caligula and under the government of Flaccus. The author of the Book of Wisdom has to face the question how such a state of things is compatible with the faithfulness of the chosen people. His solution of the old problem is involved in the eulogies of Wisdom. It is practically a Stoic view of life and providence. Wisdom is the preserver, the deliverer, the sole source of immortality, the unique bestower of every blessing. She gives joy and peace (viii. 16–18), and consolation in sorrow (viii. 9), and power (viii. 15), and fame, and honour, and immortal memory (viii. 10–16), and is better than all riches, and health, and beauty (vii. 7–10). He who possesses her needs nothing besides. He who is without her is on the path of destruction. Wisdom more than atones for every earthly calamity. Childlessness and a short life might be regarded as misfortunes; but when they befell the possessor of wisdom, they were blessings far more consummate than the many children of long-lived sinners (iv. 1–8). Ideally the faithful Israelite was the wise man, and therefore, like the Stoic 'wise man,' he was a king of men and a favourite of heaven. The punishments of the heathen were long-continued, overwhelming, and retributive. Israel too might suffer, but his sufferings were only such as were due to mild and fatherly correction. The afflictions of the godly are compensated beyond the grave; "righteousness is immortal." This is the basis of the writer's ethical system, and it has well been said that it conducts us to the threshold of Christianity.[1]

What then is the writer's conception of Wisdom? Like Jesus the son of Sirach, he uses the word in all sorts of intermingled senses, because his conception of wisdom is complex and many-sided. Sometimes he uses the word objectively for the Wisdom of God;[2] sometimes subjectively

[1] On Aristobulus see Valckenaer, 'Diatribe de Aristobulo,' 1806; Siegfried, 'Philo,' 24; Dähne, 'Alex. Relig. Philos.' ii. 73; Gfrörer, 'Philo,' ii. 71; Ewald, 'Gesch.' iv. 335. Fragments of his book on the Pentateuch (*Syngramma* or *Prospephonema*) are preserved by Eusebius, 'Præp. Ev.' vii. 13, 14; viii. 6, 9, 10; ix. 6; xiii. 12. Clemens of Alexandria, 'Strom.' v. p. 595, says that he tried to reconcile the Old Testament with Aristotelianism.

[2] Philo finds in Moses an anticipation of all that was most valuable in Greek philosophy. 'Vit. Mos.' ii. 4; 'De conf. ling.' 20; 'Quod omnis prob.' 8.

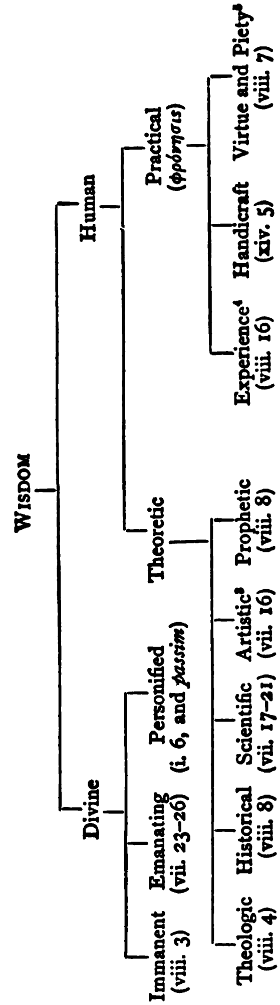
[1] Wisd. i. 15; iii. 1–10; viii. 17.

[2] Wisd. vii. viii. ix. Comp. Job xii. 13, xxviii. 23; Prov. viii. 22–31; Ecclus. i. 1, 4, 9,

for the wisdom of man: sometimes he applies the word to theoretic wisdom, sometimes to practical.[1] Wisdom is at once the sum total of the Divine perfections (vii., viii., ix.) and the synthesis of all the highest moral and intellectual qualities of man (vii. 17–21; viii. 7, &c.). The reader will perhaps best understand the latitude in which the word is used to imply at once the providence of God and the culture and virtue of man, if I draw out the senses attached to it in different passages in the annexed rough table.

We may therefore sum up by saying that, on the Divine side, Wisdom is the Spirit of God, regarded by man under the form of Providence (i. 4, 7; vii. 7, 22; ix. 17): and, on the human side, Wisdom is "trustworthy knowledge of the things that are" (vii. 17); "a knowledge of Divine and human things, and of their causes"[2] (4 Macc. i. 16), regarded by God as manifested in moral life. But "one set of terms does service to express both the intellectual and the moral wisdom. The 'wise' man means the righteous man; the 'fool' is one who is godless. Intellectual terms that describe knowledge are also moral terms describing life."

Wisdom is throughout the book repeatedly *personified*, but never in reality hypostatised. When the writer speaks of Wisdom as a living being, he is as conscious as the writer of the Book of Proverbs that he is only adopting a poetic figure of speech. But gradually the language reacted on the conception, and Wisdom came to be regarded, not only, like our word 'Providence,' as a reverential synonym for the manifestations of God, but also as possessing an



idealised and separable existence. In this way the Wisdom-literature, though it was in no respect directly Messianic, yet contributed to the Christology of the Old Testament. The suffering and

xxiv. 3–6; Baruch iii. 29. There is not in this book any clear identification of Wisdom with the Logos, nor indeed is the Logos as a Person, or at any rate as an all-but-personal entity, otherwise recognised than as a figure of speech (xviii. 15). If Wisdom is spoken of as a Person, in language which Christians might apply to the Son, or the Holy Spirit (i. 4–7; vii. 22; ix. 1, 2, 17; xii. 1; xviii. 15, &c.), this is also true of Prov. viii. 22–31, and other passages of the Old Testament.

[1] See Job xxvii. 3; xxxii. 8. Mr. Deane quotes the remark of Prof. Huxley (which would have been heartily endorsed by the writers of Sapiential books), "The only medicine for suffering, crime, and all the other woes of mankind is Wisdom" (see xvi. 12, 13).

[2] "Sapientia est rerum humanarum divinarumque scientia." (Cic. 'De Off.' i. 43; ii. 2.) Pseudo-Solomon's conception of Wisdom is more Hellenic than that of Prov. viii., and that in Ecclesiasticus (i. 6 fg.; iv. 11 fg.; vi. 18 fg., &c.).

[3] Comp. Ex. xxxi. 3; xxxv. 31.

[4] Prov. iii. 13–19, viii. 14; Ecclus. i. 4.

[5] Comp. Job xxviii. 12–14; Ps. cxi. 10; Prov. ix. 10, xv. 33; Ecclus. xix. 25, &c.

holy saint, who is made immortal by righteousness, becomes in this book, no less than in the Psalms, an ideal which had in it a prophetic element, and which helped the early Jewish-Christian Church to get over the stumbling-block of the Cross, and to recognise in Jesus the fulfilment of the long anticipations of a yearning world.

III. Object of the Book. ('Cur?')

The object of the book seems to have been threefold, with reference to the condition of three classes of readers.

1. It was *hortatory*. "The righteous man"—*i.e.* the Jewish people, and the religious Jew of the writer's day—seems to have been in a condition of depression and persecution. He is here encouraged by the thought that Wisdom is the source of all blessings, and better than all the best earthly blessings. Wisdom is an attribute of God, and is a gift to man. Nay, more, Wisdom is a divine and living spirit, which permeates the universe and is filled with love to the human race. Life without her is full of deadly peril, and inevitable misery; with her the hopes of man, even when he is afflicted, are full of immortality. These consoling thoughts are mainly developed in x.–xi. 4.

2. The book was *apologetic*. Various objections were urged against the faith of the fathers. Old problems were revived, and the answers to them were declared to be insufficient. The inequalities of earthly justice, and the delays of retribution, and the trials of the good were used as arguments in favour of sceptical conclusions. In this book such difficulties are met both directly and indirectly. The writer's Theodicaea is involved in his praise of Wisdom; in his description of the blessings which she confers; in the declaration and demonstration of her loving character and easy attainment; in the promise that she will bestow on them who seek her an immortality which shall more than atone for earth's most intolerable wrongs.

3. The book was *a twofold polemic*.

a. Its earlier section was aimed at Hellenising Jews, who had proved faithless to their national religion. We see from the first two Books of Maccabees, 3 Macc. ii. 31, and from the writings of Philo ('De poenit.' § 2; 'De conf. ling.' § 2; 'Vit. Mos.' i. 6), and we know from the story of renegades like Tiberius Alexander, the nephew of Philo, that there were at this epoch some Jews who openly embraced heathen customs and became the votaries of purely heathen systems of philosophy. Not content with this (ii. 12; iii. 10), these men treated faithful Jews with scorn (ii. 12), and even with actual persecution (ii. 10–20). The first five chapters are specially devoted to the refutation and warning of such faithless sensualists, in order that other Jews might be saved from their tendency to succumb to the seductions of a philosophy which was subversive both of morals and of religion.

β. The last sections of the book, especially chapters xiii.–xv., are a polemic against idolatry, but specially against the image-worship and animal-worship of the Egyptians; and this polemic is historically continued in the poetically idealised sketch of the contrasted fortunes of Egypt and Israel at the epoch of the Exodus. At the same time this series of pictures was meant not only to influence the mind of any heathen enquirer who was inclined to become a Jewish proselyte, but also to deter Jewish waverers from the criminal folly of sacrificing their connexion with the chosen people, its religion, promises, and hopes. If Wisdom was the chief good, it could be attained only among those who knew and worshipped the one true God.[1]

IV. Date. ('Quando?')

The exact date at which the book was written can unhappily be as little determined as the name of the author. We have a *terminus a quo* and a *terminus ad quem*, but they leave between them a space of some 250 years.

The *terminus a quo* is the date of the Septuagint version. The writer could not have known Hebrew, or if he did he at any rate prefers to make use of the LXX. If this could not be decisively

[1] We find the same stormy zeal against idolatry, mixed with the deepest scorn, in 'Bel and the Dragon,' and 'The Epistle of Jeremy.'

inferred from vi. 7; xi. 4; xii. 8; xvi. 22; xix. 21, it is proved by xv. 10, where the writer alludes to the LXX. version of Is. xliv. 20, where "his heart is ashes" varies from the Hebrew, "*he followeth after ashes.*" Again, in ii. 12 the phrase ἐνεδρεύσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστι is borrowed from the LXX. version of Is. iii. 10, δήσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον ὅτι δυσχρ. ἡμῖν ἐστι, where the context and the Hebrew text of the original are wholly different ("say ye to the righteous, that it shall be well with him").

Since then we know with reasonable certainty that the date of the LXX. version falls within the years 284–246 (the epoch of Ptolemy Philadelphus), the book must have been written after that time.

The *terminus ad quem* is the date of the apostolic writings, since the author shews no acquaintance with a single doctrine which can be called distinctively Christian.

A vague chronological *datum* is found in the impression left by the book that the faithful Jews were at the time suffering from open persecution (iii. 1; v. 1; vi. 5–9; xii. 22, 23). Now the Jews were highly favoured by the early Ptolemies. They suffered persecution in the days of Ptolemy Philopator (B.C. 221–204) and of Ptolemy Physcon (B.C. 145–117; Jos. c. Ap. ii. 5), and of Cleopatra (*id.*, *ib.*); and they suffered yet severer persecutions in the days of Caligula (A.D. 38–40) and Nero (A.D. 66). No one has supposed that the Book of Wisdom was written so late as the days of Nero, but Noack and Grätz assign it to the days of Caligula, because they think that xiv. 16–20 is a reference to the insane attempt of Caligula to place a colossal statue of himself in the Temple. It is obvious that there is nothing sufficiently definite in this passage to make the allusion certain. The whole passage is indeed suitable to the epoch in which every dead Caesar received his apotheosis, just as the condemnation of eclectic tolerance in xv. 15 suits the politic facility with which the Romans sanctioned every local cult of the nations which they conquered. On the other hand, apotheosis was a common practice among the Ptolemies, of whom Ptolemy Lagi and his wife Berenice were called θεοὶ σωτῆρες even in their lifetime, and were honoured with altars and temples. Zeller ('Philos. d. Griechen,' iii. 583) sees in the appeal to δικασταὶ περάτων γῆς an allusion to the Triumvirate, but obviously this is a most precarious inference. Hence, in the absence of precise data, conjecture has fixed on widely separated periods. The dates as proposed by different enquirers are as follows:—

Welte, B.C. 217.
Bruch, between B.C. 221–204 (under Ptolemy Philopator).
Heydenreich, &c., B.C. 160, during the Maccabean war.
Gutmann, not before B.C. 150.
Lutterbeck, about B.C. 130.
Gfrörer, about B.C. 100.
Grätz, Noack, Plumptre, between A.D. 38–40.

Others content themselves with more general indications. Bauermeister, De Wette, Ewald, all fix on the period between the first acquaintance by the Jews with Greek philosophy and the birth of Christ.

The impression left on the mind of the present writer is that the book was composed in the Roman epoch, and by an author who was familiar with the speculations of Philo, but regarded them from a completely independent point of view. The impression that he was to some extent influenced by the views of Philo, and that Philo was not influenced by him, is very strong. If he had preceded Philo, some traces of the powerful style and individuality and phraseology of the Pseudo-Solomon must surely have been observable in the voluminous pages of the Jewish Theosophist.

Any one who will read the Book of Wisdom side by side with Philo's 'Life of Moses' and 'Legatio ad Gaium,' will see that the indications of the book correspond with the political conditions of the reign of Caligula, and with the literary tendencies of the Jews at that time. If the author was later than Philo, the date of the book cannot be earlier than A.D. 40.[1] I cannot believe that it

[1] See xiv. 16, 17. Since writing the above, I find that Kuenen adopts the same view ('Rel. of Israel,' iii. 180). He thinks, however, that the book has not reality enough about it—is too calm and artificial—to have been written during the actual spasm of persecution.

was written by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, whether he were Apollos or some other early Christian; but it is certainly possible, and in my opinion probable, that it was written in the decade after the death of Christ.

V. History of the Book.

If we pass over as indecisive the passages in the New Testament which have been compared with the Book of Wisdom, the earliest quotation from it is found in the first Epistle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 27), who clearly refers to Wisd. xi. 22; xii. 12. In the ninth chapter of the Ep. of Barnabas there is the same quotation as in Wisd. ii. 12, but this may have been derived independently from the LXX. version of Is. iii. 10. Eusebius ('H. E.' v. 21) says that Irenaeus, in a book διαλέξεων διαφόρων, quoted from the Ep. to the Hebrews and "the so-called (τῆς λεγομένης) Wisdom of Solomon." And in an extant book of Irenaeus ('Adv. Haer.' iv. 38) he undoubtedly refers to Wisd. vi. 19. In the Canon of Melito (Euseb. 'H. E.' ii. 24) he mentions "the Proverbs and Wisdom," but it is not improbable that the true reading may be Παροιμίαι ἣ (or ἤ) καὶ Σοφία, since alike Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Wisdom are quoted by the Fathers as Σοφία or πανάρετος Σοφία. The Muratorian Canon, after mentioning the Epistle of Jude, and the third and fourth Epistles of John, adds the perplexing clause, "*Et Sapientia Salomonis ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta.*" The mention of the Book of Wisdom among early Christian writings is so strange that Credner, Wieseler, Grimm, and others suggest that the true reading was not *et* but *ut*, and that the writer's meaning was that the Epistles referred to were pseudepigraphical, "just as the Book of Wisdom was composed in honour of Solomon by his friends," *i.e.* by those who admired the Book of Proverbs (comp. Prov. xxv. 1). Many of the later Fathers quote the Book of Wisdom, call its writer "a prophet," and assign to it the authority of an inspired writing; but in the more critical Fathers we generally find some caution as to its title, such as τὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην Σαλωμῶντος σοφίαν (Orig. c. Cels. v. 29). Among Roman Catholics and in the Greek Church it is still regarded as canonical, in accordance with the decree of the Council of Trent and the Synod of Jerusalem (1672). Protestant writers, while for the most part they attribute to it a high value, refuse (with Luther) to accept it as either canonical or inspired,[1] but only read it with the other Apocryphal books, "for example of life and instruction of manners," without applying them to establish any doctrine (Art. vi.).

VI. The Text.

The chief Uncial manuscripts of the book are the Sinaitic (ℵ); the Vatican (B); the Alexandrine (A); the fragments of the Codex Ephraemi (C), and the Codex Venetus (*Ven.*). The translators of the A. V. chiefly follow the Complutensian edition of 1517.[2]

VII. Versions.

The chief versions are the Itala, which St. Jerome admitted into the Vulgate without any important alterations, with the remark, "*in eo libro qui a plerisque Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur . . . calamo temperavi; tantummodo canonicas Scripturas vobis emendare desiderans;*" the Syriac, which is sometimes little more than a paraphrase; the Arabic; and the Armenian.

VIII. Commentaries.

The Homilies of Ambrose and Augustine on this book are lost. The first extant commentary is that by Rabanus Maurus. Other mediæval commentaries are those of Walafrid Strabo, Anselm, Nicolas of Lyra, Hugo of St. Cher, Bonaventura, and Holkot. In the period suc-

[1] In the Homilies, however, it is cited as "the word of God," and even "the infallible and undeceivable word of God."

[2] Many valuable suggestions respecting the text may be found in Reusch, 'Observationes Crit. in Lib. Sap.' 1861. Other books on the subject are Thilo, 'Specimen exercitt. crit. in Sap. Sol.' 1825, and the collation of various readings in Holmes and Parsons' ed. of the LXX.

ceeding the Reformation, some of the best (both Romanist and Protestant) are those of Nannius (1552); Lorinus (1607); Corn. à Lapide (1638); Grotius in 'Critici Sacri;' Strigel (1575); Calmet (1724); Houbigant (1777); Kleuker (1785); Hasse (1785); Nachtigal (1799); Bauermeister (1828); J. A. Schmid (1858); and Gutberlet (1874). By far the best and most useful commentary is that of C. L. Wilibald Grimm in the 'Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch' of Fritzsche and Grimm (6th ed. 1860). To this excellent commentary, which may be regarded as superseding the comment published by the author in 1837, I have been more largely indebted than to those of any other writers.

In English we have the edition of R. Arnald (1744–1752), often printed with the commentary of Patrick, Lowth, and Whitby; the second volume of the Annotated Bible of the Rev. J. H. Blunt; the commentary of the Rev. W. R. Churton in the 'Commentary on the Old Testament' published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and his notes in the volume edited by him under the title of 'The Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures;' the American edition of the Apocrypha, with notes by Dr. E. C. Bissell (published uniformly with Lange's Commentary by Messrs. Clark, Edinburgh, 1880); and the Book of Wisdom, with Introduction, &c. by the Rev. W. J. Deane, published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1881, which will be found very useful, and abounds in valuable quotations.

THE

WISDOM OF SOLOMON.[1]

CHAPTER I.

2 To whom God sheweth himself, 4 and wisdom herself. 6 An evil speaker cannot lie hid. 12 We procure our own destruction: 13 for God created not death.

[a] LOVE righteousness, ye that be judges of the earth: think of the Lord with a good (heart,) and in simplicity of heart seek him.

a Deut. 1. 16. 1 Kings 3. Ps. 45. 7. Isai. 51. 1.

[1] This title is found in ℵ [Σοφία Σαλομῶντος]; in B [Σοφία Σαλωμών]; in A [Σοφία Σολομῶντος]. In the Syriac version it is called 'The Book of the Great Wisdom of Solomon;' in the Arabic, 'The Book of the Wisdom of Solomon, the son of David;' in the Vulgate, 'Liber Sapientiae.' Epiphanius and Athanasius call it πανάρετος Σοφία, a name which it shared with Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus. Clement of Alexandria and Origen quote from it under the title of ἡ θεία Σοφία. Jerome's distinct assertion that the book is pseudepigraphical led to the omission of Solomon's name. Augustine inaccurately calls it 'Liber Christianae Sapientiae.'

I.–V. Wisdom the Means of attaining to a blessed Immortality.

CHAPTER I.

WISDOM ONLY ATTAINABLE BY MORAL PURITY, WHEREAS SIN LEADS TO PUNISHMENT AND DEATH.

1–5. Wisdom is to be sought in the knowledge of God, and is only attainable through sincerity.

1. *Love . . . think of . . . seek.*] The three verbs are in the aorist in the Greek. The present tense would have implied the necessity for continuous effort; the aorist expresses the emphatic, unconditional nature of the duty as requiring immediate and concentrated effort. It is interesting to observe that, in the Sixth Heaven of the 'Paradiso,' Dante sees the blessed spirits arranging themselves in letters which form this verse, "*Diligite justitiam vos qui judicatis terram.*"

righteousness.] The word does not mean ordinary justice; nor that accurate ceremonial conformity (ἀκρίβεια, Acts xxii. 3) which our Lord described as "the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees" (Matt. v. 20); nor of course does it connote any of the Pauline and theological senses of "justification." It means moral integrity, sincere allegiance to the will of God shewn by obedience to His laws. Comp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 4: "He that ruleth over men must be just, *ruling in the fear of the Lord.*" This kind of "justice" (צְדָקָה) and "uprightness" (יֹשֶׁר) was the special ideal of the Jew under the Old Testament dispensation: Gen. vi. 9, xviii. 19; Eccles. vii. 20; Is. xxvi. 7; Ezek. xviii. 5; Hos. xiv. 9; Mic. vi. 8; Matt. i. 19, &c.

ye that be judges of the earth.] Another division of the book begins similarly, at the 6th chapter, with an appeal to kings. The word "judges" is used as a synonym for "rulers" (comp. Ecclus. x. 1, 2), because to "sit in the gate" and decide the disputes of his people was the chief function of an Oriental governor (vi. 4, ix. 7; Ps. cxxvii. 5; Prov. xxii. 2; Dan. ii. 49; Am. v. 15, &c.). We must not suppose with Luther that the writer had kings and rulers especially — still less that he had them exclusively—in view. It is clear from chapter ii., and from chapters x., xi., as well as throughout the book, that the precepts are intended to be general, while they had *immediate* reference to apostatising Jews. The address to kings and rulers is intended to give weight to the truths enunciated. It is a part of the artistic stateliness (σεμνότης) of the style.

think of the Lord with a good (heart).] Rather, "think concerning the Lord with integrity." Gr. ἐν ἀγαθότητι; Vulg., *in bonitate.* The meaning is not "think noble thoughts of God,"—the opposite to that, "thinking not well of God," to which the writer alludes in xiv. 30 (comp. Ps. l. 21); for that would have been expressed by some such adverb as ὀρθῶς. The context shews that the meaning is, "Let your thoughts of God be accompanied by an upright life." The word ἀγαθότης does not occur in the N. T., nor in the LXX., but is found again in vii. 26, xii. 22; Ecclus. xlv. 23. Like ἀγαθωσύνη, it means "goodness" (Rom. xv. 14), without which no man can see or know God (xv. 3; Heb. xii. 14).

in simplicity of heart.] That is, with no reservations; with no attempt to face both

2 For he will be found of them that tempt him not; and sheweth himself unto such as do not [b] distrust him.

b Deut. 4. 29. 2 Chron. 15 4.

3 For froward thoughts separate from God: and his power, when it is tried, [1] reproveth the unwise.

4 For into a malicious soul wisdom

1 Or, maketh manifest.

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ways, or to serve two masters (1 Chron. xxix. 17; Eph. vi. 5; 1 Macc. ii. 37). The opposite of this simplicity is "the double heart" (Ps. xii. 2; Jas. i. 8, iv. 8). For the necessity of this simplicity of heart, see Acts ii. 46 (ἀφελότης); 2 Cor. xi. 3.

seek him.] In Scripture we are constantly bidden to "seek" God; that is, to know His will, and to lose ourselves in Him by living to His glory (Deut. iv. 29; Heb. xi. 6). "There is nothing better," says Philo, "than to seek the true God, even if the finding Him should escape human capacity" ('De Monarch.' 5). "Our nature, in order to seek and find Him," says Origen, "needs the aid of Him who is sought."

This first verse, as is often the case in ancient writings, strikes the key-note of the whole book. It will be observed that this book, in which Solomon is represented as speaking as a youth (viii. 10), begins with the exhortation with which Ecclesiastes ends (Eccl. xii. 13). See Ps. cxi. 10. "Dès le début l'auteur fait ressortir le grand principe de la philosophie juive: l'inséparabilité de la sagesse et de la vertu" (Reuss).

2. *he will be found.*] The same is said of Wisdom in vi. 12, 16; Prov. viii. 17.

of them that tempt him not.] God is tempted in many ways, but especially by doubting of His power and goodness (Deut. xxxiii. 8, &c.); or by the practical defiance of a godless life (Deut. vi. 16; Acts v. 9). The latter is here intended; for "those that tempt Him not" is the antithesis to "with a good heart," of the previous verse.

sheweth himself.] Compare Ex. xxxiii. 18–23, of which the spiritual counterpart in the N. T. may be seen in John xiv. 21.

unto such as do not distrust him.] Namely, unto "the simple-hearted," who take Him at His word. The verb ἀπιστεῖν only occurs seven times in the N. T., and not once in the LXX. In the Apocrypha it is only found in this book and in 2 Macc. viii. 13. The Alex. MS. reads μὴ πιστεύουσιν, "those who do not trust Him." If this be the right reading, the "sheweth Himself" must be understood to mean "as *an enemy*" (comp. Mk. xvi. 16).

These two verses in the original illustrate the highly-polished style of the writer. They are marked by an elaborate symmetry, full of rhythmical assonances artificially arranged:

'Αγαπήσατε . . . φρονήσατε . . . ζητήσατε,
ἀγαθότητι . . . ἁπλότητι.

In the second verse εὑρίσκεται, by the sort of introverted parallelism which the Greeks called *Chiasmos*, corresponds to the last verb ζητήσατε, and ἐμφανίζεται to φρονήσατε. The participles μὴ πειράζουσιν and μὴ ἀπιστοῦσιν are parallel respectively to ἐν ἀγαθότητι and ἐν ἁπλότητι. Rhythmical arrangements are found in some of our Lord's discourses, and occasionally in St. Paul, and frequently in St. John, St. James, and St. Jude; but in other respects the elaborate artificiality of the style finds no parallel in the N. T. except in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

3–5. The thoughts of *vv.* 1 and 2 are developed in these verses. Moral perversity separates men from God (3); wisdom and sin cannot dwell together (4) because their natures are mutually repellent (5).

3. *froward thoughts.*] Rather, "perverse reasonings." The word σκολιὸς means "crooked" (xvi. 5), and the nature of these "crooked thoughts" is illustrated in ii. 1–20. The expression "a crooked generation" occurs in Deut. xxxii. 5, Acts ii. 40, Phil. ii. 15; and "the crooked" are contrasted with "the good and reasonable" in 1 Pet. ii. 18. The word λογισμοὶ almost always has a bad sense, as in xi. 16; Prov. vi. 18; 2 Cor. x. 4.

his power, when it is tried.] When God's power is *put to the test* by those who "tempt" Him (comp. Heb. iii. 9), it convicts (or perhaps "punishes") the foolish. The word ἐλέγχει, rendered "reproveth," sometimes involves the idea of punishment: 2 Sam. vii. 14; Job xiii. 10. The punishment here implied is the penal blindness of impious folly.

the unwise.] The word (ἄφρων) occurs in the Septuagint version of the Proverbs to express blasphemy, scorn, and impurity (Prov. i. 22; vii. 7; xxiv. 30, &c.). For its use in the N. T., see Luke xi. 40, xii. 20; Eph. v. 17.

4. *into a malicious soul.*] The word rendered "malicious" (κακότεχνος) means "evil-devising." It does not occur in the N. T., nor in the LXX. It recurs in xv. 4 and 4 Macc. vi. 25. It was one of the many poetic words derived from Homer by the Alexandrian dialect. An "ill-devising" soul is one which is "an inventor of evil things" (Rom. i. 30).

wisdom.] In a quotation of this verse in a letter of Macarius "discipline" (παιδεία) is substituted for "wisdom"—probably by a slip of memory. For the full meaning of the word "wisdom," see the Introduction. As a condition to which man can attain it is a

shall not enter; nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin.

[c] Jer. 4. 22.

5 [c] For the holy spirit of discipline will flee deceit, and remove from thoughts that are without understanding, and [1] will not abide when unrighteousness cometh in.

[1] Or, *is rebuked*, or, *sheweth itself*.

6 For wisdom is a [d] loving spirit;

[d] Gal. 5. 22.

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combination of the highest mental excellence (Arist. 'Eth. Nic.' c. vi. 7)—which leads to "a knowledge of things divine and human and of their causes" (Philo, 'Congr. erud. grat.' 14)—together with the issue of such knowledge in a holy life.

shall not enter.] The future is used in the "gnomic" sense, which is often attached to the aorist in Greek, and to the present in English. It expresses a normal fact.

that is subject unto sin.] The original is much more forcible, "that is sunk in sin;" literally, "impawned to sin" (καταχρέῳ. Vulg. *subdito*, for which a better rendering would have been *oppignerato*). The word does not occur either in the LXX. or the N. T., but the notion which it expresses is found in Rom. vii. 14, "sold under sin," and in Christ's parable of the unforgiving debtor. This phrase must be regarded as one of those "lightning glances of the author's mind" which, as Ewald says, frequently illuminate these earlier chapters.

It will be observed that in this verse "soul" and "body" make up the totality of our being, as in 2 Macc. vii. 37. The Platonic and Philonian trichotomy of human nature into body, soul, and spirit, which is (in a deeper and higher sense) sanctioned in the N. T. (1 Thess. v. 23), is not formally recognised in this book (ix. 15; xvi. 14), which makes no perceptible difference between "spirit" and "soul." The "holy spirit" is identical with some aspects of "wisdom," as in the next verse. Neither here nor elsewhere does the writer adopt the notion that the body is *inherently* vile and base (see viii. 19, 20). The general idea of the verse is that of Jer. iv. 14; 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15: "The dove cannot live in unclean places."

5. *the holy spirit of discipline.*] The article is not expressed in the original, because the phrase "holy spirit" is almost personal. It occurs first here and in ix. 17, though the LXX. have "spirit of holiness" (Ps. li. 13). "Discipline" here means the method whereby God trains souls by merciful correction; teaching them—sometimes even by suffering them to fall into evil—that good is best (Prov. iii. 11; Heb. xii. 5–11).

deceit.] Alike self-deceit and hypocrisy (1 Pet. ii. 1; Rev. xiv. 5). "Blessed is the man . . . in whose spirit there is no guile" (Ps. xxxii. 2).

from thoughts that are without understanding.] See the note on *v.* 3. In the Book of Enoch this view is still further developed, and Wisdom becomes a sort of Astraea. "Wisdom came to dwell among the children of men, and found no dwelling-place. Then returned Wisdom back to her place, and took her seat among the angels" (Enoch xlii. 2).

will not abide.] The verb used (ἐλεγχθήσεται, Vulg. *corripietur*) is the same as in *v.* 3, and literally means "will be *convicted*" or "*shamed*." The holy spirit of wisdom will blush or be grieved (Eph. iv. 30) at the presence of moral impurity, and will, as a consequence, depart (Gen. vi. 3, LXX.). Hence the A. V. makes the verb a synonym of the two previous verbs, a rendering which practically expresses the sense.

The moral lesson that impiety and impurity are fatal to the knowledge of God is common to all ages and nations. That which is spiritual can only be spiritually discerned, and the spiritual faculties, if they are left unexercised, perish of atrophy.

> "Corpus onustum
> Hesternis vitiis animam quoque praegravat una,
> Atque affigit humi divinae particulam aurae."
> HOR. *Sat.* ii. 2, 77–79.

"The soul of man should be as a glittering mirror. When there is rust on the mirror, the face is not reflected by it. So when there is sin in the man, such a man cannot see God" (Theophylact, 'ad Autol.' i. 2). Comp. Ps. cxi. 10; Ecclus. xv. 1: and in the N. T. John vii. 17; Rom. i. 19–26.

6–11. Wisdom cannot tolerate the impious words which betray an evil heart.

6. *For.*] (The word introduces the reason why these results ensue.) Wisdom loves man, and therefore *withdraws* from him (*v.* 5) when he sells himself to iniquity. His words reveal his character, and Wisdom leaves him to be punished by his God.

wisdom is a loving spirit.] Another reading (A) adopted by the Vulgate is σοφίας (*Benignus est enim spiritus sapientiae*). "The fruit of the Spirit is Love" (Gal. v. 20). The word φιλάνθρωπον means "loving mankind," and here retains its true sense, though it sometimes merely means gentle. The adjective, "philanthropic," does not occur in the N. T., but the substantive and adverb are found in Acts xxvii. 3, xxviii. 2; Tit. iii. 4. The love of Wisdom for mankind (vii. 23) involves her hatred of sin. This "humanitarian" conception of "wisdom" among the Jews is beautifully illustrated in the Book of Proverbs.

and will not acquit a blasphemer of his [1] words: for God is witness of his reins, and a true beholder of his heart, and a hearer of his tongue.

[1] Or, *lips*.

7 For the Spirit of the Lord filleth the world: and that which [1] containeth all things hath knowledge of the voice.

[1] Or, *upholdeth*.

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and.] The conjunction, here as often, has a cumulative and causative sense, "and therefore."

will not acquit.] The word ἀθῷος, from which the unclassical verb of the original (ἀθῳώσει) is derived, means properly "scatheless," but comes to mean "innocent," as in Matt. xxvii. 4, 24; Jer. xviii. 23, xlix. 11.

a blasphemer.] The word originally means "one who speaks injuriously or calumniously," but here, as in the N. T., is used for one who speaks against God.

of his words.] Literally, "for his *lips*." Compare 1 Cor. xiv. 21; Heb. xiii. 15, and the curious expression "the calves of our lips" (Hos. xiv. 2). The use of "lips" for "words" is due to the pictorial and concrete character of the Semitic idiom.

of his reins.] The insight of God begins with the deepest springs of the thoughts. He witnesses a man's inmost emotions, watches his heart, hears his tongue. See Heb. iv. 13. The "reins" are regarded as the ultimate sources of desire (ἐντεῦθεν κινοῦνται τῆς ἐπιθυμίας οἱ λογισμοί, Theodoret on Ps. vii. 9; *ap.* Suid. Rev. ii. 23). The Engl. word comes from the Lat. *renes.*

a true beholder.] The word ἐπίσκοπος is here used in its first sense of "inspector," "overseer" (Job xx. 29). The word "true" means "genuine," "undoubted" (comp. xii. 27).

7. *For.*] Rather, "because" (Vulg. *quoniam*). The omnipresence of God is given as the reason why sin cannot escape His cognizance.

the Spirit of the Lord.] The phrase is found even in Gen. i. 2, but of course it was not understood in all its true significance till after Pentecost.

filleth.] Rather, "hath filled;" the perfect implies that which *has been* and *still is*. So Philo ('Quis rer. div. haer.,' § 38) speaks of the Logos as "having utterly filled the totality of being," and says, "God hath filled all things, and hath penetrated all things, and hath left nothing empty or void of Himself" ('Leg. Allegg.' iii. 2). He frequently recurs to this thought. From vii. 24, viii. 1, it is clear that when the writer is speaking of wisdom in its highest sense, and as personified, he identifies it with the Spirit of God. But he must not be accused of Pantheism, for he is not describing any mere *anima mundi*, but "the fulness of Him who filled all things with all things," Eph. i. 23. The same thought occurs in Jer. xxiii. 24; Ps. xxxix. 7. Doubtless a Stoic might have used the same words, but their connotation would have been different. Compare the well-known lines of Philemon:

ὁ δὲ παρὼν ἁπανταχοῦ
πάντ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης οἶδε πανταχοῦ παρών:

and Pope's—

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;
That changed through all, and yet in all the same,
Great in the earth as in the etherial flame;
* * * *
Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent."

the world.] Literally, "the inhabited world," but often used in a general sense, as in Heb. ii. 5. The word does not occur in the LXX.

that which containeth all things.] The word "containeth" (marg., upholdeth) is here used in the old sense of "holds together," and is derived from the Vulg. *hoc quod continet*. It means "that which holds the universe together" (τὸ συνέχον). The phrase is borrowed by the Alexandrians from the Greek philosophers. Aristotle ('de Mundo,' 6) spoke of ἡ τῶν ὅλων συνεκτικὴ αἰτία. The notion of the Divine power, like a band or chain (δεσμός), keeping the universe from falling to pieces, is repeated by Xenophon, Cicero, and Philo ('De Profug.,' 20; 'Quis rer. div. haer.,' 38). This phrase does not occur either in the Old or New Testament; but (see last note) we find the essential thought in Eph. i. 23, and in Col. i. 17, "In Him all things cohere (συνέστηκεν);" and in Heb. i. 3, where Christ "upbears (φέρων) all things by the utterance of His power." Comp. Ecclus. xliii. 26, "By His word all things consist" (σύγκειται). The same thought lies in the Latin "*machina*" or "*fabrica mundi*," adopted by our own poets:

"Thine *this universal frame*,
Thus wondrous fair; thyself how wondrous then!" *Par. Lost*, v. 154.

"The spangled heavens, *a shining frame*,
Their great Original proclaim."
ADDISON.

hath knowledge of the voice.] Just as every voice is a breath of articulated air which vibrates through space, so every voice causes, as it were, a *moral* vibration in the spirit which is circumfused through all things. It wakes an echo which "rolls from soul to soul, and lives for ever and for ever."

8 Therefore he that speaketh unrighteous things cannot be hid: neither shall vengeance, when it punisheth, pass by him.

9 For inquisition shall be made into the counsels of the ungodly: and the sound of his words shall come unto the Lord for the [1] manifestation of his wicked deeds.

10 For the ear of jealousy heareth all things: and the noise of murmurings is not hid.

11 Therefore beware of murmuring, which is unprofitable; and refrain your tongue from backbiting: for there is no word so secret, that shall go for nought: and the mouth that [1] belieth slayeth the soul.

12 Seek not death in the error of your life: and pull not upon your-

[1] Or, *reproving.*

[1] Or, *slandereth.*

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8. *Therefore.*] Because of God's omnipresent omniscience.

vengeance.] Lit., "Justice," personified, as in xi. 20, and Acts xxviii. 4.

when it punisheth.] The verb (ἐλέγχουσα) is the same as in *vv.* 3, 5. Comp. Heb. xii. 5.

pass by him.] The same verb (παροδεύσῃ) as in ii. 7, v. 14. It does not occur in the N. T., and in the LXX. only in Ezek. xxxvi. 34. Euripides has the same thought:

> οὔ τοι προσελθοῦσ' ἡ Δίκη σε πώποτε
> παίσει πρὸς ἧπαρ, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων βροτῶν
> τιν' ἄδικον, ἀλλὰ σῖγα καὶ βαρεῖ ποδὶ
> στείχουσα μάρψει τοὺς κακοὺς ἀεὶ βροτῶν.

9. *inquisition shall be made.*] Lit., "there shall be an enquiry." The word is used by Shakspeare in 'As you Like It,' ii. 2, and in Ps. ix. 12; Deut. xix. 18.

into the counsels.] In a bad sense, as in Ps. ix. 23. The word (διαβούλιον) is unclassical, and does not occur in the N. T.

the sound of his words.] Lit., "the hearing of his words" (Vulg., *sermonum . . . auditio*).

the manifestation.] The word ἔλεγχον might have this sense, but it is better to render it "reproving" (as in marg.) or "punishment" (Vulg., *correptionem*), as in *v.* 8.

10. *the ear of jealousy.*] This is the common Hebrew adjectival genitive, like "judge of injustice," "steward of injustice," "son of destruction," "hearer of forgetfulness," "prayer of faith," &c. God is called "jealous" in an anthropopathic sense, sometimes to describe His care and love for His people (Is. ix. 6), and sometimes to indicate that, because of this love, He will punish (Nah. i. 2), and that His Law is surrounded by awful sanctions (Ex. xx. 5, &c.). Comp. 2 Cor. xi. 2.

the noise of murmurings.] There is an intentional assonance between οὖς and θροῦς (*Lauschen* and *Rauschen*). On the sin of "murmuring," see Ex. xvi. 7; 1 Pet. iv. 9. It is evident that the Alexandrian Jews, surrounded by heathens who hated them and placed in sorely trying circumstances, were tempted to unbelief and murmuring just as their fathers had been. To them the oppression of God's chosen people, who were faithful to God's own law, seemed an almost insoluble problem, and the eschatological truths by which alone it was explicable were as yet but partially known.

11. *which is unprofitable.*] The writer was evidently familiar with Greek figures of speech. He clearly regarded murmuring as *sinful*, and not merely as *useless*. The word must therefore be regarded as a *litotes*, i.e. the use of a mild word in order to suggest to the reader the mental substitution of a much stronger word, as when Virgil calls Busiris, the cannibal King of Egypt, "unpraised"—"*illaudati Busiridis aras.*" Compare the use of the same word (ἀνωφελής) in Tit. iii. 9; "inconvenient" (οὐκ ἀνήκοντα) in Eph. v. 4; and "useless" (ἄχρηστον) in Philem. 11.

backbiting.] Not, as in 2 Cor. xii. 20, 1 Pet. ii. 1, evil speaking of men behind their backs (*detractio*), but secret disparagement of God. The verb καταλαλεῖν is found in the LXX., Numb. xxi. 5, &c.

for there is no word so secret, that shall go for nought.] Rather, "because a secret utterance shall not go forth without result," *i.e.* without meeting with due punishment.

that belieth.] That utters lies against God.

slayeth the soul.] The allusion is not to annihilation, but to moral and spiritual death. The immortality of the wicked is only concentrated death. On the eschatology of this book, see the Introduction.

12-16. Souls only die by suicide. The death of souls is self-induced.

12. *Seek not death in the error of your life.*] Rather, "Strive not after death," "Be not eager for death." Vulg., *Nolite zelare mortem.* Do not so "zealously affect" death as to drag it upon yourselves (15). It is a very noble and profound exhortation, suggested by Prov. viii. 36; xxi. 6. A life that "wanders" into false directions finds that they all end in death of the spirit. In seeking them the soul *really* seeks death. For the phrase ζηλοῦν, comp. Acts xxi. 20, xxii. 3; 1 Cor. xiv. 12. The Rabbinic

[e Deut. 4. 23, 24.] selves [e] destruction with the works of your hands.

[f Ezek. 18. 32. & 33. 11.] 13 For God made not death: [f] neither hath he pleasure in the destruction of the living.

14 For he created all things, that [g Gen. 1. 31.] they might have their being: [g] and the generations of the world were healthful; and there is no poison of destruction in them, nor the kingdom of death upon the earth:

15 (For righteousness is immortal:)

16 But ungodly men with their works and words called *it* to them: for when they thought to have it their friend, they consumed to nought, and made a covenant with

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exegesis extracted mysteries from the repetition of words in Scripture; and from the common Hebrew phrase "to *die* the *death*," Philo ('Leg. Allegg.,' i. 33) infers that there is a death of the soul as well as of the body.

pull not upon yourselves destruction.] The metaphor is from pulling down a building on our heads. A man who drags down upon himself such destruction by moral perversity, has "to sit in the ruins of his life."

with the works of your hands.] Evil *actions*, even more surely than evil words, precipitate the ruin which follows the abandonment of a soul by Wisdom.

13. *For God made not death.*] See ii. 24. The conception of the writer in this paragraph is very vague, but he hazards the general assertion that man by his sin, and not God, is the cause and source of all physical, no less than of all moral evil. He had learnt from the O. T. (Ezek. xviii. 32; Hos. xiii. 9) that *souls* only perish by being self-destroyed; but he expands the thought in a manner not found in Scripture, and surrounded by difficulties.

neither hath he pleasure.] See xi. 24; Ezek. xxxiii. 11.

14. *that they might have their being.*] The writer seems to regard all the evil and dangerous elements in created things as due to a distortion of their true functions; as constituting, not their στάσις but their ἀπόστασις, not their true life but a phase of death. There seems to be a similar thought in Rom. viii. 20, 21, where St. Paul speaks of the creation as having been subjected to "the bondage of corruption, not willingly, but because of Him who subjected it in hope."

and the generations of the world were healthful.] Rather, "the creatures" (the created *genera* and *species*) "of the world are healthful." The word γενέσεις means "productions," as does also the Latin *nationes*, though the Vulgate translation here (*sanabiles fecit nationes terrae*) is often misunderstood. Hence God is called γενεσιάρχης, γενεσιουργός, xiii. 3, 5. It is only *per accidens* (according to the author) that created things are otherwise than salutary. His view was partly founded on Gen. i. 31; iii. 17, 18.

there is no poison of destruction in them.] The word φάρμακον in the original is not always used in a bad sense; hence the descriptive genitive is attached to it to define its meaning (Vulg. *medicamentum exterminii*). The poisonousness and destructiveness of creatures are here declared to be not *inherent*, but only relative to fallen man.

nor the kingdom of death upon the earth.] Rather, perhaps, "nor is there a palace of Hades upon earth," though the other version is also tenable. There is "a prince of the power of the air" (Eph. ii. 2), and there are "world-rulers of this darkness" (Eph. vi. 12), and Satan may even be called "the king of this world" (John xvi. 11); but death and Satan are only partial and temporary usurpers (ii. 24). Βασίλειον is used for "a palace" in Prov. xviii. 19; Luke vii. 25 (*plur.*).

15. (*For righteousness is immortal.*)] There is no parenthesis. "Righteousness" is here almost synonymous with "wisdom," and "wisdom" is called in Prov. iii. 18, "a tree of life." With this thought compare the saying of Antisthenes, βουλομένους ἀθανάτους εἶναι δεῖ ζῆν εὐσεβῶς. There is no sufficient authority for the addition of the clause "but injustice is an inheritance of death" (*injustitia autem mortis acquisitio est*), which is found in some MSS. of the Vulgate. It may, however, be genuine, since it completes the parallelism; agrees with the number of lines in the Stichometry of Nicephorus; and supplies a subject for the "it" (αὐτὸν) in the next verse.

16. *with their works.*] Lit. "with their hands," which some understand to mean that men *beckoned* to death; but, as Philo says, "hands are a symbol of actions."

called it to them.] If the added clause be spurious, "it" (αὐτὸν) must still refer to "death" (θάνατον), involved in the ἀθάνατος of the previous verse.

when they thought to have it their friend, they consumed to nought.] Rather, "regarding it as a friend, they melted away" (Vulg. *defluxerunt*). If ἐτάκησαν meant "they consumed to nought," the end of the verse would be somewhat of an anti-climax. Grimm points out that the verb might mean "they died

it, because they are worthy to take part with it.

CHAPTER II.

1 *The wicked think this life short,* 5 *and of no other after this:* 6 *therefore they will take their pleasure in this,* 10 *and conspire against the just.* 21 *What that is which doth blind them.*

FOR the *ungodly* said, reasoning with themselves, but not aright, [a] Our life is short and tedious, [b] and in the death of a man there is no remedy: neither was there any man known to have returned from the grave.

2 For we are born at all adventure: and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been: for the breath in our nostrils is as smoke, and a little spark in the moving of our heart:

[a] Job 7. 1. [b] Matt. 11. 23. 1 Cor. 15. 32.

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with love for it"—a strong expression, which suits the bitter sarcasm of the passage. The aorists are *gnomic*, i.e. they represent a normal state of things.

and made a covenant with it.] This is borrowed from Psalm xxviii. 15. Comp. Ecclus. xiv. 12, "the covenant of the grave."

they are worthy to take part with it.] They deserve "to be of death's lot" (comp. ii. 24), and not "in the hands of the Lord," iii. 1.

CHAPTER II.

OPINIONS AND PRACTICES OF THE GODLESS.

1–5. They deplore the shortness of life.

1. *For the ungodly.*] The nominative is supplied from the last verse. The "*for*" gives the reason why they are "worthy to take part with death," since they look on death as the final conqueror.

reasoning with themselves, but not aright.] Rather, "*they said among themselves*, reasoning not rightly." "Themselves" is used for "one another." Both in the classics and in Hellenistic Greek reciprocity is often extended into identity. "*Not aright*," an instance of *litotes* (see note on i. 11) for "perversely" (σκολιῶς; comp. i. 3).

tedious.] Rather, "painful," "grievous." The word λυπηρὸς is not found in the N. T., but occurs in Prov. xiv. 10, &c. It is a commonplace that the days of man's life are, for the most part, "few and evil" (Gen. xlvii. 9), and there is probably no truth for which a greater *consensus* of opinion could be adduced from the testimony of all nations and all ages.

in the death of a man there is no remedy.] At the hour of death no healing (ἴασις, Vulg. *refrigerium*) will avail. The expression resembles that of Shirley:

"There is no armour against fate."

neither was there any man known to have returned from the grave.] 1 Cor. xv. 32. This rendering is adopted by the Vulg., Syr., Arabic, and by many commentators. Ἀναλύειν may mean "to return," as in 2 Macc. xiv. 44, Luke xii. 36 (πότε ἀναλύσει ἐκ τῶν γάμων), Judith xiii. 1 (ἐσπούδασαν ἀναλύειν), 2 Macc. ix. 1, &c. The article in the Greek is then *generic*, as our version rightly renders it ("*any* man"). The clause might, however, be translated, "nor was any *deliverer* from Hades known," for in xvi. 14 ἀναλύει means "recalls" or "brings back." The thought will then resemble that of Psalm xlix. 8, 9. These materialists and freethinkers might be supposed to deride all stories of raising the dead, whether in the O. T. or in mythology (Alcestes, &c.). On their lips—since they deny man's immortality—"Hades" can only mean "the state of death," "the grave" (Sheol).

2. *at all adventure.*] αὐτοσχεδίως, not as in the Vulg. *ex nihilo*, but "anyhow," "by chance," *temere et fortuito* (comp. Cic. 'Tusc. Disp.' i. 49). There is a similar thought in Eccles. iii. 19.

as though we had never been.] The expression is borrowed from Obad. 16. Compare

"Quaeris quo jaceas post obitum loco?
Quo *non nata* jacent."—SENECA.

in our nostrils.] Gen. ii. 7; Job xxvii. 3.

and a little spark in the moving of our heart.] The A.V. here follows the very inferior reading of ὀλίγος (C) for ὁ λόγος. It is clear that ὀλίγος, though found in some quotations of the verse, is a clerical blunder. Render "and our reason (ὁ λόγος) is a spark (produced) in the beating of our heart." We have here a curious piece of ancient materialism, founded on the Heraclitean guess that all things originated from fire, and on Zeno's opinion that the soul was "a fiery particle." Just as modern materialists look on thought as a material consequence of certain changes in the molecules of the grey substance of the brain, so these ancient freethinkers supposed that the beating of the heart produced thought in the form of gleams or sparks from the fire-substance of the soul. "Breath" and "thought"

[c] Eccles. 3. 20.

1 Or, *moist.*

3 Which being extinguished, [c] our body shall be turned into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as the [1] soft air,

4 And our name shall be forgotten in time, and no man shall have our works in remembrance, and our life shall pass away as the trace of a cloud, and shall be dispersed as a mist, that is driven away with the beams of the sun, and [1] overcome with the heat thereof.

1 Or, *oppressed.*

5 [d] For our time is a very shadow that passeth away; and after our end there is no returning: for [1] it is fast sealed, so that no man cometh again.

[d] 1 Chron. 29. 15.

1 Or, *he.*

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to them are merely the result of mechanism. So Xenophanes said, "It is the nature of limbs that thinketh in men," *i.e.* thought is merely a result of organism. Empedocles said:

Αἷμα γὰρ ἀνθρώποις περικάρδιον ἐστι νόημα.

3. *shall be turned into ashes.*] A similar metaphor is differently applied in Gray's line:

"E'en in our ashes live their wonted fires."

our spirit shall vanish.] Lit., "shall be diffused or dissipated" (Vulg., *diffundetur*). Here "the spirit" does but mean "the breath." So Homer compares the departing soul to smoke ('Il.' xxiii. 10). Compare Jas. iv. 14; Soph. 'Electr.,' 1158; Hor. 'Od.' iv. 7, 15.

"*Tenuis enim quaedam* moribundos deserit *aura*
Mista vapore; vapos porro trahit aëra secum."
LUCR. iii. 233-4.

"Ergo dissolvi quoque convenit omnem animaï
Naturam, *ceu fumus* in altas aëris auras."
Ibid. 456-7.

as the soft air.] The word χαῦνος, Vulg. *mollis*, means rather "void," "thin," "empty," "yielding" (Milton's "buxom air;" Germ., *biegsam*).

4. *our name shall be forgotten in time.*] The fact that oblivion awaited them seems to have troubled the ancients, both Jews and Gentiles, more than it does ourselves. Hence arose the extreme desire, both of Jews and Gentiles, to leave behind them some monument or memorial of themselves (2 Sam. xviii. 18; Ps. cxii. 6; Prov. x. 7; Eccles. ix. 5; Ecclus. xxxvii. 26, &c.).

as the trace of a cloud.] Hos. xiii. 3; Job vii. 9. Ἴχνη properly means "footsteps."

as a mist.] This natural metaphor of evanescence is found also in Homer, ἠΰτ' ὀμίχλη. The phrase "*chased away* (διωχθεῖσα) by the beams of the sun" is used also by Latin poets:

"Nube solet *pulsâ* candidus ire dies."
Ov. *Trist.* ii. 142.

overcome.] Lit., "weighed down" (βαρυνθεῖσα). The metaphor is not very accurate; for no reasonable explanation can be offered of a mist "*weighed down*" by the sunbeams. The conjectural emendation μαρανθεῖσα is not happy. Gregory of Nazianzus, in an eloquent passage, unites the various scriptural and other metaphors for the shortness and instability of life. "We are a flitting dream, a phantom that cannot be grasped, the scud of a passing breeze, a ship that leaves no trace upon the sea, dust, a vapour, morning dew, a flower that now blossoms and now is done away" (comp. Jas. iv. 14; Job vii. 7; Ps. cii. 3, &c.).

5. *a very shadow.*] A frequent metaphor in Scripture (Job viii. 9; Ps. xxxix. 7; 1 Chron. xxix. 15; Eccles. viii. 13, &c.) and in the classics. "Man is the dream of a shadow," Pind. 'Pyth.,' viii. 133. Soph. 'Aj.,' 126:

ὁρῶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ὄντας ἄλλο πλὴν
εἴδωλ' ὅσοιπερ ζῶμεν, ἢ κούφην σκιάν.

And in modern poets:

"We are such stuff
As dreams are made of."
SHAKSPEARE, *Tempest*, iv. 1.

"Man is a torch borne in the wind; a dream
But of a shadow summed."
CHAPMAN, *Bussy d'Amboise*, i. 1.

"And what art thou? a shadow less than shade,
A nothing less than nothing."
YOUNG, *Night Thoughts*, v.

after our end there is no returning.] Vulg., *non est reversio finis nostri.* The word rendered "returning" is the rare word ἀναποδισμός, which means rather "*repetition*" than returning. It occurs neither in the LXX. nor the N. T. The A. V. expresses the same thought as that which follows: "No man cometh again;" but the real meaning is that "there is no recurrence of death." "It is appointed unto all men *once to die*," Heb. ix. 27. "No man can die twice."

The Arabic seems to have read ἐμποδισμός, "hindrance." The clause will then mean that "death is inevitable."

it is fast sealed.] The metaphor implies that which is sealed up and cannot be got at; hence that which is irrevocable. The *repetition* of death, and therefore of life, is impossible.

no man cometh again.] This thought is very common. Job vii. 9, "He that goeth down to the grave, shall come up no more." Ecclus. xxxviii. 21, "There is no turning again." Aesch. 'Eum.,' 638, ἅπαξ θανόντος

6 Come on therefore, let us enjoy the good things [a]that are present: and let us [1]speedily use the creatures like as in youth.

7 Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments: and let no flower of the spring pass by us:

8 Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds, before they be withered:

9 Let none of us go without his

[a] Isai. 22. 13. & 56. 12. 1 Cor. 15. 32.
[1] Or, *earnestly*.

οὔτις ἔστ' ἀνάστασις. Lucret. iii. 942, "*Nec quisquam expergitus exstat.*" Catull. v. 4, "*Nobis quum semel occidit brevis lux,*" &c. Compare, too, the well-known and exquisite lines of Moschus, ending

εὕδομες εὖ μάλα μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νήγρετον ὕπνον.

6–9. "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Sensuality is the natural result of unbelief in all average men.

6. *let us enjoy.*] In these verses the writer embodies the dregs of Epicurean theory. Epicurus himself taught a pure morality; but by making pleasure the *summum bonum*, he shifted the true centre of gravity of the moral system, even though he personally insisted that pleasure could only be found in the path of virtue. This paragraph represents the degraded sensualism of the followers of Antisthenes, the Hedonists, and Cyrenaic philosophers. It represents the natural result of false views:

"Unhallowed actions, planted like a crown
Upon the insolent aspiring brow
Of spurious notions."

Comp. Eccles. ii. 24, iii. 12, ix. 7, xi. 9; Is. xxii. 13; 1 Cor. xv. 32. So when the ivory skeleton is carried round at Trimalchio's feast in Petronius, the guests exclaim:

"Heu! heu! nos miseros! quam totus homo nihil est!
Sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet orcus.
Ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene."

We find the same thought in Luke xii. 19. The inscription, "Eat, drink, enjoy thyself: the rest is nothing," was carved on the pedestal of the statue of Sardanapalus, at Anchialus.

"Live while you live, the Epicure would say,
And seize the pleasures of the present day."

The thought is often expressed by Euripides ('Alc.' 788), Anacreon, the Greek Anthologists, Horace, &c.

the good things that are present.] Rather, perhaps, "the things that are really good," apart from the imaginary joys of virtue, which these freethinkers represent as mere hallucinations.

use the creatures.] Rather, "the creation" (κτίσει), everything around us. Another reading is κτήσει, "what we possess."

like as in youth.] When alone the keenest pleasure of life is possible. Eccles. xii. 1; Hor. 'Od.' ii. 3, 15.

7. *with costly wine.*] The joys of wine, with its intoxicating fumes, are invariably prominent in these Epicurean exhortations, from Omar Kayyam to Anacreon and Horace.

and ointments.] The verb πλησθῶμεν is here joined by *syllepsis* (a figure which most commentators confuse with zeugma) in different senses with οἴνου and with μύρων: "let us *fill ourselves* with costly wine, and *sate ourselves* with unguents." The custom of anointing the body with oil or with perfumes was common to the Jews (Amos vi. 6; Ps. xxiii. 5; Luke vii. 46), the Greeks (Anacr. xiii. 9), and the Romans (Hor. 'Od.' iv. 12, 18: "Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum," &c.).

flower of the spring.] Luther, *Maienblumen.* It is natural that the poets should dwell most on vernal flowers. The reading ἀέρος for ἔαρος, though ancient (Arab., "breath of flower;" Syr., "leaves of the air"?), yields no natural sense.

8. *Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds, before they be withered.*] This use of flower-garlands is Greek, not Jewish. We find in Judith xv. 13, "They put *a garland of olive* upon her." Compare

Ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ὡς ἔτι ζῶ
μύρισον, ῥόδοις τε κρᾶτα
πύκασον,

with the reason assigned, namely:

Τροχὸς ἅρματος γὰρ οἷα
βίοτος τρέχει κυλισθείς.
ANACREON.

The same sentiment recurs frequently in the Epicurean Horace:

"Non desint epulis rosae
Nec vivax apium, neu *breve* lilium."
Od. i. 36. 15.

"Huc vinum et unguenta et *nimium breves*
Flores amoenae ferre jube rosae."
Od. ii. 3. 13.

"Gather ye rosebuds while ye may,
Old Time is still a-flying,
And this same flower which smiles to-day
To-morrow will be dying."—HERRICK.

"Our careless heads with roses crowned."
LOVELACE.

The Vulg. here adds, "let there be no meadow which our riot doth not traverse." Since λειμὼν, "meadow," is found in an old glossary as occurring in this book, the addition may represent a genuine clause of the Greek text, as described in the stichometry of Nicephorus. See p. 406.

part of our [1]voluptuousness: let us leave tokens of our joyfulness in every place: for this is our portion, and our lot is this.

[1] Or, *jollity.*

10 Let us oppress the poor righteous man, let us not spare the widow, nor reverence the ancient gray hairs of the aged.

11 Let our strength be the law of justice: for that which is feeble is found to be nothing worth.

12 Therefore let us lie in wait for the righteous; because he is not for our turn, and he is clean contrary to our doings: he upbraideth us with our offending the law, and objecteth to our infamy the transgressings of our education.

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9. *of our voluptuousness.*] Neither this word, nor the marginal "*jollity*," exactly expresses the meaning of ἀγερωχίας. The word is not found in the LXX. or N.T., but in poetic and late Greek means "arrogance" (γεράοχος), and here implies "petulant dissoluteness," 2 Macc. ix. 6. The gloss gives as its equivalent ὑπερηφανίας.

this.] Namely, to make the best of mirth and sensual pleasure.

portion . . . lot.] The same words are joined in Acts viii. 21. They argue that man has nothing but the present; they are too much sunken in sensuality to realise the distant and the future. Compare the disgraceful epitaph of Sardanapalus:

τοσσ' ἔχω ὅσσ' ἔπιον καὶ ἐδήδοκα καὶ μετ' ἔρωτος τέρπν' ἐδάην τὰ δε πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια κεῖνα λέλειπται.

10-20. Oppressive insolence, a second result of unbelief.

10. *Let us oppress the poor righteous man.*] Comp. Ezek. xviii. 12; James ii. 6. "The righteous man" is here hardly meant for irony. "Righteous" may indeed have been used as a term of opprobrium by these apostatising Jews, just as "saint" often has been among professing Christians. But it is clear from *v.* 12 that the writer is here thinking mainly of wealthy and heathenish Jews who oppress their countrymen, and not of heathen tyrants. The description of their conduct resembles that given of a similar class by St. James (ii. 6, 7), who uses this same verb καταδυναστεύω (xv. 14; xvii. 2). "Poor righteous man" (πένητα δίκαιον) therefore means the downtrodden *Israelite* (comp. *v.* 12) who refused to be a renegade.

the widow.] Widows and orphans were specially defenceless in ancient days: Is. x. 2; Mal. iii. 5; 2 Macc. iii. 10; Acts vi. 1; Jas. i. 27.

the ancient gray hairs of the aged.] The expression is pleonastic, as is so common in a style coloured by Semitic idioms. Some have imagined that there is an allusion to the barbarities practised on the ancient Eleazar (see 2 Macc. vi. 18–31), but in that crime the offenders were heathen soldiers of Antiochus Epiphanes. The reader will find many analogies to the acts of oppression here described in Philo's 'Embassy to Gaius,' and his treatise against Flaccus. In the latter book he will read of Jews starved, insulted, trampled on, flogged, despoiled, and even burnt, by the Alexandrian populace, abetted or connived at by the Roman governor. Considering that Philo's own nephew, Tiberius Alexander, apostatised and became Procurator of Judea, it may be assumed that many other Jews had abandoned their nationality.

11. *Let our strength be the law of justice.*] The ambiguity of the expression led to the reading *injustitiae* in some MSS. of the Vulg.; but the meaning is, "With us let might be right." "Jus est *in armis*" (Senec. 'Herc. F.' 250).

is found to be nothing worth.] Lit., "is convicted of being a useless thing."

12. *let us lie in wait for the righteous.*] The language is coloured by Psalm x. 8–10. Secret plots are mingled with open violence.

because he is not for our turn.] The curious word δύσχρηστος (Vulg. *inutilis*), here happily rendered "not for our turn" (comp. Shakspeare's 'Taming of the Shrew,' ii. 1: "My daughter is not for your turn"), is only found in a strange divergence from the Hebrew text by the LXX. in Is. iii. 10. It means "unmanageable," "intractable."

clean contrary.] This is an old English expression for "quite contrary." It is found in Josh. iii. 17; Psalm lxxvii. 8, &c. Latimer and Ascham use this phrase.

the law.] This can only mean "the Mosaic law;" it shews that the writer is alluding to Jews. Of these Hellenising Jews we find a description in 1 Macc. i.; 2 Macc. iv. The worst type of them were men like the priests Menelas and Jason, and like Herod the Great. Philo also describes this class of persons as men who "violated the laws in accordance with which they were born and nurtured, abandoned all reverence for antiquity, and violently set aside the customs of their countrymen to which no just blame attaches." ('Vit. Mos.' i. 6.)

objecteth to our infamy.] The Greek verb simply means "reproaches us with."

the transgressings of our education.] "Sins

13 He professeth to have the knowledge of God: and [f] he calleth himself the child of the Lord.

[f] Matt. 27. 43. John 19. 7

14 He was made [g] to reprove our thoughts.

[g] John 7. 7. Ephes. 5. 13.

15 [h] He is grievous unto us even to behold: for his life is not like other men's, his ways are of another fashion.

[h] Isai. 53. 3.

16 We are esteemed of him as

against our training." The genitive is objective. There is no reason therefore for the reading ἀναιδείας, "sins of our impudence," adopted by the Syriac for παιδείας, nor for the Alexandrine reading παιδίας, "of our youth" (=νεότητος, Psalm xxiv. 7), or παιδιᾶς, "of our jest." The loyal Jew is supposed to have upbraided these renegades with their defection from the holy lessons of their early days.

13. *He professeth.*] "Boastfully proclaims" (*edicit*, 1 Tim. ii. 10).

the knowledge of God.] The γνῶσις is here supposed to be *boastfully* claimed, as it was in later ages by the Gnostics.

the child of the Lord.] The word (παῖδα) might also mean "servant," as often in the LXX., where it is used to render *Ebed Jehovah;* but that it should here be rendered by "child" or "son" seems clear from *vv.* 16, 18.

It has been much disputed whether the many remarkable expressions of this passage have any connexion with the Gospel history or not. Among the Greek Fathers, Barnabas, Justin, Origen, Hippolytus, Eusebius; among the Latin Fathers, Tertullian (c. Marc. iii. 22), Cyprian ('Testimon.' ii. 14), Lactantius, Ambrose, Augustine, treat them as a direct prophecy. They are followed by Lorinus, Corn. à Lapide, Calmet, and many Romanist commentators; and by Protestants like Calovius. On the other hand, Grotius regarded them as a Christian interpolation ("quia locutiones quaedam magis Evangelium sapiunt quam vetustiora tempora"), and Noack considers the whole book to be of Christian origin. Undoubtedly the coincidences of thought and expression with passages in the N. T. are close and curious. Compare "*he calls himself a son of God,*" and "*he boasts of God as his Father,*" with John v. 18, xix. 7; Matt. xxvii. 43, &c.: "*he proclaims that he has knowledge of God*" with John xv. 15; Matt. xi. 27: "they erred *as to the mysteries of God*" with John xii. 40. Cornelius à Lapide goes so far as to see in the "*unseemly death*" (*v.* 20) an allusion to the Cross, and in the word δυσχρηστὸς an insulting reference to the name Χρίστος, which was often confounded with χρηστὸς (a heathen confusion which is perhaps even alluded to in 1 Pet. ii. 3). But these theories fall to the ground on the slightest examination. "The just man" is a general term for the faithful Israelite (iii. 1). It is used without difference of meaning alike in the singular and in the plural. The circumstances of the persecution and the methods of the persecutors are an ideal picture, suggested partly by the language of the O. T. (especially of Is. liii.), partly by recent or contemporary circumstances. They generally resemble the facts of every age in which persecution has occurred. The decisive point, however, is that the opponents of Christ were *not* apostatising infidels, like those here described, but were on the contrary Sadducean priests, and Pharisees of "the most straitest sect of the Jews' religion." Further, it is certain that no Christian could thus have approached the subject without at least an allegoric reference to the glory of Christ's resurrection.

14. *He was made to reprove our thoughts.*] Lit., "He proved to be to us for the reproof of our designs;" *i.e.* his mere existence, by pointing a contrast unfavourable to us, thwarts and shames our ideal. Thus Capito complained to Nero of Thrasea and others that they were "rigidi et tristes quo tibi lasciviam exprobrent." The children of darkness hate the light (John iii. 20; vii. 7).

15. *grievous.*] Lit., heavy. Similarly Antisthenes, as quoted by Philo, said that the sober and earnest man was "grievous to be borne" (δυσβάστακτος); and Max. Tyrius, in a striking passage, says that "the majority could not bear the very name 'philosopher';" and that "wicked men cannot tolerate the lovely air of the virtues in the midst of them." John xv. 19: "Because ye are not of the world, the world hateth you."

even to behold.] We cannot bear his very look. See Gen. xxxvii. 4, 18; 1 K. xxi. 20; Is. liii. 3.

his life is not like other men's.] In the original it is "his life is not like the rest"—a *comparatio compendiaria* (brachylogy of comparison) for "like *the life of* the rest." The "just" are *in* "the world," but not "*of* it."

his ways:] His moral walk in the world.

of another fashion.] ἐξηλλαγμέναι. Vulg. *immutatae*, "changed" (from the ordinary). These renegades treat virtue as an affected eccentricity.

16. *We are esteemed of him.*] Lit., "we were reckoned." The aorist may either indicate the swift instinctive judgment formed by the good man, or may be the *gnomic* aorist.

Or, *false coin*. [i] Numb. 23. 10. [k] Ps. 22. 9. Matt. 27. 43. [l] Jer. 11. 19.

[h] counterfeits: he abstaineth from our ways as from filthiness: [i] he pronounceth the end of the just to be blessed, and maketh his boast that God is his father.

17 Let us see if his words be true: and let us prove what shall happen in the end of him.

18 For if the just man be the [k] son of God, he will help him, and deliver him from the hand of his enemies.

19 Let us [l] examine him with despitefulness and torture, that we may know his meekness, and prove his patience.

20 Let us condemn him with a shameful death: for by his own saying he shall be respected.

21 Such things they did imagine, and were deceived: for their own wickedness hath blinded them.

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as counterfeits.] The marg. gives "as false coin;" and this is the ordinary meaning of κίβδηλος. There is indeed no religious hypocrisy in the case, since these men openly proclaim their irreligion; but still they estimate themselves as sensible, practical, clever; and the good man sees through them, and knows them to be as valueless as tinsel and dross (Vulg. *tamquam nugaces*).

the end of the just.] He asserts that the just will always be happy at the last. The neut. adj. ἔσχατα represents the Hebrew אַחֲרִית, as in Is. lxvi. 24 (Symmachus); Ecclus. i. 13, vii. 35. For the sentiment, see Prov. x. 7; Dan. xii. 7, &c.

maketh his boast.] The word ἀλαζονεύεται is contemptuous: "he vauntingly and idly brags." The word at least shews the feeling of these infidels that the claim to be sons of God was "an immense pretension."

that God is his father.] See *v.* 13.

17. *Let us see if his words be true.*] Comp. Matt. xxvii. 49.

in the end of him.] Ἔκβασις is here used for "death." Comp. Heb. xiii. 7, and the use of ἔξοδος for death in Luke ix. 31; 2 Pet. i. 15.

18. *he will help him.*] Comp. Matt. xxvii. 43; Psalm xxii. 8, 9. But many of the saints of God know that God's help is not always granted in the sense in which the world uses the words. They accept with perfect faith an apparent finality and completeness of earthly failure, and they die contentedly, as the martyrs did, among the triumphant taunts of their enemies (Euseb. 'H. E.' v. 1).

19. *with despitefulness.*] Rather, "with insolence," which is the old meaning of despite. "Insolence" would test his "meekness," and "torment" his "endurance."

torture.] No doubt the history of Alexandria supplied the writer with recent or historical instances in which apostates, siding with the heathen, had brought torture on their countrymen.

patience.] ἀνεξικακίαν. The word occurs also in 2 Tim. ii. 24.

20. *Let us condemn him with a shameful death.*] So St. James (v. 6) says, "Ye condemned, ye murdered the just; he doth not resist you"—words which might almost be regarded as a prophecy of his own approaching martyrdom. Hegesippus, in his narrative of that martyrdom preserved by Eusebius, 'H. E.' ii. 23 (see Routh, 'Rel. Sacr.' i. 195), evidently has this passage of the Book of Wisdom in his mind. Plato, in describing the agonies to which "the just man" will be subjected, ends by saying, "he will be impaled" (ἀνασχινδυλευθήσεται, 'Rep.' ii. 5).

by his own saying he shall be respected.] The A. V. follows the Vulg. The meaning is, "in accordance with what he himself says (see *vv.* 16, 17) God will have regard to him;" so that, if his words are true (17), we need feel no compunction. Such translations as Luther's, *Da wird man ihn kennen an seinen Worten*, or "His own words will give us an occasion of punishing him;" or Churton's, "*there shall be an enquiry into the truth of his words*,"—give impossible meanings to the word ἐπισκοπή, which can only refer to God's oversight and protection of His child: Luke xix. 44; 1 Pet. ii. 12.

21–24. The cause and the consequences of these errors and crimes.

21. *they did imagine.*] On the use of the aorist to express general facts, see note on i. 16.

their own wickedness hath blinded them.] Rather, "blinded," or as we should say, idiomatically, "blinds" them. "God," as St. Augustine says, "scatters penal blindness upon forbidden lusts." The truth is expressed with equal clearness by Aristotle ('Eth. Nic.' vi. 6), where he speaks of wickedness (κακία) as being φθαρτικὴ ἀρχῆς, and by Shakspeare:

> "For when we in our viciousness grow hard,
> O misery on 't! the wise gods seal our eyes,
> In our own filth drop our clear judgments, make us
> Adore our errors, laugh at us, while we strut
> To our confusion."

St. Paul most forcibly illustrates the deepening of this self-induced darkness in Rom.

22 As for the mysteries of God, they knew them not: neither hoped they for the wages of righteousness, nor [1] discerned a reward for blameless souls.

23 For God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an [m] image of his own eternity.

24 [n] Nevertheless through envy of the devil came death into the world: and they that do hold of his side do find it.

[1] Gr. *preferred*, or, *esteemed the reward.*

[m] Gen. i. 26, 27. & 5. 1. Ecclus. 17. 3.

[n] Gen. 3. 13.

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i. 18–32, and in Eph. iv. 18 (ἐσκοτισμένοι ... ἀγνοίαν ... πώρωσιν).

22. *the mysteries of God.*] Vulg., *sacramenta Dei.* God's "mysteries" are the deeper truths which He only reveals to pure eyes and open hearts. For the use of the word in the N. T., see Rom. xvi. 25; Eph. i. 9. Here the reference is to God's ways of dealing with His children.

hoped for.] Hope is a virtue, as well as a blessing and a reward.

the wages of righteousness.] Rather, "of holiness." The word "holy" (ὅσιος) describes our relation to God; "blameless" (ἄμωμος) describes our relation to men. It is the LXX. rendering of the Hebrew חָסִיד (Ps. xvi. 10, xxxii. 6, &c.), from which is derived the name *Chasîdîm*, or Assidæans, "the Pious" (see 1 Macc. ii. 42, vii. 13; 2 Macc. xiv. 6), which was the designation chosen by the anti-Hellenistic Jews. The words ὅσιος, ὁσιότης, occur constantly in this book. Such "holiness" is regarded as a necessary manifestation of "wisdom." The reward is "the gift of faith, and inheritance in the temple of the Lord" (iii. 14).

nor discerned a reward for blameless souls.] The margin also suggests "preferred" or "esteemed" for ἔκριναν; but by supplying the infinitive εἶναι, the word may retain its ordinary signification, "nor judged that *there is* a guerdon."

23. *For.*] The word introduces the statement that there *is* such a guerdon, and that it is nothing less than a blessed immortality.

to be immortal.] Vulg., "creavit hominem *inexterminabilem.*" The word used for "immortality" means literally "incorruption" (ἀφθαρσία, 1 Cor. xv. 42; 1 Tim. ii. 10, &c.). The immortality implied is a joyful eternity, which "maketh us near unto God," vi. 19. In the LXX. the word only occurs in Ps. lxxiv. 1.

an image of his own eternity.] The A.V. here adopts the reading ἀϊδιότητος, with Athanasius, Methodius, and other Fathers. Other MSS. followed by the Vulg. and Syriac read ὁμοιότητος (Vulg., *ad imaginem similitudinis suae*), perhaps an ancient gloss for ἰδιότητος, which is found in Clement of Alexandria, and is adopted by the Complutensian text. If the author had been specially referring to the LXX. (Gen. i. 26), he would have used ὁμοιώσεως. The assonance involved in τῆς ἰδίας ἰδιότητος is in favour of that reading, and man can be more easily regarded as "*an image* of God's *likeness*" (Col. iii. 10) than "of His *eternity.*"

24. *through envy of the devil.*] Διάβολος, like the Hebrew "Satan," does not need the article, being regarded as a proper name (1 Pet. v. 8). Doubtless the Devil is here identified (for the first time in Jewish literature) with the Serpent of Paradise, as in Rev. xii. 9, xx. 2, and in Talmudic literature. The *envy* of the Devil can only allude to the Eastern and Rabbinic legends that the fall of Satan was due to his scorn and envy manifested at the creation of mankind. Josephus ('Antt.' I. i. § 4) says that "the Serpent living with Adam and his wife *was envious* (φθονερῶς εἶχεν) at the blessings which he thought that they would enjoy if they obeyed the commandments of God." See, too, Eisennenger, 'Entd. Jud.' i. 827. In Ecclus. xi. 16 we read, "Error and darkness had their origin together with sinners:" but the passage is probably an interpolation. That envy is specially a "*peccatum diabolicum,*" is implied in Job i. 1–11, ii. 4, 5; Is. xiv. 12–15. This is one of the passages in which the writer diverges widely from the theology and philosophy of Philo, who, after his usual allegorising methods, makes the Serpent a mere *symbol* of seductive temptation ('De Mund. Opif.' 56).

came death into the world.] Rom. v. 12. In John viii. 44 the Devil is called "a murderer (ἀνθρωποκτόνος) from the beginning;" and in Heb. ii. 14 he is spoken of as "him that hath the power of death." In the Gospel of Nicodemus, c. 23, he is addressed as "the beginning of death, and the root of sin." In the confused demonology of the Jews, with its curious foreign admixtures, he is sometimes identified with, but more often distinguished from, the Angel of Death.

they that do hold of his side.] See i. 16; 1 John iii. 12. Cain was "*of* the wicked one."

do find it.] They fall under the power of death (Rom. vi. 23); in other words, they pass into an existence of darkness and misery. There is no classical instance in which the verb πειράζω means "I experience," but it seems to approximate to this sense in xii. 26 (where the Vulg. renders it *experti sunt*), Ecclus. xxxix. 4, and Eccles. viii. 5 (Symmachus).

CHAPTER III.

1 *The godly are happy in their death,* 5 *and in their troubles:* 10 *the wicked are not, nor their children:* 13 *but they that are pure are happy, though they have no children:* 16 *for the adulterer and his seed shall perish.*

BUT [a] the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them.

2 [b] In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die: and their departure is taken for misery,

[a] Deut 33. 3.
[b] ch. 5. 2.

In this verse the Vulg. refers *αὐτὸν* not to "death," but to the Devil, and renders the clause "*imitantur autem illum qui sunt ex parte illius.*"

III.–V. The Righteous and the Wicked.

CHAPTER III.

1–9. The hopes and blessings of the righteous. **10–iv. 6.** The offspring of the righteous and of the godless.

1. *But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God.*] The subject of the last chapter is continued. The wages of sin is spiritual death; the wicked die, and pass into a misery which is but a life-in-death. The righteous die the death of the body, but that death is life. Their souls, when they pass away, are "*in the hand,*" i.e. under the protecting care of God (Ps. lxxxviii. 5; Is. li. 16, "I have covered thee with the shadow of my hand;" John x. 28, "Neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand;" Lk. xxiii. 46, "into Thy hands;" xvi. 23, "Lazarus in his bosom").

there shall no torment touch them.] In the future life—which the Jews after the days of the Exile, and especially at the epoch when this book was written, recognised more distinctly than their fathers—the wicked shall be in "torment," which shall not touch the righteous. The nature and continuance of their future torment are not defined, and were not clearly realised; but, as in the Book of Enoch and the parable of Dives, their fate is metaphorically described in language borrowed from the imagery of the ancient prophets (Lk. xvi. 23; Rev. xiv. 10; Is. lxvi. 24). The word *βάσανος* only occurs once or twice in the LXX., and in the N. T. only in Matt. iv. 24 (of sickness) and Lk. xvi. 23, 28; but *βασανίζω* and *βασανισμὸς* are applied in the Apocalypse to punishment beyond the grave. The word means: (1) a touchstone; (2) examination by torture; (3) torment in general.

2. *In the sight of the unwise.*] Lit., "in the eyes." A Hebraism (בְּעֵינֵי) for "in the judgment of." Comp. ix. 9; Deut. xii. 8; Judg. xvii. 6; Judith iii. 4; Ecclus. viii. 16. "The unwise," like the friends of Job, who judge by appearances and cannot rise beyond a cruel traditional orthodoxy, form false judgments about the sorrows of the righteous.

of the unwise.] The word *ἀφρόνων* means the *morally* unwise. In all scriptural writings, folly and wickedness are identified: i. 3; Is. lix. 6; Prov. xvi. 27; Judg. xx. 6, 10, &c. (LXX.)

they seemed to die.] Rather, "to be dead." In this and the following verses we have the contrast between the semblance of death and the reality of life which has been dwelt upon by many great writers. Probably Euripides was one of the earliest Greeks to express this thought in his famous lines:

> τίς οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μέν ἐστι κατθανεῖν
> τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν;

The incessant jests which Aristophanes points at this deep question, prove the astonishment which it excited. Afterwards the thought became almost a commonplace. In Maximus Tyrius, we find ('Dissert.' 25, p. 258, quoted by Grimm), "That which the many call death, that very thing was the beginning of immortality and the birth of the future life." Philo, in a passage closely resembling this ('Det. pot.' Opp. i. 200), says: "The wise man when he seems to be dead as to this corruptible life is living the incorruptible." In the eloquent Epistle to Diognetus, "the seeming death" is contrasted with "the reality of death" in aeonian fire. The Book of Enoch, cii. 4–cv. 2, furnishes several analogous thoughts. In the N. T. death is often represented as the gate of life. See especially Phil. i. 21–23; Rom. vii. 24; Col. iii. 3, 4; 2 Cor. v. 8; Rev. xiv. 13, &c. We meet with the same thought not only in Christian poets like Milton:

> "When Faith and Love, which parted from thee never,
> Had ripened thy just soul to dwell with God,
> Meekly thou didst resign *this earthly load*
> *Of death, called life, which us from life doth sever;*"

but even in poets like Shelley:

> "Ah no, he is not dead, he does not sleep—
> He hath awakened from the dream of life."

their departure.] This word *ἔξοδος* is used for "death" in Lk. ix. 3; 2 Pet. i. 15. Comp. vii. 6; ii. 17 (*ἔκβασις*); Ecclus. xxxviii. 23; Jos. 'Antt.' iv. 8, § 2, *ἐξ ἐξόδου τοῦ ζῆν*. This use of the word is not found in classical Greek, but "exitus" and *excessus* are used for death in Cic. 'Legg.' i. 1; Justin. xiv. 4, § 10; Lactant. 'De Mort. Persec.' 50.

is taken for misery.] Rather, "was counted a misfortune."

3 And their going from us to be utter destruction: but they are in peace.

4 For though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their [c] hope full of immortality.

5 And having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly [1] rewarded:

[c] Rom. 8. 24. 2 Cor. 5. 1. 1 Pet. 1. 13.

[1] Or, *benefited*.

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3. *their going from us.*] πορεία. Another euphemism for death. There seems to be no exact parallel for this expression, the nearest being Lk. xxii. 22, "the Son of Man goeth" (πορεύεται); comp. Acts i. 25. It is derived from the phrases "to go to our fathers," Gen. xv. 15, or "to go the way of all the earth," 1 Kings ii. 2, &c.

utter destruction.] σύντριμμα, "a crushing up." Vulg., *exterminium*, "annihilation." Rom. iii. 16; 1 Macc. ii. 7, &c.

but they are in peace.] The "but" is emphatic: "but on the contrary." "Peace" (*Shalom*—the ordinary form of Jewish greeting) was the ideal conception of happiness to the Hebrew, as joy (χαίρειν) was to the Greek. The "peace" of the departed righteous souls which is here contemplated is *not* the repose of unconsciousness, as in Shelley—

"Envy and calumny and hate and pain
Can touch him not, nor torture him again"—

and many similar passages; nor is it the immortality of posthumous memory, as in the famous lines:

"Oh may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence!"

but it is a state of deep and sentient blessedness,—"a rest" (ἀνάπαυσις, iv. 7; Heb. iii. 11; Rev. xiv. 13). It is "Paradise" (Lk. xxiii. 43). This truth goes beyond anything which was clear to most of the O. T. writers, who look on the grave as a dreamless sleep: Job iii. 13–19; Is. xxxviii. 11, 18; Eccles. ix. 10; Ps. vi. 5, xv. 9, lxxxviii. 11, &c. The idea of a joyous life beyond the grave was only revealed gradually, and the full knowledge of it was given by Him who brought life and immortality to light.

4–9. These verses obviate the objection which might be urged from the earthly afflictions of the righteous. They are meant only to test, and purge, and train for future bliss and glory.

4. *though they be punished.*] More accurately, "if they have been punished." Some suppose that there is an allusion to the martyrs in the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes: 1 Macc. i. 57–64. It is more probable that the writer had some recent events in his mind.

in the sight of men.] See *v.* 2. The Jews found it difficult to understand the problem of the earthly afflictions of the godly, which had perplexed both David (Ps. lxxiii.) and Job. David found the solution in the calamity and retribution which often overtake the wicked even in this life. The difficulties of Job are hushed by an appeal to the awful omnipotence of God, which requires unquestioning submission. In the age when this book was written, the Jews had advanced much further, and they were able to rest in the belief that the rewards and punishments of a future life would redress the wrongs and inequalities of the present. The transient "day" of feeble men (ἄνθρωποι) is incapable of judging aright as to the phenomena of life (1 Cor. iv. 3). We see but one small arc of an infinite circle. See 1 Cor. xv. 19.

yet is their hope full of immortality.] The currency of the phrase is due to its rich poetic depth. The righteous have a "full assurance (πληροφορία) of hope even to the end" (Heb. vi. 11, x. 22). Their hopes are not set on earthly things, but are filled with thoughts of the world to come. The word used for "immortality" is here ἀθανασία, not ἀφθαρσία. It is naturally wanting in the O. T., though Aquila used it in Ps. xlix. 15: but it occurs several times in this book (iv. 1, viii. 18, xv. 13; Ecclus. xix. 17). In viii. 13 it may mean (like *Unsterblichkeit*) an immortal *memory*, as when Milton said, "I dream of immortality;" but usually it means eternal life. In the N. T. it occurs in 1 Cor. xv. 53; 1 Tim. vi. 16. It was this hope which sustained the martyr-brothers who were so cruelly tortured and slain by Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. vii. 9), to whose traditional utterances the writer may incidentally allude.

5. *a little chastised.*] The word for chastisement (παιδευθέντες) implies a divine *education*. This view of the sufferings of the godly is specially worked out in Heb. xii. 5–12; Jas. i. 12; Rev. iii. 19; but it was familiar also to the O. T. writers: Lev. xxvi. 23, 24; 2 Sam. vii. 14; Ps. xciv. 12, cxix. 75; Prov. iii. 12, &c.

they shall be greatly rewarded.] The thought is the same as in Rom. viii. 18; 2 Cor. iv. 17: "Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us, more and more exceedingly, an eternal weight of glory."

proved them.] "God did *tempt* Abraham," Ex. xv. 25. In the view of the sacred writers, all afflictions are a test (δοκιμή, 2 Cor. viii. 2), a trial (πειρασμός, Jas. i. 12), a training (παιδεία, Heb. xii. 5), or an admonition (νου-

warded: for God [d] proved them, and found them [e] worthy for himself.

6 [e] As gold in the furnace hath he tried them, and received them as a burnt offering.

7 And in the time of their visitation [f] they shall shine, and run to and fro like sparks among the stubble.

8 They [g] shall judge the nations,

[d] Exod. 4. [e] Matt. 8. 2. Or, meet. Zech. 13. Is. 3. 3. Ecclus. 2. [f] Matt. 13. 43. [g] Matt. 19. 28. 1 Cor. 6. 2.

θεσία, Eph. vi. 4). I can see no ground in this passage for Grimm's remark about the supposed unjust particularism of the writer in regarding the punishments of the *Jews* as disciplinary, and those of the *Gentiles* as retributive. In the punishments mentioned in xi., xii., the writer is speaking of *wicked* Gentiles, and his present remarks are a consolation to *righteous* Jews. It may, however, be pointed out that Scripture only represents punishment as being purely retributive when its disciplinary effect has wholly failed.

worthy for himself.] Rather, "worthy of Himself," *i.e.* worthy of His vision and of His sabbath; worthy to become a λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν (1 Pet. ii. 9). This conception was greatly deepened by the teaching of Christ (Matt. x. 37, 38; Rev. iii. 20; John xiv. 17; 1 John iv. 12). When, in vision, St. Thomas Aquinas was asked what reward he desired, his answer was, "*Non aliam* (mercedem) *nisi te Domine.*"

6. *As gold in the furnace.*] The word for "smelting-furnace" is rare, but the thought of fiery probation to purge away all mortal dross is common (1 Pet. i. 7, iv. 12; Zech. xiii. 9, &c.). Comp. Ov. 'Trist.,' i. 4. 25—

"Scilicet ut fulvum spectatur in ignibus aurum
Tempore sic duro est inspicienda fides"—

and Pope's epitaph on Mrs. E. Corbett in St. Margaret's, Westminster:

"So unaffected, so composed a mind,
So firm yet soft, so strong yet so refined,
Heaven as its purest gold with tortures tried:
The saint sustained it, but the woman died."

he tried them.] Tested their genuineness (ἐδοκίμασεν); proved that they were not counterfeits (κίβδηλα), like those alluded to in ii. 16.

received them.] Regarded them favourably (Job viii. 20, LXX.).

as a burnt offering.] See 1 Macc. i. 45. The martyrs under Antiochus were forbidden to offer sacrifices, but their *life* was itself a sacrifice. The curious phrase ὁλοκάρπωμα θυσίας means "a whole burnt offering" (holocaust). The sense of "fruit" (καρπὸς) has become quite obsolescent. This frequently happens to the etymological element of a word, as in "looking-*glasses* of silver;" "a silver *box;*" "a *hecatomb* of *ten* oxen," &c. The word does not occur in the N. T. (where we find ὁλοκαύτωμα, Matt. xii. 33; Heb. x. 6); but it is found in the LXX., Lev. xvi. 24. Comp. Ecclus. xlv. 14. For the thought see Rom. xii. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 5.

7. *in the time of their visitation.*] When God "visits" or "looks upon" them, to "reward them according to their works." We have the word ἐπισκοπὴ again in *v.* 13. In the LXX. it occurs in a bad sense of the *penal* visitation of God, as in Lev. xix. 20; Jer. vi. 15: in a good sense, in Job x. 12. In the N. T. we find it in Luke xix. 44; 1 Pet. ii. 12, v. 6: as well as in its general sense of "overseership," "bishoprick," Acts i. 20; 1 Tim. iii. 1. The writer has here left in shadow all specific details. Hence Bretschneider and others suppose him to be speaking of some golden age for Israel on earth. Gfrörer ('Philo,' ii. 256) refers the passage to the day of judgment; others, again, explain it as a description of triumph and happiness beyond the grave. The decision between these views is not easy; perhaps because no such decision is possible. The writer's object is to prophesy, in the glowing language of conviction, the final triumph and happiness of the good. The form and manner of the triumph are naturally expressed in general imagery.

they shall shine.] To explain this of "pure ethereal light-bodies," assumed by the just at their resurrection, as Gfrörer does, is perhaps too definite an explanation of a general metaphor. There can be little doubt that the expression is a reference to Dan. xii. 3, "They that be wise shall shine (LXX. ἐκλάμψουσι) as the brightness of the firmament." Comp. Is. lx. 1–3 and Matt. xiii. 43, "Then shall the righteous shine forth (ἐκλάμψουσιν) as the sun in the kingdom of their Father;" Phil. ii. 15.

and run to and fro like sparks among the stubble.] This, too, seems to be a general metaphor to express the victorious and sin-consuming power of the just hereafter. It is based on Obad. 18: "And the house of Jacob shall be fire, and the house of Joseph *a flame*, and *the house of Edom for stubble*, and they shall *kindle in them and devour them*" (comp. Ps. v. 24; Joel ii. 5, "like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth the stubble"). The word "spark" (σπινθὴρ) occurs in a similar figure in Aquila and Symmachus, Is. i. 31. The wicked are compared to stubble in Mal. iv. 1.

8. *They shall judge the nations.*] Comp. Ecclus. iv. 15. This again is a metaphor

and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign for ever.

9 They that put their trust in him shall understand the truth: [l] and such as be faithful in love shall abide with him: [k] for grace and mercy is to his saints, and he hath care for his elect.

[l] Or, *and such as be faithful shall remain with him in love.*
[k] ch. 4. 15.

10 But the [l] ungodly shall be punished according to their own imaginations, which have neglected the righteous, and forsaken the Lord.

11 For whoso despiseth wisdom and nurture, he is miserable, and their hope is vain, their labours unfruitful, and their works unprofitable:

[l] Matt. 25. 41.

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which frequently recurs in Scripture, and is founded on Dan. vii. 22. It evidently implies more than the mere ultimate vindication of the children of Wisdom, and the moral condemnation of those who have persecuted them: Matt. xix. 28; 1 Cor. vi. 2; Rev. xx. 4.

their Lord shall reign.] Rather, "the Lord shall reign over them." The expression may be a reminiscence of Jer. iii. 14, where the words "I am married to you" (rather, "I am your lord," *i.e.* your husband, as in xxxi. 34) are rendered by the LXX. ἐγὼ κατακυριεύσω αὐτῶν. The promise resembles therefore those in Ex. xxix. 45; Lev. xxvi. 12; 2 Cor. vi. 16.

for ever.] Lit., "to the ages," a rendering of the vague Hebrew לְעוֹלָם.

9. *shall understand the truth.*] Here faith in God is regarded as the secret of understanding the ways of His providence. St. John (vii. 17) records the promise of Christ that obedience (which springs from faith) shall be rewarded with knowledge.

such as be faithful in love shall abide with him.] The margin suggests "such as be faithful shall remain with Him in love." There can be but little doubt that this is the preferable rendering. "The faithful" (οἱ πιστοὶ, comp. Ecclus. i. 14) is an equivalent expression to οἱ πεποιθότες in the previous verse. The promise is found yet more fully and richly in John xiv. 16, xv. 10; Rev. iii. 20.

grace and mercy.] See iv. 15. The words are also combined with "peace" at the beginning of St. Paul's pastoral epistles.

to his saints.] Rather, "among his holy ones," if we adopt the reading ἐν τοῖς ὁσίοις αὐτοῦ. There are many variations of reading which do not in any important way affect the sense, and which may be partly owing to the fact that an exactly similar passage occurs at iv. 15. This title, "the holy" (ὅσιος), is given to the Israelites in x. 17; xviii. 1, 5, 9. It is not found in the N. T.

he hath care for his elect.] For the word ἐπισκοπή, here rendered "care," see the note on *v.* 7. This clause is omitted by the Vulg., but it is supported by the evidence of many of the best MSS. and versions. The phrase "mine elect" (comp. Tobit viii. 15) is found in Is. xlii. 1, &c., and Christians are called "elect" in Col. iii. 13; Tit. i. 1, &c.

10—iv. 6. Contrasted fates of the offspring of the righteous and the godless.

10. *according to their own imaginations.*] Rather, "in accordance with their reasonings"—the "crooked reasonings" referred to in i. 2, 3, ii. 1, which deserve the punishment which they naturally involve (Prov. i. 29–31).

which have neglected the righteous.] Τοῦ δικαίου may either mean "the just man" (*justum*, Vulg.) or "justice" in the abstract, as Augustine seems to have understood it ("qui neglexerunt *justitiam*"). The latter rendering would give a more exact parallel to the σοφίαν ἐξουθενῶν of the next verse. It also yields an easier sense. The neuter τὸ δίκαιον for "justice" is not common in Hellenistic Greek, but it occurs in Luke xii. 57, Col. iv. 1 (τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὴν ἰσότητα); and in Job xxxiv. 10, ταράξαι τὸ δίκαιον means "to disturb justice" (comp. 2 Macc. x. 12). On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that ὁ δίκαιος has occurred three times in the last chapter (ii. 10, 12, 18). The phrase "have neglected the righteous" may be an allusion to the supercilious contempt of renegade Jews for their faithful brethren, and their refusal to minister to their needs.

and forsaken the Lord.] This "apostasy" (ἀποστάντες) has already been hinted at in ii. 12, in the words "transgression against the law."

11. *nurture.*] παιδείαν. See ii. 12. The same phrase is found in Prov. i. 7.

miserable.] ταλαίπωρος, xiii. 10. This is one of the poetic words which became current in Hellenistic Greek. It is rare, however, both in the LXX. and in the N. T. (where it only occurs twice: Rom. vii. 24; Rev. iii. 17).

their hope.] The hope of all such.

unfruitful . . . unprofitable.] Grimm sees an instance of *litotes* here as in i. 11; but the two epithets are meant to describe the *ineffectualness* of all the aims and efforts of the wicked, which is often dwelt on in Scripture (Is. lii. 3; Job viii. 22; 1 Cor. ii. 6; Rev. xviii. 17, &c.), and which is implied in the

Or, *light*, or, *unchaste*.

12 Their wives are [i]foolish, and their children wicked:

13 Their offspring is cursed. Wherefore blessed is the barren that is undefiled, which hath not known the sinful bed: she [k]shall have fruit in the visitation of souls.

[k] Isai. 56. 5.

14 And *blessed is* the [l]eunuch, which with his hands hath wrought no iniquity, nor imagined wicked

[l] Isai. 56. 4, 5.

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word ἁμαρτία—properly "a missing of the mark."

12. *Their wives are foolish.*] The word ἄφρονες (Vulg. *insensatae*) sometimes has the meaning "light" or "unchaste," which is suggested in the margin: comp. 2 Sam. xiii. 13; Prov. v. 5 (LXX. ἀφροσύνης); Deut. xxii. 21.

their children wicked.] In this and some of the following verses we have one of the unsatisfactory generalisations by which the Jews tried to meet the speculative difficulties presented by the present condition of the world. Such a proverb as that in Ezek. xvi. 44, "As is the mother, so is the daughter," or the German proverb, "The apple falls not far from its stem," do indeed correspond to a *general* truth of experience, but the writer might have seen, even in Scripture history, that it is one which admits of far too many exceptions to have much value as an argument. The Son of Sirach says (Ecclus. xli. 5), "The children of the wicked are abominable children;" but yet the children of the wicked are, as Ezekiel implies (xviii. 1–18), sometimes holy, and the children of the holy are sometimes depraved. Compare, however, Juvenal ('Sat.' xiv. 1):

"Plurima sunt, Fuscine, et fama digna sinistra,
Quae monstrant ipsi pueris, traduntque parentes."

13. *Their offspring is cursed.*] The expression must only be understood as implying the *general* law of sequence and heredity. It is notorious that many great and flourishing families have sprung from illicit unions. Our own kings for many generations were descended from William I., who was known as "the Bastard." The allusion may perhaps be to the children of *mixed* marriages, who were regarded as illegitimate;—yet Salmon married Rahab, and Boaz married Ruth.

Wherefore.] The reasoning of these verses is confused. It is possible that, in some conspicuous instances which had come under the writer's cognizance, the heathenising Jews against whom he is writing may have been blessed with abundant offspring, like those to whom David alludes (Ps. xvii. 14), while some of the faithful had (like Hannah) few or no children. The Jews plunged themselves into much needless perplexity by their unwarrantable way of regarding earthly prosperity and adversity as proofs of the favour or wrath of God—an error which the Book of Job was intended to refute. The writer truly points out that the barren and the impotent may earn blessings from God of far more worth than marriage, or sons or daughters. But these two verses are awkwardly interposed into his general and too absolutely stated argument that the children of the wicked are under the curse of God.

the barren that is undefiled.] The words are defined (ἥτις) by the next clause to mean "*the married woman* who has no children." The attempt of Corn. à Lapide, and other Roman Catholic commentators, to extract from this verse a glorification of celibacy, is as arbitrary as many other attempts to establish unauthorised dogmas by perverted texts. *Unmarried* women are never called "barren" in Scripture, and voluntary celibacy seems to have been wholly unknown to the Jews till the rise of the Therapeutae and Essenes, who were always a small body. The praises of celibacy could not, without singular incongruity, have been put into the mouth of a king who had 300 wives and 700 concubines. With the phrase "blessed is the barren," comp. Is. liv. 1; Luke xxiii. 29; Gal. iv. 27.

fruit.] The meaning is that she shall have spiritual fruit, better than "the fruit of the womb." It is the antithesis to barrenness.

in the visitation of souls.] See *v.* 7.

14. *blessed is the eunuch.*] Under the Old Covenant, the exclusion of eunuchs from "the congregation of the Lord" (Deut. xxiii. 1, 2) caused their lot to be exceptionally hard, and therefore Isaiah had addressed to them a special consolation (Is. lvi. 3–5) by promising to them a place in God's house and "a name better than of sons and daughters." It is clear that there is an allusion to this passage. In Matt. xix. 12, our Lord refers to three classes of eunuchs. The meaning of the words which describe the third class is uncertain. It is unnecessary to enter into that passage here, for the writer is evidently pointing, not to celibate persons, but to those who are from natural causes childless. There is not the smallest ground for adopting the theory of Grätz and others, that these verses have been interpolated in the interest of Christian asceticism and voluntary celibacy.

the special gift of faith.] The article is inaccurate. The meaning is that the godly eunuch shall receive "a precious (ἐκλεκτόν, comp. Ezek. xxvii. 24) spiritual blessing—namely, the blessing of faith (Eph. ii. 8);" the

things against God: for unto him shall be given [1]the special gift of faith, and an inheritance [1]in the temple of the Lord more acceptable to his mind.

15 For glorious is the fruit of good labours: and the root of wisdom shall never fall away.

16 As for the children of adulterers, they shall not [1]come to their perfection, and the seed of an unrighteous bed shall be rooted out.

17 For though they live long, yet shall they be nothing regarded: and their last age shall be without honour.

18 Or, if they die quickly, they have no hope, neither comfort in the day of [1]trial.

[1] Gr. *the chosen.*
[1] Or, *among the people.*
[1] Or, *be partakers of holy things.*
[1] Or, *hearing.*

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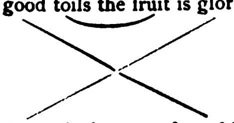
joy of assured confidence in God. Χάρις τῆς πίστεως can hardly mean "a reward for his faithfulness."

and an inheritance in the temple of the Lord.] The reading λαῷ for ναῷ (followed in the margin, "among the people") is clearly wrong, for there is unmistakably an allusion to Is. lvi. 5, and only indirectly to Deut. xxiii. 1.

more acceptable.] The word θυμηρέστερος occurs neither in the LXX. nor in the N. T. It is an epic word found in Homer. There is another reading, θυμηδέστερος, which means the same thing, and is found in Aeschylus. The recognition of God shall be to the faithful eunuch more acceptable than wedlock and offspring.

15. *For glorious.*] The verse, and each clause of it, is arranged in the oratorical order known as *chiasmos*. In the first clause the *adjectives* in the original are placed at the beginning and the end, and each clause balances the other.

"For of good toils the fruit is glorious,



And unfailing is the root of good intelligence."

The arrangement illustrates the extreme artificiality of the style. The Hebrew parallelism is expressed in rhythmic oratory.

For.] He gives the reason why even the barren woman and the eunuch, if they be godly, cannot perish without memorial. Their deeds live, and their example lives, and the blessedness which springs from their efforts continues to be their portion. They have a root which is eternally fruitful.

shall never fall away.] Ἀδιάπτωτος is a rare and late word. Hippocrates uses it in the sense of "infallible." It does not occur in the LXX. or in the N. T. It is here meant to recall the language of Ps. i. 3; cxii. 6, 7.

16. *they shall not come to their perfection.*] The meaning is that they shall neither be glorious nor immortal. The margin suggests that they shall not "be partakers of holy things." This is a rendering of ἀτέλεστα in its technical meaning of "uninitiated into the mysteries," as though the word implied the exclusion of bastards from the congregation of the Lord (Deut. xxiii. 1, 2). The meaning would then be that the exclusion of *eunuchs* on earth should be compensated by their admission into all the blessings of the future life, but that this should not be the case with *bastards*. But the parallelism shews that the simpler meaning (Vulg., *inconsummati*) is here intended. The word occurs again in iv. 5, κλῶνες ἀτέλεστοι, "branches that come to nothing."

shall be rooted out.] The metaphor belongs only to the English. The Greek is ἀφανισθήσεται (Vulg., *exterminabitur*), "shall disappear" or "be put out of sight;" *i.e.* they shall perish soul and body (comp. *v.* 17 and i. 12). The teaching is neither so true, nor so wise, nor so just as that of Ezek. xviii. 14–20. The view of heredity in wickedness is cruelly exaggerated. Like South, the writer regards these unfortunates as having been not "born into the world," but "damned into the world."

17. *For though.*] ἐάν τε. In *v.* 18 the same phrase is rendered "or if." Neither rendering is quite accurate, nor is that of the Vulg., which in both cases has *et si*. Ἐάν τε, repeated, is used to represent the Hebrew אִם . . . אִם, and should be rendered simply "if . . . if" (or "whether" and "or," as in Deut. xviii. 3).

they live long.] The Greek adjective is in the masculine (μακρόβιοι), referring to the sons of adulterers. The substantive used in *v.* 16 was τέκνα, but the construction follows the sense (κατὰ σύνεσιν).

their last age.] Lit., "their old age at the last." For the general idea of the verse, see note on iv. 14.

18. *quickly.*] ὀξέως; lit., "sharply." Vulg. *celerius*, "before their time." See LXX., Is. viii. 3, where ὀξέως is a synonym of ταχέως.

they have no hope.] Unlike the righteous, who "hath hope in his end." The writer may have been thinking of that law of physical consequences by which, as a matter of

19 For horrible is the end of the unrighteous generation.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *The chaste man shall be crowned.* 3 *Bastard slips shall not thrive.* 6 *They shall witness against their parents.* 7 *The just die young, and are happy.* 19 *The miserable end of the wicked.*

BETTER it is to have no children, and to have virtue: for the memorial thereof is immortal: because it is [1]known with God, and with men.

2 When it is present, men take example at it; and when it is gone, they desire it: [a]it weareth a crown, and triumpheth for ever, having gotten the victory, striving for undefiled rewards.

3 But the multiplying brood of the

[1] Or, *approved.*

[a] ch. 5. 16. James 1. 12. 1 Pet. 5. 4. Rev. 2. 10.

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experience, the sins of the fathers are visited, even to the third and fourth generation, upon their children, alike in moral tendencies and in physical results. But he goes far beyond this, so that his language becomes both unmerciful and unwarrantable, as well as exaggerated.

of trial.] διαγνώσεως. The word only occurs in the N. T. in Acts xxv. 21 ("the *decision* of the Emperor"). It is not found in the LXX.

19. *horrible.*] Rather "grievous" (χαλεπά).

CHAPTER IV.

1–6. The childlessness of the virtuous involves a surer immortality than guilty fatherhood. **7–9.** Better a short and righteous life than godless old age. **10–14.** The truth illustrated by the example of Enoch. **15–20.** The world, to its own terrible ruin, fails to learn the lesson.

1. *Better.*] It is better, it involves a loftier blessedness to be childless and virtuous than, as the Son of Sirach expresses it, "to have impious children" (Ecclus. xvi. 4).

to have virtue.] The Vulg., perhaps from a dogmatic bias towards celibate asceticism, paraphrases the clause by "*O quam pulchra est casta generatio cum claritate.*" 'Αρετὴ here does not mean "chastity," but is a general name for manly virtue (2 Macc. vi. 31). In the LXX. the word is chiefly used for "glory" (Hab. iii. 2; Zech. vi. 15). In the N. T. it is rare (Phil. iv. 8; 2 Pet. i. 3, 5), because the ideal of the Christian is holiness, which is a deeper and richer grace than virtue.

is immortal.] It remains unforgotten, because it is progressively recognised (γινώσκεται) both with God and among men. The author may have read the famous apologue of the Choice of Hercules by Prodicus (Xen. 'Mem.' ii. 1. 33), where we find the expression "I am honoured most of all among gods and among men."

2. *take example at it.*] Literally, "imitate it." Another and weaker reading is τιμῶσι, "honour it." The "*imitation*" of holy examples is often inculcated in the N.T. (2 Thess. iii. 7; Heb. vi. 12, xiii. 7; 1 Cor. iv. 16, &c.).

they desire it.] ποθοῦσι, they regret and yearn for it. In this verse again we have the *chiastic* arrangement (see iii. 15) of which the writer is so fond. Instead of saying, "men imitate it when present, and regret it when absent," he arranges the words more rhetorically—

παροῦσάν τε μιμοῦνται αὐτὴν
καὶ ποθοῦσιν ἀπελθοῦσαν—

where the emphatic participles begin and end the sentence. Compare—

"Virtutem sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi."
HOR.

"Virtutem videant intabescantque relicta."
JUV.

"Et sibi, jam seri, vitam ingenuere relictam."
VIRG.

it weareth a crown and triumpheth.] Virtue is represented as wearing the wreath of victory, and passing to the end of time in triumphal procession. The conception is Roman, not Jewish. Neither of the words (στεφανηφοροῦσα, πομπεύει) occurs in the LXX. or N.T.; but πομπεύω is used in 2 Macc. vi. 7, of a triumphal procession in honour of Bacchus.

for ever.] Lit., "in the aeon;" *i.e.* in the indefinite aeon which stretches beyond the grave. The word "aeon" is one which must generally be interpreted by the light shed on it by the context. For other uses of the word, see the notes on xiii. 9, xviii. 4.

having gotten the victory, striving for undefiled rewards.] More accurately, "having won the contest for the undefiled rewards" (taking ἄθλων as the genitive of ἆθλα, "prizes of victory"), or "in the undefiled struggles" (taking it as the genitive of ἆθλοι). This seems to be the meaning of the Vulg. "*incoinquinatorum certaminum praemium vincens,*" where *praemium vincens* (if the reading be correct) is the rendering of νικήσασα. The "undefiled rewards" would mean "the amaranthine crown" (1 Pet. v. 4), "the unwithering and undefiled inheritance" (1 Pet. i. 4)—rewards untainted by any earthly pollution,

ungodly shall not thrive, nor take deep rooting from bastard slips, nor lay any fast foundation.

4 For though they flourish in branches for a time; [b] yet standing not fast, they shall be shaken with the wind, and through the force of winds they shall be rooted out.

5 The [c] imperfect branches shall be broken off, their fruit unprofitable, not ripe to eat, yea, meet for nothing.

6 For children begotten of unlawful [1] beds are witnesses of wickedness against their parents in their trial.

7 But though the righteous be prevented with death, yet shall he be in rest.

8 For honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor that is measured by number of years.

[b] Matt. 7. 19.
[c] ch. 3. 16.
[1] Gr. sleeps.

The "undefiled struggles" are contests in which we wrestle not with flesh and blood (Eph. vi. 11, 12), and in which there are no garments rolled in blood (Is. ix. 5). This seems to be the meaning intended; for such a view of "the battle of life" is found in many ancient writers. See Plato, 'Rep.' p. 621; Epictetus, 'Enchir.' 29. 2, &c.; Philo, 'De Migr. Abr.,' 6, "Thou hast proved thyself to me a perfect athlete, and hast been deemed worthy of prizes and wreaths, while Virtue arranges the contest and holds forth to thee the rewards of victory." The same illustration is frequent in 4 Macc. and in the N. T. See 1 Tim. vi. 12; 2 Tim. ii. 3, κακοπάθησον ὡς καλὸς στρατιώτης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; 1 Cor. ix. 25; 2 Tim. iv. 7.

3. *shall not thrive.*] Lit., "shall not be useful;" comp. iii. 16.

nor take deep rooting.] For the metaphor comp. Matt. xiii. 5; Eph. iii. 18.

from bastard slips.] The Greek word (μοσχεύματα) is rare. It is derived from μόσχος, "a shoot." The fact that μόσχος also means a calf (*vitulus*) seems to have led the Vulg. to render it *vitulamina*, a mistake which St. Augustine ('De doctr. Christ.' ii. 12) criticises, and which perhaps led to the alternative reading *plantationes* in some MSS. of the Vulg. The word occurs in Theophrastus and in Philo ('De agric.' iv.; 'De plant.' i.; 'De sobriet.' 8; 'De mut. nom.' 30), but not in the Bible.

lay.] The rare verb ἑδράζω occurs in the LXX. (Prov. viii. 25, &c.). The combination of the metaphor "rooted" and "founded" is found also in Col. ii. 7, ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ ἐποικοδομούμενοι.

4. *yet standing not fast.*] The neut. plur. βεβηκότα agrees with μοσχεύματα. It might well seem to be an awkward expression as applied to trees; but in Hellenistic Greek βέβηκα means "I stand," as in xviii. 16. It nearly approaches this sense in classical Greek, as in ἀσφαλέως βεβηκώς, "standing steady." Archil. 52; οἱ ἐν τέλει βεβῶτες, "those in office," Hdt. ix. 106, &c.

they shall be rooted out.] A frequent scriptural metaphor: Deut. xxix. 28; Matt. xiii. 29, xv. 23; Jude 12, &c.

5. *The imperfect branches.*] The same image is developed in John xv. 2–6; Jude 12; Rom. xi. 17.

6. *beds.*] Lit. "sleeps," as in the marg. The same euphemism occurs in vii. 2, and is as old as Hom. ('Il.' xviii. 433).

in their trial.] When the parents stand before the judgment-seat of God, their illegitimate children are witnesses against them. That the children of unhallowed unions are living witnesses to the sins of their parents is obvious; but this fact has no logical bearing on the crude generalisations of the two previous verses, which also occur in Ecclus. xxiii. 24, 25; xli. 5–7.

7–9. Early death no proof of God's displeasure.

7. *be prevented with death.*] *I.e.* should die before his time. The construction of φθάνω with the infin. instead of the participle (as in vi. 13) is rare, but not without parallel.

yet shall he be in rest.] Ἀνάπαυσις here has much the same meaning as εἰρήνη in iii. 3, and is contrasted with the "torment" of the ungodly. See Is. lvii. 1, 2. The rendering of the Vulgate (*in refrigerio*) seems to point to a reading ἀναψύξει, but there is no variation in the Greek manuscripts. It is unlikely that these general expressions correspond to any rigid or detailed system of eschatology in the mind of the writer, and it is idle to quote them as authorities for purgatory, the intermediate state, &c. At the best they only illustrate certain tendencies of Jewish opinion, and acquire no authority from their expression here.

8. *For honourable age, &c.*] The truth expressed in this verse has been already illustrated (see note on iii. 17). It is the commonplace "whom the gods love die young," to which Grimm, in his admirable note, adduces many parallels. The Therapeutae, according to Philo ('De Vit. contempt.' 8), only regarded those as "old" who were old in wisdom, however young in years; and he says

[d Gen. 5. 24. Hebr. 11. 5. See Isai. 57. 1.]

9 But wisdom is the gray hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age.

10 [d] He pleased God, and was beloved of him: so that living among sinners he was translated.

11 Yea, speedily was he taken away, lest that wickedness should

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('De Abraham.' 40) that the true elder is not he who is old in years, but in a laudable life. Menander says that "the character of some is aged by nature." Comp. Cic., 'De Fin.' iii., "Stoicis non videtur optabilior nec magis expetenda vita si sit longa quam si sit brevis;" Seneca, "Vita non quamdiu sed quam bene acta refert." Similar statements are quoted from Plutarch, Chrysostom, &c.

9. *the gray hair.*] Prov. xvi. 31: "The hoary head is a crown of glory, *if it be found in the way of righteousness.*" A close parallel to this verse occurs in Cic. 'De Senect.' xviii. 62.

an unspotted life.] Ἀκηλίδωτος is a Philonian word ('De Nobilit.' 6, &c.) not found in the N.T., nor in the LXX. except in a dubious reading (Prov. xxv. 18), but having much the same meaning as ἀκέραιος, ἀμίαντος, ἄσπιλος, 1 Pet. i. 19.

is old age.] Lit. "the age of old-age" (Vulg. *aetas senectutis*). The awkwardness of the pleonasm led Bretschneider to give the word ἡλικία the meaning of "stature" (as in Matt. vi. 27; Lk. ii. 52), but that gives a less obvious sense to the phrase. ὁ τρόπος ἐνίων ἐστὶ τῇ φύσει γέρων (Menand.).

10–14. Illustration of the foregoing truth from the life of Enoch.

10. *He pleased God, and was beloved of him.*] Literally, "having proved himself to be well pleasing to God (εὐάρεστος Θεῷ), he was beloved by Him." There is a clear allusion to Gen. v. 24, εὐηρέστησεν Ἐνὼχ τῷ Θεῷ. It was needless to mention Enoch by name, because—as is proved by this among other tacit allusions as well as by the general line of argument—the writer is not directly addressing the heathen, but his own wavering or apostatising countrymen. The object of the Book of Wisdom resembles that of the Epistle to the Hebrews, except that the class to whom that epistle is addressed had not advanced so far on the road to apostasy and crime. Another reason why Enoch is not expressly named is that his case is treated as being *typical*, not *isolated*. The case of Enoch supplied the Jewish dogmatists with a scriptural proof that "length of days" was not an exceptionless blessing, and therefore that early death was no proof of guilt or of God's displeasure. The Son of Sirach says (Ecclus. xlix. 14), "Upon the earth was no man created like Enoch;" and in Midrash Tillin, f. 10. 2, he is one of the thirteen who were *born* circumcised. In the Book of Enoch (xii. 2) it is said that "all his action was with the holy ones and with the watchers during his life."

he was translated.] The word μετατίθεσθαι means "to be moved from one place to another," and then generally "to be transferred" or "altered" (Is. xxix. 17; Ecclus. vi. 10; 2 Macc. vii. 24; Acts vii. 16; Gal. i. 6). From the expression of the LXX. in Gen. v. 24, διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός (Vulg. *tulit*), it was normally used by later writers to describe the translation of Enoch, as in Ecclus. xliv. 16, Ἐνὼχ εὐηρέστησεν Κυρίῳ καὶ μετετέθη (al. ἀνελήφθη). The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 5, πίστει Ἐνὼχ μετετέθη (Vulg., *translatus est*) τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον) goes farther than any previous writer in implying that the "transference" of Enoch was something more than an early death. He is followed, as in so many instances, by Clemens Romanus (1 Cor. 9, μετετέθη καὶ οὐχ εὑρέθη αὐτοῦ θάνατος).

The writer of the Book of Genesis only says that Enoch "walked with God; and *he* (*was*) *no more, for God had taken him away.*" This expression, as we see in the Book of Enoch and the Book of Jubilees, as well as in Talmudic traditions, was by the Jews interpreted to mean that Enoch, like Elijah, was exempted from death, the common lot of mankind. This view was somewhat timidly and tentatively introduced. Josephus ('Antt.' i. 3, § 4) uses the reserved expression ἀνεχώρησε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον. Philo speaks of his ἀποδημία ('De proem. ac poen.' 3), and, after his fashion, volatilises everything into moral allegory, Enoch being regarded as a symbol of "repentance" ('De Abrah.' 3) and of νοῦς ('De Poster. Cain.' 11). The Koran says that Edrig ("the learned," *i.e.* Enoch) was "exalted to a high place." Theological speculation has greatly occupied itself with questions as to the manner of his "translation," and the exact place to which he was removed. For such speculations there are no grounds; but we may mention the common view of ancient commentators that Enoch and Elijah are "the two witnesses" of Rev. xi. 3. [For further information, see the learned article of Prof. Westcott in Smith's 'Dict.' *s. v.* Enoch.] The notion of Noack and others that we have the veiled allusion of a Christian writer to the Ascension of Christ may be dismissed without further notice. It is on a par with the numerous other fanciful inferences and vagaries of the same writer.

11. *Yea, speedily was he taken away.*] The original only has the word ἡρπάγη (an un-

alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his soul.

12 For the bewitching of naughtiness doth obscure things that are honest; and the wandering of concupiscence doth [1]undermine the simple mind.

13 He, being made [2]perfect in a short time, fulfilled a long time:

14 For his soul pleased the Lord:

[1] Gr. *perverteth*.
[2] Or, *sanctified*, or, *consummated*, Heb. 12. 23.

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classical aorist for ἡρπάσθη; see Veitch, 'Gk. Verbs,' p. 90); Vulg. *raptus est*. It is used to indicate something miraculous or due to direct divine agency, in Enoch's departure (comp. Acts viii. 38; 1 Thess. iv. 17; 2 Cor. xii. 2; Rev. xii. 5). At the same time it is implied that the early death of the righteous is not so much death as translation.

should alter.] Namely, "for the worse," as the *context* implies, not the word itself (xii. 10).

his understanding.] σύνεσιν, his spiritual insight.

deceit.] Usually in the N. T. of *human* treachery: 1 Thess. ii. 3; Acts xiii. 10, &c.

beguile his soul.] Comp. Eph. v. 6; 1 Tim. ii. 14; Heb. iii. 13. The general thought is the same as in that which is often attributed to Is. lvii. 1: "The righteous is taken away from the evil to come." The meaning of that verse may, however, be different: "the righteous is swept away by the advancing tide of calamity," or "from the evils which encompass him."

12. *the bewitching of naughtiness.*] The writer is evidently fond of sonorous, picturesque, and unusual expressions. Βασκανία (Vulg. *fascinatio*) is used of the sorcery of the evil eye, 4 Macc. i. 26; Ecclus. xiv. 6, 8. In Scripture this notion is found in Deut. xxviii. 54, Prov. xxiii. 6; and it is alluded to in Gal. iii. 1. Φαυλότης, lit. "cheapness" (*vilitas*), here rendered by the Vulg. *nugacitas*, does not occur in the LXX. or N.T., though the adj. φαῦλος is used by Jas. iii. 16, &c.

doth obscure things that are honest.] The meaning is that the false glamour of worldliness throws a shadow over moral beauty. The word ἀμαυρόω was used by Greek philosophers to express this darkening of the moral sense.

the wandering.] Ῥεμβασμὸς is another unusual word, unknown to the LXX. or N. T. It means "giddiness," "vertigo" (Vulg. *inconstantia*). ῥεμβὼν means "a sling." The cognate verbs are found in Prov. vii. 12; Is. xxiii. 16 (LXX.); and ῥεμβὰς is applied to a drunken woman in some MSS. in Ecclus. xxvi. 8. Marc. Aurelius (ii. 7) says παῦσαι ῥεμβόμενος; and Seneca says, "Does not a cyclone (*turbo*) whirl (*rotat*) your minds round and round?" ('De Vit. beat.,' 28.) The word may be illustrated by the passage of Dante ('Infern.' III. v. 31), which describes the undecided souls who are whirled round the confines of hell and follow the giddy fluttering of the sooty flag:—

> "La bufera infernal che mai non resta
> Mena gli spiriti con la sua rapina
> *Voltando* e percontendo li molesta."

doth undermine.] μεταλλεύει. The A. V. here adroitly covers by a happy analogy what appears to be a simple mistake, into which the writer has been led by his fondness for unusual words. He clearly means to say that "the giddiness of sensual passion *perverts* the harmless mind," as is suggested in the margin (Vulg. *transvertit*). That this is the meaning is shewn by μεταλλευομένη ("altered") in xvi. 25; but this should be expressed by μεταλλοιόω, not by μεταλλεύω, which only means "I mine," as in Deut. viii. 9, ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων αὐτῆς μεταλλεύσεις χαλκόν. Such errors are not uncommon in later and especially in Hellenistic Greek. Thus in Mk. xii. 4, ἐκεφαλαίωσαν is used for "killed" (as though by a blow on the head), but it properly means "summed up." The truth that the effects of evil surroundings (1 Cor. xv. 33) are disastrous, is one which needs no further illustration. Perhaps the writer took Is. lvii. 1 in the sense "the righteous is taken away *from the wickedness about him*."

13. *being made perfect in a short time.*] Vulg., *consummatus*. Marg., "being sanctified" or "consummated." Philo speaks of the soul "perfected in the contests of virtue, and which has reached to the limit of the good." Enoch lived 365 years, which was "a short time" compared with the lives of other Antediluvian patriarchs.

fulfilled a long time.] In a brief life he consummated the work of a long life. Similarly St. Ambrose in his funeral sermon on Theodosius says, *Perfecta est aetas ubi perfecta est virtus*. Mr. Deane quotes Hooker's application of this verse to Edward VI. ('Eccl. Pol.' iv. 14, § 7); so, too,

> "Dum numerat palmas credidit esse senem."
> MART.

The clause (as Mr. Blunt says) derives fresh interest as having been selected by the Queen to inscribe on the monument near Balmoral, "To the beloved memory of Albert, the great and good."

14. *hasted he to take him away.*] Vulg., *properavit educere illum*. This can hardly be the

therefore hasted he *to take him away* from among the wicked.

15 This the people saw, and understood it not, neither laid they up this in their minds, [e]That his grace and mercy is with his saints, and that he hath respect unto his chosen.

16 Thus the righteous that is dead shall [f]condemn the ungodly which are living; and youth that is soon perfected the many years and old age of the unrighteous.

17 For they shall see the end of the wise, and shall not understand what God in his counsel hath decreed of him, and to what end the Lord hath set him in safety.

18 They shall see him, and despise him; but God shall laugh them to scorn: and they shall hereafter be

[e] ch. 3. 9.
[f] Matt. 12. 41, 42.

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sense of ἔσπευσεν, since the accus. is not expressed. The word more probably means, "*he* hastened," or "*it* (his soul) hastened from the midst of wickedness." Grimm quotes parallels to the thought that a speedy death is a sign of God's approval, from Hom. 'Od.' xv. 244, f, g; Menander, ὃν γὰρ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νεός; Plaut. 'Bacch.' iv. 7. 18, *Quem dii diligunt adolescens moritur.* The list of illustrations might be largely increased, *e.g.*:

"Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata neque ultra esse sinent."—VIRG. *Aen.* vi. 870.

"In short measures life may perfect be."
BEN JONSON.

"The good die early,
And they whose hearts are dry as summer dust
Burn to the socket."—SHAKSPEARE.

"'Whom the gods love die young,' was said of yore."—BYRON.

"Man's life is measured by the work, not days:
Not aged sloth, but active youth, hath praise."
Epitaph on Francis Holles in Westminster Abbey.

15–20. The fate of the godless.

15. *This the people saw, and understood it not.*] Rather, "the peoples." The instance of Enoch has only been treated as *generic.* Others of the godly have similarly passed away, prematurely as men suppose, and their heathen or godless neighbours fail to see the explanation of their early death. "The peoples" in the LXX. is used for גוים. This sentence in the original is an *anakoluthon, i.e.* it is left unfinished: "But the peoples seeing and not perceiving," &c. The finite verb εἰσι cannot be supplied, because the negative is μὴ not οὐ (*since* they perceived not, &c.).

this.] Lit., "such a fact as this;" namely, the truth which follows, "that His grace is with His saints." See note on iii. 9.

he hath respect.] See note on ii. 20.

16. *that is dead.*] The half-poetic euphemism καμὼν (lit., "weary," and then "having finished the work of life;" comp. xv. 9) is probably the right reading for the θανὼν of some MSS. The antithesis between the "dead" and the "living" shews that the "condemnation" here alluded to is not future punishment, but the disgrace reflected on wicked lives by the contrast which they present to the lives of those who have lived in God's faith and fear (comp. Matt. xii. 41; Heb. xi. 7).

perfected.] See note on *v.* 13.

the many years and old age.] Literally, "the many-yeared age." The epithet is not a superfluous or poetic addition, but is intended to contrast the old age which is reckoned by years with the old age which consists in wisdom (*v.* 9). "Wisdom is justified of her children" in every sense of the phrase.

17. *For they shall see.*] The future tense, like the aorist, is used to express normal and recurrent facts. What has been will be. It also serves to introduce the prophecies which follow.

of the wise.] The "wise" and the "righteous" are interchangeable terms (see *v.* 16).

to what end the Lord hath set him in safety.] Vulg., *quare munierit illum.* God "set the wise in security" by taking him from the seductive sorcery of the wickedness around him (*vv.* 11, 12).

18. *shall laugh them to scorn.*] *They* scorn the righteous; *God,* by "shewing all things in the slow history of their ripening," mocks at them: Ps. ii. 4, xxxvi. 13. The word ἐκγελᾶν does not occur in the N. T., but "laugh to scorn" is the rendering of καταγελάω, Mk. v. 40, &c.

hereafter.] In the world beyond the grave. Compare the magnificent passage of Isaiah about the King of Tyre (Is. xiv. 4–20).

a vile carcase.] This is the literal and probably the best rendering of εἰς πτῶμα ἄτιμον, which the Vulgate weakens into "*erunt post haec decidentes sine honore.*" Others take πτῶμα to mean "a fallen fruit:" but there is an allusion to Is. xiv. 19; Jer. xxii. 19.

a reproach among the dead.] Is. xiv. 9–12; Ezek. xxxii. 24, 25.

for evermore.] δι' αἰῶνος. One of the phrases

a vile carcase, and a reproach among the dead for evermore.

19 For he shall rend them, and cast them down headlong, that they shall be speechless; and he shall shake them from the foundation; and they shall be utterly laid waste, and be in sorrow; and their memorial shall perish.

20 And [1] when they cast up the accounts of their sins, they shall come with fear: and their own iniquities shall convince them to their face.

[1] Or, *to the casting up of the account.*

CHAPTER V.

1 *The wicked shall wonder at the godly,* 4 *and confess their error,* 5 *and the vanity of their lives.* 15 *God will reward the just,* 17 *and war against the wicked.*

THEN shall the righteous man stand in great boldness before

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which the Jews used to express their vague conceptions of continuous time: Deut. v. 29; Is. lx. 21, &c. The phrases here used are ambiguous, as in i. 12, ii. 25, iii. 1; but they imply a *retributive* living-death after the death of the body.

19. *he shall rend them.*] The verse, expressed in the fiercest Jewish spirit, is a general and rhetorical threat of retribution. Ῥήξει, properly "He shall break," seems to be used by mistake in the sense of ῥάξει, "He shall hurl them down" (Jer. xxiii. 39; Is. ix. 11; Suid., ῥάξαι ἀντὶ τοῦ καταβαλεῖν), as also in Is. xiii. 16. The writer may have been thinking of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, who "laid him down upon his bed and fell sick for grief," 1 Macc. vi. 8–16. But if the writer belongs to the era of Caligula, the verse may equally well refer to the terrible fate of Flaccus, the persecutor of the Jews at Antioch, which is narrated with too unseemly pleasure by Philo ('c. Flaccum,' *ad fin.*): "And when his corpse was dragged into the trench which had been dug, *the greater part of the limbs separated from the body.*"

that they shall be speechless.] Matt. xxii. 12.

be in sorrow.] The metaphors of the uprooted tree, and the shaken building, and the wasted land are here dropped. The "anguish" of their future is contrasted with the "peace" and "rest" of the righteous (iii. 1; iv. 7).

their memorial shall perish.] As they had themselves anticipated, ii. 4.

20. *when they cast up the accounts of their sins.*] Lit., *at the reckoning of their sins.* Something more seems to be meant than the appearance of the sinner before the bar of his own conscience. Every man who sins

> "Ever bears about
> A silent bar of judgment in himself,
> Himself the judge and jury, and himself
> The prisoner at the bar, ever condemned;
> And that drags down his life."

The expressions of the writer are general, and apply both to the retributions of this life and to those beyond the grave.

with fear.] Lit., "as cowards." The word is placed with emphasis at the end of the clause. See Prov. xiii. 5 (LXX.).

their own iniquities.] They are confronted by the personified reality of their past misdeeds.

shall convince them to their face.] For the verb ἐλέγξει, see notes on i. 3, 5.

to their face.] Psalm l. 21. "Some men's sins are open, going before to judgment, and some they follow after." 1 Tim. v. 24. Comp. Luke xix. 22; Matt. xii. 37.

CHAPTER V.

1–5. Astonishment of the wicked at the joy and glory of the righteous. **6.** Their remorse. **7–12.** Their confession of the emptiness of their gains; **14,** which the writer confirms. **15–16.** Immortality of the righteous under the protecting care of God. **17–23.** His panoply of righteousness and His wrath against the wicked.

1. *Then.*] What is the crisis contemplated by the writer in describing this scene of judgment? Böttcher ('De Inferis,' § 497) follows St. Augustine and many of the older commentators in referring it to the last great day. We do not, however, find any such conception elsewhere in the book. Others again suppose it to be a promise of the final triumph of the ideal Israel, and the vindication of righteousness in some earthly future of theocratic vengeance and triumph. It may be doubted whether more is intended than the dramatic illustration of the eternal principle which has found expression in so many proverbs. "*Magna est veritas et praevalebit.*"

> "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again,
> The eternal years of God are hers;
> But Error wounded writhes in vain,
> And dies among her worshippers."

"Justice and Truth alone endure and live. Injustice and Falsehood may be long-lived, but doomsday comes to them in the end."—FROUDE.

The writer's conception of the circumstances which shall secure the triumph of Wisdom and the justification of her by all her children must of course have been coloured both by the Messianic promises of the prophets and by the eschatological beliefs of his own age; his object, however, is not to

the face of such as have afflicted him, and made no account of his labours.

2 When they see it, they shall be troubled with terrible fear, and shall be amazed at the strangeness of his salvation, so far beyond all that they looked for.

3 And they repenting and groaning for anguish of spirit shall say within themselves, This was he, whom we had sometimes in derision, and a [1] proverb of reproach:

4 [a] We fools accounted his life madness, and his end to be without honour:

5 How is he numbered among the children of God, and his lot is among the saints!

[1] Or, *parable.*
[a] ch. 3. 2.

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systematise eschatology, nor to enter into details of the unknown future, but to produce an impressive conviction that Righteousness alone is immortal and blessed.

in great boldness.] Παῤῥησία means "boldness of speech," which is contrasted with the terrified speechlessness (ἀφώνους) and depression of the guilty (iv. 19; v. 3). See Eph. iii. 12; 1 Tim. iii. 13; Heb. iii. 6, iv. 16. It is the feeling which the wicked cannot have (Prov. xiii. 5, οὐχ ἕξει παῤῥησίαν, LXX.).

before the face of.] The frequency of such expressions (κατὰ πρόσωπον, ἐνάντιον, ἐνώπιον, ἐξεναντίας, iv. 19) is due to the pictorial Hebrew phrase לִפְנֵי.

and made no account.] Rather, "and who set at nought." The aorist θλιψάντων refers to special acts of cruelty and inflicted martyrdom (ii. 10, 12, 19); the present ἀθετούντων (1 Thess. iv. 8; Heb. x. 28) points to an habitual attitude of contempt (ii. 16–20). Vulg. *qui abstulerunt labores eorum.* Cyprian, "qui diripuerunt labores eorum." But the word ἀθετεῖν cannot bear the meaning of "plundering."

his labours.] The "labours" referred to are those which the righteous spend in the struggle for eternal life (iv. 2) and at which the ungodly sneer.

2. *When they see it.*] The aorist (ἰδόντες) implies a flash of sudden revelation. The unexpressed accusative (A. V. "it") is the "confidence" (παῤῥησία) of the righteous. The wicked have exhibited a boundless self-confidence on earth (ii. 1–20), but now that is silenced in a moment, and they can find no language but that of bitter self-reproach.

with terrible fear.] Comp. iv. 20 (δειλοί).

of his salvation.] Of the deliverance of the righteous from earthly anguish, and his elevation to fearlessness and joy in the presence of God. Comp. Luke xvi. 23, 25.

so far beyond all that they looked for.] A cumbrous addition of the A. V. to bring out the force of the word τῷ παραδόξῳ, "the unexpectedness."

3. *repenting.*] To draw from this word the inference that repentance after death is futile is to read into the verse the afterthoughts of theology. It is not even certain that the writer has *definitely* or *exclusively* in view the life beyond the grave. He is only illustrating the general fact that "truth seen too late" is itself a hell.

anguish of spirit.] Στενοχωρία means severe pressure and contraction: Rom. ii. 9; 2 Cor. vi. 4; 4 Macc. xi. 11.

shall say within themselves.] Rather, "shall say among themselves," "shall say to one another." The following verses (3–13) are not the soliloquy of the ungodly, but their confession (comp. ii. 1). It is as public as was the vaunting of their earthly insolence (ii. 1–20), to which this passage forms the tragic counterpart. The structure of the book is throughout balanced and artistic.

in derision.] Lit., "for a laughter;" *i.e.*, as a *subject* of laughter.

a proverb of reproach.] The word παραβολή sometimes means "a proverb," LXX. Psalm xliii. 16; Jer. xxiv. 9; Eccles. i. 17; Tobit iii. 4. We find instances of such abbreviated parables in Matt. xxiv. 32; Luke iv. 23, vi. 39, &c.: and in the O. T., 1 Sam. x. 12; 1 Kings xx. 11, &c.

4. *We fools.*] See note on iii. 12. The word ἄφρονες is here used in the same sense as in Luke xi. 40, xii. 20.

madness.] In the N. T., the only place where the word μανία occurs is Acts xxvi. 24, where Festus charges St. Paul with madness. A similar reproach was addressed to our Lord himself (John x. 20).

his end to be without honour.] These now remorseful wretches had themselves inflicted on the righteous "a shameful death" (ii. 20). As Christ died upon the cross of shame, "the accursed tree," so many of His martyrs have perished—like Savonarola, Huss, and Cranmer—amid extreme ignominy and execration, accepting in perfect faith an apparently final failure.

5. *among the children of God.*] Rather, "among sons of God." The term does not refer to angels, but to the best and truest men. Comp. ii. 16, 18. The ungodly see the righteous standing in the very relation towards God at which they had so contemptuously sneered.

6 Therefore have we erred from the way of truth, and the light of righteousness hath not shined unto us, and the sun of righteousness rose not upon us.

7 We [1]wearied ourselves in the way of wickedness and destruction: yea, we have gone through deserts, where there lay no way: but as for the way of the Lord, we have not known it.

8 What hath pride profited us? or what good hath riches with *our* vaunting brought us?

9 All those things are [b]passed away like a shadow, and as a post that hasted by;

10 And [c]as a ship that passeth

[1] Or, *filled ourselves*, or, *surfeited.*

[b] 1 Chron. 29. 15. ch. 2. 5.

[c] Prov. 30. 19.

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his lot is among the saints!] Comp. Dan. xii. 13; Acts xxvi. 18, τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς . . . κλῆρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις.

6. *Therefore.*] Ἄρα. The word is classical as an expression of extreme surprise, but is unclassically placed first in the sentence. The light of conviction is now flashed for the first time upon sensual and deluded souls.

from the way of truth.] Comp. xii. 24; 2 Pet. ii. 2, 21. "The way" was, among early Christians, a synonym for Christianity: Acts ix. 2; xviii. 25; xix. 9, 23, &c.

the light of righteousness.] We have the same natural metaphor in 2 Sam. xxii. 29; John xii. 35; 2 Cor. iv. 6, and constantly in Scripture.

the sun of righteousness.] Mal. iv. 2, LXX.

7. *We wearied ourselves.*] Vulg. *lassati sumus*. Rather, "we were sated," or, in the middle sense, "we surfeited ourselves."

in the way of . . . destruction.] Matt. vii. 13, "broad is the way that leadeth to destruction." Comp. Psalm xvii. 4. There is a not uncommon confusion of metaphors in the verb and substantive (ἐνεπλήσθημεν τρίβοις) of this clause: Prov. i. 31; Psalm cvi. 40.

we have gone through deserts, where there lay no way.] Comp. Jer. xii. 10. The symmetry of the original would have been better kept by a briefer version:

"Yea, we traversed pathless wildernesses,
But the way of the Lord we recognised not."

8. *pride.*] Rather, "our haughtiness." Ὑπερηφανία is a strong word, which in the N.T. is only found in Mark vii. 22, though the adjective occurs five times (see 2 Tim. iii. 2; 1 Pet. v. 5). In the Apocrypha it is twice applied to the people of Sodom (Ecclus. xvi. 9; 3 Macc. ii. 5). It means a violent and contumelious bearing, whereas ἀλαζονεία means a braggart vaunt.

with our vaunting.] Ἀλαζονεία, "braggart vaunting," is only found twice in the N.T.: James iv. 16; 1 John ii. 16. In Job xxviii. 8 (LXX.) υἱοὶ ἀλαζόνων is used for "lions' whelps."

The verses 9-12 are composed of similes to describe the emptiness and evanescence of earthly pride and wealth. They have been much admired for their eloquence, and the separate pictures have great beauty. They are, however, singularly undramatic and out of place, when put into the mouth of the terror-stricken and agonised herd of sinners who for the first time perceive that their lives have been a criminal failure. The rhetoric is chiefly phraseological and on the surface. It wants the unity and concentration of the highest imaginative genius, and rings a little hollow. Grimm justly remarks that real depth of feeling would hardly shew itself in this piling up of elaborate metaphors. The delineation serves, he says, as a proof that, even among the nobler of the more cultivated Jews of this period, religion was much more a matter of intellectual study than of deep moral experience. Dante would have expressed more, and exercised a greater power over the imagination, by a single intense line. We find a similar coacervation of metaphors in the speech of Clytemnestra in the 'Agamemnon' of Aeschylus (865–870); and the poet, with exquisite psychological insight, uses it as an indication of her insincerity. In that speech Clytemnestra pauses in the middle of her comparisons and begins again, exactly as is the case in *v.* 15.

9. *All those things are passed away.*] The more emphatic order of the Greek is, "Passed are all those things." The same verb is used in ii. 4. What they had then lightly said as an excuse for self-indulgence is now bitterly felt as an aggravation of remorse. Compare the fine lines of Mr. Browning:—

"*Time fleets, youth fades, life is an empty dream.*
It is the echo of time, and he whose heart
Beat first beneath a human breast, whose speech
Was copied from a human tongue, can never
Recall when he was living and knew not this.
Nevertheless long seasons pass o'er him
Till *some one hour's experience* shews what nothing,
It seemed, could clearer shew; and ever after
An altered brow, and eye, and gait, and speech
Attest that now he knows the adage true,
'Time fleets, youth fades, life is an empty dream.'"—*Paracelsus.*

over the waves of the water, which when it is gone by, the trace thereof cannot be found, neither the pathway of the keel in the waves;

11 [d] Or as when a bird [1] hath flown through the air, there is no token of her way to be found, but the light air being beaten with the stroke of her wings, and parted with the violent noise and motion of them, is passed through, and therein afterwards no sign where she went is to be found;

12 Or like as when an arrow is shot at a mark, it parteth the air, which immediately cometh together again, so that a man cannot know where it went through:

13 Even so we in like manner, as soon as we were born, began to draw

[d] Prov. 30. 19.
[1] Or, *flieth.*

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like a shadow.] See ii. 5; 1 Chron. xxix. 15.

as a post that hasted by.] The A. V. follows the Vulg. in taking ἀγγελία as equivalent to ἄγγελος (*tanquam nuntius percurrens*); but the sense is more forcible if we give to ἀγγελία the sense of *rumour*, as in 2 Sam. iv. 4. See Job viii. 9; ix. 25.

10. *as a ship that passeth over the waves of the water.*] Rather, "cleaving the swelling water." The metaphor is original and beautiful, but may have been partly suggested by Prov. xxx. 19.

of the keel.] The poetic genitive τρόπιος is used for the Attic τροπέως, and there is a very artificial assonance in ἀτραπὸν τρόπιος, which Grimm renders "Den *Weg* seiner *Bewegung*." The word does not occur in either Testament.

11. *as when a bird hath flown through the air.*] The "*flieth*" of the margin is better. The whole gist of the simile is in these words. The rest is simply pictorial. Comp. Tennyson's—

"And light
As flies the shadow of a bird she fled."
The Princess.

being beaten.] Comp.

"Some dolorous message bound beneath
The wild *pulsation* of her wings."
TENNYSON, *In Memoriam.*

And Shelley speaks of wings

"*Winnowing* the crimson dawn."

of her wings.] ταρσῶν. Lit., "alar bones" —*i.e.* expanded wings. The word is also used of the flat blade of an oar.

parted.] Lit., "rent." Comp. Neh. i. 10.

"Illa levem fugiens raptim *secat aethera* pennis."
VIRG. *Georg.* i. 410.

with the violent noise and motion of them.] Lit., "with the force of the hurtling of her beating wings."

no sign.] Σημεῖον and τεκμήριον are here used as practically synonymous. For their technical meaning, see Arist. 'Rhet.' i. 2, § 17.

is to be found.] The aorists in this verse are the usual *gnomic* aorists, which are poetically varied with presents (εὑρίσκεται . . . εὑρέθη). Solomon (Prov. xxx. 19) speaks of "the way of an eagle in the air, the way of a ship in the midst of the sea."

12. *immediately cometh together again.*] ἀνελύθη. Lit., "is immediately resolved into itself." As this meaning of ἀναλύω is found in later Greek, there is no need to alter the reading, though the expression is somewhat fantastic.

13. *Even so we.*] Here we have a second *apodosis.* The series of similes which has been introduced to illustrate the evanescence of earthly joys, is now applied to the disappearance of the wicked themselves.

in like manner, as soon as we were born, began to draw to our end.] The A.V. throughout this book has a tendency to over-wordiness, and here has missed the meaning. It would be as true of the godly as of the ungodly that from birth onwards they were drawing towards their end. Render "So also we were born, and disappeared." The meaning is that in their case birth and death seemed almost synchronous, since their wicked life was no life, but only a living death. The better reading is not the imperf. ἐξελείπομεν, but the aorist ἐξελίπομεν. Vulg. *desivimus esse.* Comp. Lk. xvi. 9, ὅταν ἐκλίπητε, "when ye die."

no sign of virtue.] They had their "tokens of mirthfulness" (ii. 9) and their "memorial of foolishness" to shew,—if *they* were anything.

"Haec habui quae edi quaeque exsaturata voluptas
Hausit; at illa manent pulcra et praeclara relicta."
CICERO (from the Greek).

See note on ii. 9.

were consumed.] *I.e.* were utterly spent. The word does not occur in the O. or N. T., but is found in Bel and the Dragon, 21.

Here ends the self-reproach of the ungodly. The Vulgate has no authority for the addition *Talia dixerunt in inferno hi qui peccave-*

to our end, and had no sign of virtue to shew; but were consumed in our own wickedness.

14 [e] For the hope of the ungodly is like ‖ dust that is blown away with the wind; like a thin froth that is driven away with the storm; like as the ‖ smoke which is [f] dispersed here and there with a tempest, and passeth away as the remembrance of a guest that tarrieth but a day.

15 But the righteous live for evermore; [g] their reward also is with the Lord, and the care of them is with the most High.

16 Therefore shall they receive a glorious ‖ kingdom, and [h] a beautiful crown from the Lord's hand: for with his right hand shall he cover them, and with his arm shall he protect them.

17 [i] He shall take to him his jealousy for complete armour, and make the creature his weapon for the revenge of *his* enemies.

18 He shall put on righteousness

[e] Job 8. 14.
‖ Gr. *thistle-down.*
‖ Or, *chaff.*
[f] Ps. 1. 4. & 103. 16. Prov. 10. 25. & 11. 7. James 1. 10, 11.
[g] Gen. 15. 1. Rev. 22. 12.
‖ Or, *palace*: unless the word be taken improperly, as 2 Mac. 2. 17.
[h] ch. 4. 2. 2 Tim. 4. 8. Rev. 4. 4 & 9. 7.
[i] Isai. 59. 16, 17.

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runt, which no doubt came from a marginal gloss. The words *in inferno* are an unauthorised addition.

14. *For.*] These remorseful acknowledgments are just, for, &c.

the hope.] Abstract for concrete, meaning "that on which they set their hope."

dust.] This might be the rendering of χοῦς, as in Mk. vi. 11, "the *dust* of your feet;" Gen. ii. 7, &c. The undoubted reading is χνοῦς, "chaff" (Hos. xiii. 3, &c.), "thistle-down," like what the Psalmist calls "a wheel" or "rolling thing," *i.e.* a winged seed driven by the wind. Vulg. *lanugo*. Comp. Job xxi. 18.

froth.] Πάχνη, the best-supported reading, means "rhime" or hoar frost, Job xxxviii. 24, which does not, however, suit the comparison. Hence some MSS. read ἄχνη (comp. Hom. 'Il.,' v. 499, ὡς δ' ἄνεμος ἄχνας φορέει), and some ἀράχνη, "a spider's web" (comp. Ps. lxxxix. 9). It is not impossible that the writer gave to πάχνη some such sense, or that he meant "snow." The word is used for "smoke" in Ps. cxix. 83. If English poets can mistake the meaning of words in their own language (as Byron misunderstood the words "ruth" and "kibe"), a Hellenistic Jew may be excused for such errors. The tendency to use (and sometimes misuse) uncommon words is often found in writers who are not using their native language (*e.g.* in Hindoo English).

smoke.] The marginal reading "chaff" of the A.V. seems to be accidentally misplaced. At any rate, καπνὸς can have no such meaning.

of a guest that tarrieth but a day.] καταλύτου μονοημέρου. Both words are rare. The former occurs in Polybius and Plutarch; the latter only in the 'Batrachomyomachia.'

15. *But the righteous live for evermore.*] This and the following verse are devoted to the rewards of the righteous, but the writer is far more copious and eloquent in dwelling on retribution than on reward, and he reverts almost immediately to the topics of wrath and punishment. The word "live" is here used in its high spiritual sense. Comp. 1 John ii. 18.

with the Lord.] The phrase ἐν Κυρίῳ occurs constantly in the N.T. to express the relation of the soul to God.

16. *Therefore.*] As a consequence of God's care for them.

a glorious kingdom.] The word βασίλειον might also mean "a crown" (2 Sam. i. 10) or "a palace" (Prov. xviii. 19); but probably the meaning here intended is "kingdom," as in 2 Macc. ii. 17. "The kingdom of splendour" is heaven (Ps. xcii. 1, LXX.). See x. 10; xviii. 15.

a beautiful crown.] The "diadem" was a band of purple silk sewn with pearls, the symbol of Oriental royalty. Comp. Is. xxviii. 5; 2 Tim. iv. 8; 1 Pet. v. 4.

shall he cover them.] Comp. xix. 8.

with his arm shall he protect.] Lit., "hold the shield over them," and so "fight for them:" 2 K. xix. 34; Prov. ii. 7, ὑπερασπιστής; Ps. xvii. 3.

> "From marge to blue marge
> The whole heaven grew his targe,
> With the Sun's self for visible boss,
> While an arm ran across,
> Which the earth heaved beneath like a breast,
> Where the wretch was close pressed."
>
> BROWNING, *Instans Tyrannus.*

17. *his jealousy.*] Comp. i. 10. The word implies a love which shews itself in fiery anger against all who would wrong the person loved.

for complete armour.] πανοπλίαν, Eph. vi. 11; Ecclus. xlvi. 8. The idea of the passage is found in Is. lix. 16–19; Ezek. xxxviii. 21–23.

make the creature his weapon.] He shall make the whole creation subserve the purposes of His retributive anger. Something of the same conception is found in Judg. v. 20, where "the stars in their courses" fought against Sisera, and the river Kishon swept away his army. Comp. Ecclus. xxxix. 29,

as a breastplate, and true judgment instead of an helmet.

19 He shall take [1]holiness for an invincible shield.

[1] Or, *equity.*

20 His severe wrath shall he sharpen for a sword, and the world shall fight with him against the unwise.

21 Then shall the right aiming thunderbolts go abroad; and from the clouds, as from a well drawn bow, shall they fly to the mark.

22 And hailstones full of wrath shall be cast *as* out of a stone bow, and the water of the sea shall rage against them, and the floods shall cruelly drown them.

23 Yea, a mighty wind shall stand up against them, and like a storm shall blow them away: thus iniquity

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30: "Fire, and hail, and famine, and death, all these were created for vengeance," &c. The thought is found also in Philo ('Vit. Mos.' i. 17), "The elements of the universe, earth and water and fire, are set in motion, when God thinks fit that the land of the impious should be destroyed;" and in Josephus ('Antt.' ii. 13, § 4), "To those who will stir against themselves the divine anger, things terrible are produced from all things; neither is the earth friendly to them, nor the air, nor are the births of children natural, but all things are inimical and hostile."

18. *righteousness.*] Meaning here God' avenging justice. This passage was probably in the mind of St. Paul when he described the Christian's armour, Eph. vi. 11–17, 1 Thess. v. 8.

true judgment.] Judgment unfeigned, *i.e.* without respect of persons. See the use of the word in Rom. xii. 9; 1 Tim. i. 5, &c. Hesych. ἀπροσωπόληπτος. Comp. xviii. 6.

19. *holiness.*] Vulg. *aequitatem.* Marg. "equity." The meaning, however, is "that holiness of God against which all reproaches and opposition are hurled in vain."

invincible.] Ἀκαταμάχητον is another of the sonorous words which had attractiveness for the writer, but which does not occur in the O. or N. T. It is found in Pseudo-Lucian (Philopatris) and Marc. Aurelius.

20. *His severe wrath.*] The A. V. does not notice the δὲ of the original, which contrasts the defensive with the offensive arms. The word for "severe" is ἀπότομος, lit. "abrupt," "precipitous" (Lat. *abscisus*), and then "inexorable" (vi. 5; xi. 10; xviii. 15). The substantive occurs once in the N. T., Rom. xi. 22: and the adverb in 2 Cor. xiii. 10; Tit. i. 13.

for a sword.] Comp. Rev. ii. 16.

the world.] That is, all created elements, as in *v.* 17.

shall fight with him.] A double compound verb, συνεκπολεμήσει, "shall go *forth with* him to fight."

the unwise.] παράφρονας. The word differs from ἄφρονας (*amentes*) in implying *perverted* intelligence (*dementes*).

21. *right-aiming thunderbolts.*] Lit., "right-aiming darts (comp. Heb. xii. 30) of lightnings." The language recalls that of Hab. iii., but is far less intense and simple. Comp. Ps. vii. 13.

well-drawn.] *I.e.* stretched to its full curve (Luther, *hart gespannt*). The A.V. takes τῶν νεφῶν in apposition to εὐκύκλου τόξου, but the figure is more startling and more in accordance with the writer's style if we render it "from the well-drawn bow of the clouds" (Vulg., *a bene curvato arcu nubium*).

shall they fly.] Lit., "they shall leap"—a metaphoric expression as old as Homer ('Il.' iv. 125).

22. *And hailstones . . . bow.*] The best way to take the words is, "And from the stone-bow of His wrath dense hailstones shall be hurled." If θυμοῦ be taken in agreement with πετροβόλου, as is done by the Vulg. (*a petrosa ira*), "from His stone-hurling wrath," God's wrath is described as a weapon; whereas in the other clauses some *attribute* of God is *compared* to a weapon. Wrath is His balista or catapult (1 Sam. xiv. 14, LXX.). The word πληρεῖς means "thick-flying," "not intermittent." Comp. Ex. ix. 23; Jos. x. 11; Is. xxviii. 2, 17; Rev. viii. 7, &c.

the water of the sea.] A frequent metaphor to imply terror and ruin (Ps. xviii. 16, &c.; Lk. xxi. 25), but with a special allusion to the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea.

the floods shall cruelly drown them.] Here we have another marked instance of the fantastic or artificial paronomasia which pleased the ear of the writer—ποταμοὶ . . . ἀποτόμως. The rare verb συγκλύσουσι, "shall overwhelm them with deluge," occurs in the LXX. (Cant. viii. 7), and κατακλύζω in x. 4, 15; 2 Pet. iii. 6.

23. *a mighty wind.*] Rather, "the spirit of His power," which in the next clause is compared to a hurricane. Comp. 2 Thess. ii. 8.

shall blow them away.] "Shall winnow

shall lay waste the whole earth, and ill dealing shall overthrow the thrones of the mighty.

CHAPTER VI.

1 Kings must give ear. 3 They have their power from God, 5 who will not spare them. 12 Wisdom is soon found. 21 Princes must seek for it: 24 for a wise prince is the stay of his people.

a HEAR therefore, O ye kings, and understand; learn, ye that be judges of the ends of the earth. [a Ps. 2. 10.]

2 Give ear, ye that rule the people, and glory in the multitude of nations.

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them out," as chaff is blown from the wheat. Comp. xi. 20; Is. xli. 16; Ps. i. 4, &c.

iniquity shall lay waste the whole earth.] The ruin and ravage produced by the wrath of God is attributed directly to "lawlessness," by which that wrath is evoked. The expression "the whole earth" indicates that the thoughts of the writer, so far as they are meant to be specific, are, from *v.* 17 and onwards, occupied with Messianic or theocratic scenes of retribution of which this earth is the stage, and that he is not alluding to the great day of judgment, or to the punishment of the wicked after death.

ill-dealing.] Vulg., *malignitas*. The word κακοπραγία, in the sense of "evil-doing," does not occur in the Bible, but is found in Jos. 'Antt.' ii. 5, § 4. Its classical meaning is "ill-success" (Thuc. ii. 60). A more correct word for misdeeds would be κακοποιία.

the thrones of the mighty.] Rather, "thrones of potentates." Comp. Lk. i. 52. The word δυναστῶν skilfully links this chapter with the address in the following, in a manner also observable in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

It must remain uncertain what exact meaning the writer attached to this tremendous passage. In the older forms of Hebrew literature—*e.g.* in the Prophets—such passages refer almost exclusively to temporary and almost contemporary calamities. The conception of a Day of Judgment for the dead does not appear till a later stage of Jewish literature.

VI.–VIII. Commendation of the Blessings of Wisdom and Means whereby Wisdom may be acquired.

CHAPTER VI.

AN APPEAL TO RULERS.

1–11. Kings are reminded of their responsibility, which is proportionate to their greatness, and are warned of God's impartial justice. **12–16.** Wisdom is easily found of them that truly seek her. **17–21.** Wisdom is the secret of true power. **22–25.** He promises a free instruction respecting Wisdom to all who will receive it.

1–11. The responsibility of kings.

The Vulg. heads the chapter with the words *Melior est sapientia quam vires, et vir prudens quam fortis.* There is no authority for the addition. It is founded on Eccles. ix. 16, and Prov. xvi. 32, xxiv. 5, but it furnishes a very insufficient description of the contents of this chapter, and breaks the continuity of the style.

1. *Hear therefore, O ye kings.*] Hear and understand, because misdeeds overthrow the thrones of potentates (v. 23). The verbs are combined in Is. vi. 9 (LXX.); Matt. xiii. 13. They imply the same as "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest."

judges of the ends of the earth.] "Judges" is the characteristic Semitic conception for rulers. The phrase means the same as "ye that be judges of the earth," in i. 1. "The ends of the earth" means all lands, however distant. The long sufferings of Jews under heathen autocrats made them feel special interest in ideal warnings to kings. The writer can hardly have expected that his book would really fall into the hands of heathen rulers. The appeal to kings as his special auditors belongs only to the rhetorical form of the book, and to his assumption of the person of Solomon. His sweeping and exceptionless denunciations of heathendom, and of the fate which impends over all the unrighteous (v. 17–23; vi. 5), do not imply any hope that Pagan rulers will listen to his exhortations. The chapter recalls parts of Ps. ii., lviii., lxxxii.

2. *Give ear.*] This late verb (ἐνωτίζομαι) is only found in the N. T., in Acts ii. 14, but is common in the LXX.

the people.] Rather, "a multitude." The *greatest* kings are specially appealed to (comp. *vv.* 5, 6; xiv. 20).

glory.] γεγαυρωμένοι. A rare word, expressing the extreme of haughtiness. It is very inadequately expressed by the *qui placetis* of the Vulgate. In the LXX. the verb occurs in Num. xxiii. 24, ὡς λέων γαυρωθήσεται. Comp. 3 Macc. iii. 11. Philo only uses it when referring to this verse of the LXX. ('Vit. Mos.' i. 51), but he uses γαῦρος and γαυριάω. It is one of the poetic words which found their way into Alexandrian Greek. Comp. ξανθοῖς βοστρύχοις γαυρούμενος, Eur. 'Or.' 1532.

in the multitude of nations.] Rather, "in

[b] Rom. 13. 1, 2.

3 For [b] power is given you of the Lord, and sovereignty from the Highest, who shall try your works, and search out your counsels.

4 Because, being ministers of his kingdom, ye have not judged aright, nor kept the law, nor walked after the counsel of God;

5 Horribly and speedily shall he come upon you: for a sharp judgment shall be to them that be in high places.

6 For [c] mercy will soon pardon the meanest: but mighty men shall be mightily tormented.

7 For he which is Lord over all shall fear no [d] man's person, neither shall he stand in awe of any man's

[c] Luke 12. 47, 48. [d] Deut. 10. 17. 2 Chron. 19. 7. Job 34. 19. Ecclus. 35. 12–16. Acts 10. 34. Rom. 2. 11. Gal. 2. 6. Eph. 6. 9. Col. 3. 25. 1 Pet. 1. 17.

multitudes of nations." In the person of Solomon, the writer addresses kings like those of Persia, and rulers like those of Rome, who held many nationalities under their sway. No specific chronological indication can be attached to the words.

3. *power.*] Rather, "your dominion." Κράτησις, a late bad word, is found neither in the LXX. nor the N. T., but occurs in Josephus, 'c. Apion,' i. 26. The thought that "the powers that be are ordained of God"—that kings reign *gratiâ Dei*—is expressed in very different parts of Scripture: 1 Chron. xxxix. 11, 12; Dan. ii. 21; John xix. 11; Rom. xiii. 1, 2; 1 Pet. ii. 13. Josephus says that it was a special doctrine of the Essenes ('B. J.' ii. 8, § 7).

shall try.] See note on i. 9.

4. *being ministers of his kingdom.*] The heathen dynasts had failed to recognise that they were only vicegerents of God: John xix. 11; Ps. ciii. 19.

ye have not judged aright.] He charges heathen rulers in general with that "perversion of judgment" which springs from corrupt motives and "respect for persons." Comp. Deut. xvi. 19, xxiv. 17; Prov. xvii. 23; Is. i. 23, &c.; Mic. iii. 9.

nor kept the law.] Though they could not know the Law of Moses, they had the witness of a law written in their own hearts: Rom. i. 19–22; ii. 14.

5. *Horribly.*] φρικτῶς. The familiar thought (1 Thess. v. 3; Lk. xvii. 27–29, &c.) is expressed, as is usual with this writer, in uncommon phraseology.

shall be come upon you.] ἐπιστήσεται. The word implies sudden and hostile onset: Lk. xxi. 34.

sharp.] ἀπότομος. See note on v. 20, 22.

shall be to them that be in high places.] Lit., "takes place among the pre-eminent." Γίνεται expresses a law of universal application. Οἱ ὑπερέχοντες: comp. Rom. xiii. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 13. The thought is partly like that in Horace:

"Celsae graviore casu
Decidunt turres."

The responsibility of the greatest is greatest; and therefore their judgment is more severe, and the consequent ruin more overwhelming.

6. *For mercy will soon pardon the meanest.*] Lit., "For the lowest is pardonable by mercy." Συγγνωστὸς with the genitive usually means "pardonable *for*." The genitive ἐλέους here means "*by* mercy," and this construction is so unparalleled that Nitzsch suspects ἐλέους to be a gloss. It must rather be explained by the bold and unusual phraseology and style of the writer. A simpler writer might have said, "is *worthy* of mercy, and may be pardoned." The general thought is that great privileges and opportunities imply great corresponding duties (*noblesse oblige*), and that the temptations of the poor may assume acuter forms, and therefore may receive greater allowance. Comp. Prov. vi. 30, and especially Lk. xii. 47, 48. Ἐλάχιστος does not mean (as the Syriac renders it) "the smallest *king*," but the humblest subject.

but mighty men shall be mightily tormented.] The alliteration and the half-poetic combination of the adj. and adv. (δυνατοὶ δὲ δυνατῶς, comp. 4 Macc. xii. 15) are characteristic. "*Tormented*" (Vulg., *tormento patientur*) is too strong a rendering for ἐτασθήσονται, "shall be chastised" (comp. ii. 19; Gen. xii. 17).

7. *he which is Lord over all.*] The same title is given to God in viii. 3; Lk. ii. 29; Acts iv. 24. In the LXX. it often corresponds to Elohim and Jehovah.

shall fear.] ὑποστελεῖται. The verb properly means "to shorten sail," then "to shrink from," and so "to fear." It is found in both Testaments (Job xli. 16), but in the N. T. it means "to shrink from" or withhold (Acts xx. 20, 27; Gal. ii. 12; Heb. x. 38). The Vulg. mistranslates the clause, "non *subtrahet* personam cujusquam Deus."

no man's person.] This phrase is borrowed from Deut. i. 17, and expresses the truth that God is answerable to none.

stand in awe of.] The verb ἐντρέπω means "I turn away," and then "I cause a person to turn away for shame," "I make to blush," 1 Cor. iv. 14. The passive means "I blush at" or "am afraid of" (Tit. ii. 8).

greatness: for he hath made the small and great, and careth for all alike.

8 But a sore trial shall come upon the mighty.

9 Unto you therefore, O kings, do I speak, that ye may learn wisdom, and not fall away.

10 For they that keep holiness holily shall be [1]judged holy: and they that have learned such things shall find [1]what to answer.

[1] Or, justified

[1] Or, a defence.

11 Wherefore set your affection upon my words; desire them, and ye shall be instructed.

12 Wisdom is glorious, and never fadeth away: yea, [a]she is easily seen of them that love her, and found of such as seek her.

[a] Deut. 30. 11, &c. John 7. 17.

13 She preventeth them that desire her, in making herself first known unto them.

14 Whoso seeketh her early shall have no great travail: for he shall find her sitting at his doors.

15 To think therefore upon her is

The middle voice means, as here, "I reverence" and "am afraid of," Matt. xii. 6; Lk. xviii. 2.

the small and great.] A common phrase in all languages for "high" and "low:" Deut. i. 17; Rev. xiii. 6.

careth for.] "The rich and poor meet together; the Lord is the Maker of them all," Prov. xxii. 2. "That accepteth not the persons of princes, nor regardeth the rich more than the poor: for they are the work of his hands," Job xxxviii. 19. Πρόνοια is God's protecting providence (xiv. 3). "His tender mercies are over all his works," Ps. cxlv. 9.

alike.] "The very least as feeling His care, and the greatest as not exempted from His power."—HOOKER.

8. *a sore trial.*] Rather, "a stringent scrutiny."

shall come upon.] Lit., "is imminent over." The same verb is used as in *v.* 5. See Lk. xii. 48, "Where much is given much is required."

9. *O kings.*] The word used is "tyrants," but in the LXX. this is nothing but a synonym for kings: Hab. i. 10; Prov. viii. 16; "satraps," Esth. ix. 3. Bildad is called a τύραννος in Job ii. 11.

fall away.] xii. 2; Heb. vi. 6. One of the words for a sin is παράπτωμα, "a swerving aside."

10. *shall be judged holy.*] The "justified" of the margin and the *justificabuntur* of the Vulg. must not be mixed up with later theological connotations. The meaning is the same as in 1 John iii. 27, "He that doeth righteousness is righteous," and (*id.* ii. 29) is "born of God." For the form of expression, comp. *v.* 6, and the phrase *Sanctus sancta sancte tractat.*

what to answer.] Lit., "an apology." Their plea of innocence shall be held sufficient in the stringent scrutiny. Comp. Ecclus. xviii. 19; Heb. iv. 16.

11. *ye shall be instructed.*] The verb often implies the notion of moral *discipline:* Ps. lxxxix. 12; 1 Cor. xi. 32; 2 Cor. vi. 9; 1 Tim. i. 20.

12-16. Wisdom is found of them that seek her.

12. *glorious.*] Lit., "bright (*i.e.* pure and radiant: Ecclus. xxxvi. 10) and unfading (1 Pet. i. 4) is wisdom."

easily.] εὐχερῶς is not found in either Testament, but occurs in Judith iv. 5; 2 Macc. ii. 31. It is a classical word.

found.] Prov. viii. 17; Jer. xxix. 13. Throughout the passage Wisdom is poetically personified.

13. *preventeth.*] *I.e.* anticipates.

in making herself first known unto them.] These seven words represent the single word προγνωσθῆναι of the original. This infinitive may not be meant to depend on φθάνει (by the same unclassical construction as in iv. 7), but may be the explanatory infinitive—"so as to be known beforehand."

14. *seeketh her early.*] ὀρθρίσας, "rising in the morning." The verb occurs in Lk. xxi. 38. The classic form is ὀρθρεύω. The "morning" alluded to here is "the morn of life," *i.e.* youth.

shall have no great travail.] Vulg. *non laborabit;* "shall not grow weary," Matt. xi. 28; John iv. 6.

sitting at his doors.] Lit., "an assessor of his gates," *i.e.* close at hand: Jas. v. 9; Prov. viii. 34; Jer. xxxix. 3.

15. *perfection of wisdom.*] Rather, "of intelligence" (φρονήσεως). As Grimm points out, the writer uses the word φρόνησις very loosely, and without attaching to it any accurate definition. In iii. 15, iv. 9, vii. 7, it seems to be a *synonym* for wisdom; in viii. 7 it is a *result* of wisdom (A. V. "prudence") as one of the four cardinal virtues. Here again it is *a step on the way* to wisdom. No doubt these varied expressions can be made con-

perfection of wisdom: and whoso watcheth for her shall quickly be without care.

16 For she goeth about seeking such as are worthy of her, sheweth herself favourably unto them in the ways, and meeteth them in every thought.

17 For the very true beginning of her is the desire of [1] discipline; and the care of discipline is love;

18 And love is the keeping of her laws; and the giving heed unto her laws is the assurance of incorruption;

19 And incorruption maketh us near unto God:

20 Therefore the desire of wisdon bringeth to a kingdom.

21 If your delight be then in thrones and sceptres, O ye kings of the people, honour wisdom, that ye may reign for evermore.

[1] Or, *nurture.*

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sistent if φρόνησις be understood as "intelligence," "good sense;" but clearly the parallelisms and variations and amplified repetitions of the Hebrew-Greek style are unfavourable to minute accuracy of expression.

without care.] Free from sordid, worldly anxieties, vii. 23; Matt. vi. 25, xiii. 22, &c.

16. *meeteth them.*] The thought is the same as in Is. lxv. 24. It is obvious that in these verses Wisdom is not *theologically* regarded as in Philo's treatment of the Logos, but is merely personified in a poetic manner, as in the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus.

17-21. The steps from the love of Wisdom to immortality.

17. *the very true beginning of her.*] Wisdom will find those that are worthy of her; for Wisdom begins in desire for discipline; which leads to love of Wisdom; which leads to obedience to her laws; which leads to assurance of immortality; which brings near to God. Hence the desire for Wisdom is the lowest step to a throne. The reasoning is little more than verbal assertion, but the general thought is that

> "Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control—
> These three alone lead man to sovereign power."

The rhetoric of the passage is remarkable. It takes the form of a *sorites*, or series of syllogisms, in which the conclusion of one forms the premiss of the next. But the love for variation and emphasis leads the writer to weaken the *sorites* by altering the phraseology of each new premiss. Thus ἐπιθυμία παιδείας becomes φροντὶς παιδείας, τήρησις νόμων is changed to προσοχὴ νόμων, βεβαίωσις ἀφθαρσίας becomes ἀφθαρσία; and, in the conclusion, he alters ἐπιθυμία παιδείας into ἐπιθ. σοφίας. Further he substitutes "a kingdom" for "nearness to God." This Greek form of reasoning does not occur in Scripture, but there is found a species of *anadiplosis*, which has some external resemblance to it: Hos. ii. 21-23; Joel i. 3; Rom. v. 3-5, &c. It is uncertain whether we should take "truest" with "beginning" or with "desire." The sense is much the same in either case, and the word merely implies additional emphasis. If taken with ἀρχή, it means "the most secure beginning;" if with ἐπιθυμία, it means "the most genuine desire."

of discipline.] See note on *v.* 11.

18. *love.*] Not in the Christian sense, but "love of wisdom." Men love Wisdom more in proportion as they submit to her discipline.

love is the keeping of her laws.] The words at once recall Matt. xix. 17; John xiv. 15, 21, 24. The love of God is always closely conjoined with obedience to His will: Ex. xx. 6; 1 John v. 3, &c.

the assurance of incorruption.] *I.e.* "of immortality," ii. 23; Rom. ii. 7. The loss of immortality can only come from moral suicide (i. 12), and the righteous feel in themselves the principle of life: 1 John v. 12. The same thought—that virtue involves immortality—occurs frequently in Philo.

19. *maketh us near unto God.*]

> "Love Virtue; she alone is free:
> She will teach you *how to climb*
> *Higher than the sphery chime;*
> Or if Virtue feeble were,
> Heaven itself should stoop to her."
> MILTON, *Comus.*

The germ of this thought is possibly borrowed from Plato ('Phaedo,' p. 63, c), but Ritter ('Gesch. d. Philos.' ii. 382, quoted by Grimm) points out that this writer may claim originality in having been the first to give it clear expression among his countrymen.

20. *to a kingdom.*] If Wisdom brings us near to God, it leads us to the foot of the loftiest of all thrones, and makes us partakers of a spiritual kingdom beyond the grave: Rom. v. 17; 2 Tim. ii. 12.

21. *that ye may reign for evermore.*] The eternal contrast between the semblance of earthly power and the realities of the divine kingdom is here briefly and forcibly indicated.

22-25. A promise of free instruction as to the nature of Wisdom.

22 As for wisdom, what she is, and how she came up, I will tell you, and will not hide mysteries from you: but will seek her out from the beginning of her nativity, and bring the knowledge of her into light, and will not pass over the truth.

23 Neither will I go with consuming envy; for such a man shall have no fellowship with wisdom.

24 But the multitude of the wise is the welfare of the world: and a wise king is the upholding of the people.

25 Receive therefore instruction through my words, and it shall do you good.

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22. *what she is.*] The writer sets forth the results and blessings of wisdom, but nowhere defines it.

how she came up.] Lit. "how she became" (Vulg. *quomodo facta est*); *i.e.* the *origin* of Wisdom. Nothing, however, is said of the origin of Wisdom, except the statement that she is the breath of God, vii. 25. Ewald and others suppose the words to mean "how she occurred to *me*," *i.e.* how I gained wisdom; but the ἐμοὶ could not have been left unexpressed. Perhaps the writer felt that as to the birth or creation of Wisdom nothing further can be said than that she is an emanation of the Divine, and that she was one of the primeval attributes of God, and first received concrete manifestation in the creation of the Universe: Prov. viii. 22–31; Ecclus. i. 4–10, xxiv. 8, 9.

mysteries.] Deep truths, once hidden, but now revealed. The writer promises that he will tell all the truth he knows, and that there shall be nothing esoteric which he conceals. He will have no "mysteries," which are only meant for the initiated. Some of the Alexandrian theosophists had borrowed from the heathen philosophers the notion that there are truths which ought to be concealed from the vulgar multitude. Philo, in a passage closely analogous to this, indignantly complains that, if the truths which were revealed to the initiated were really beautiful and useful, those who possessed such knowledge had no right to shut themselves up in deep darkness and only to benefit two or three persons. All men, even in mid market-place, ought to be fearlessly invited to share in all knowledge which can make life better and happier. (Philo, 'De Sacrif.' 12.)

will seek her out.] Lit., "track her step by step" (ix. 16); ἐξιχνιάσω (Job x. 6). The classical form of the verb is ἐξιχνεύω. It does not occur in the N.T., but we have ἀνεξιχνίαστος twice (Rom. xi. 33; Eph. iii. 8).

from the beginning of her nativity.] If this had been the meaning, we should have required the pronoun αὐτῆς. The meaning is, "from the beginning of creation" (Prov. viii. 22, 23).

bring the knowledge of her into light.] The phrase is like the German *in das klare setzen.* The thought resembles the ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ τὰ τῆς ὠφελείας προθέντας of Philo (see the previous note).

pass over.] Leave it on one side, as a thing to be neglected: x. 8 (i. 8; ii. 7).

23. *will I go.*] συνοδεύσω, "will I accompany you" (Gen. xxxiii. 12; Aquila, συνοδία; Lk. ii. 44). The word is chosen from its assonance with παροδεύσω.

with consuming envy.] "Consuming" here means "wasting" or "melting away." The verb *intabescere* is used by Ovid ('Met.' ii. 780) as descriptive of envy. The writer promises an *ungrudging* communication of his experience to those who accompany him on the path of inquiry. So Philo says (*l. c.*) φθόνος γὰρ ἀρετῆς διῴκισται. There is no room for so mean a vice as envy in the sphere of virtue. In another passage, Philo quotes Plato ('Phaedr.' p. 247) as saying that "Envy stands outside the divine choir;" and he adds that "Wisdom, a thing most divine and participative, never shuts her halls of thought, but ever welcomes those who thirst for draughts of instruction" ('Quod omnis prob. lib.,' Opp. ii. 44). The philosophers would have denied that "envy" had anything to do with their suppression of truths which they believed to be beyond the reach of the multitude; but φθόνος involves the notion of "grudging" and "withholding."

such a man.] Vulg. *talis homo.* Rather "it," *i.e.* Envy.

24. *But.*] He proceeds to shew that the unmeet withholding of the truth is an injury to humanity.

upholding.] εὐστάθεια: Esth. ii. 5; 2 Macc. iv. 6.

VII., VIII. The Glory of Wisdom. How Wisdom may be attained.

CHAPTER VII.

1–7. Solomon, being but a mortal man, like all others, prayed for wisdom, which (**8–10**) he esteemed above all earthly blessings. **11–14.** All other earthly blessings came with wisdom. **15–21.** The fulness of knowledge which comes from God. **22–30.** The glory and the nature of Wisdom.

CHAPTER VII.

1 *All men have their beginning and end alike.* 8 *He preferred wisdom before all things else.* 15 *God gave him all the knowledge which he had.* 22 *The praise of wisdom.*

I MYSELF also am a mortal man, like to all, and the offspring of him that was first made of the earth,

2 And in my mother's womb was fashioned to be flesh in the time of ten months, [a] being compacted in blood, of the seed of man, and the pleasure that came with [b] sleep.

3 And when I was born, I drew in the common air, and fell upon the earth, which is of like nature, and

[a] Job 10. 10.
[b] ch. 4. 6.

1. *I myself also am a mortal man.*] Such an acknowledgment might seem superfluous, but it is explained partly by the extraordinary development of supernatural legends which had clustered round the name of Solomon in the Jewish Hagadah, and partly by the writer's object,—which is to illustrate (i.) that before honour is humility, and (ii.) that the attainment of wisdom by Solomon was not due to any miraculous endowments, but is possible to the simplest of the children of men who will seek it by prayer.

like to all.] I was no being of a superior order to the rest of mankind.

the offspring of him that was first made of the earth.] Three words in the original—a "descendant of the earthborn protoplast," *i.e.* of Adam (Gen. ii. 7; 1 Cor. xv. 47, ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός; Ecclus. xvii. 1). The word "protoplast" occurs again at x. 1. It became a common word in Greek ecclesiastical literature, and, though not perhaps invented by this writer, was first brought into currency by him.

2. *in my mother's womb.*] No unusual circumstances accompanied his birth.

was fashioned to be flesh.] ἐγλύφην; lit., "I was sculptured," *i.e.* moulded, xiii. 13. Comp. Eccles. xi. 5; Is. xliv. 2. The "flesh" is regarded as being shaped in the womb, and then endowed with a pre-existent soul (viii. 9). So Macrobius calls the womb "formandi hominis monetam." In the language of later theological controversy the writer is rather a Creationist than a Traducianist. His views agree with those of Philo, who held that the pre-existent souls are "fleshless and bodiless," and "have no participation with earthly matter" ('De Gigant.' 7; 'Leg. Allegg.' i. 12). For fuller details see Siegfried, 'Philo,' pp. 242, 243. The writer does not touch on the question as to the exact moment in which the soul is supposed to be united to the body. The Alexandrian psychology was probably derived from the Stoics, who deduced their views allegorically from Homer, 'Il.,' ix. 609, &c. (Siegfried, p. 15.) In the common Jewish Hagadoth each soul, before entering the body, is supposed to be shewn the future places of reward and punishment that it may be without excuse hereafter; and the yet unborn souls of all Jews are represented as having been present to hear the Law delivered on Mount Sinai.

in the time of ten months.] A common expression in ancient literature (Arist. 'Hist. Animal.' x. 4; Plin. 'H. N.' vii. 5; Terent. 'Adelph.,' iii. 5, 28; Ovid, 'Fast.,' i. 33; "Matri longa decem tulerant fastidia menses," Virg.), originating probably from the earliest division of the year into lunar months of 28 days. For the conception of the soul as separate from the body, see viii. 19.

being compacted in blood.] It is hardly worth while to enter into the empiric details of the writer's embryology. He seems to have held the physical views of Aristotle ('De generat. animal.,' ii. 4; comp. Plin. 'H. N.' vii. 15), which Philo rejected ('De opif. Mund.' 45), but which the writer may have identified with Job x. 10. (Comp. 4 Macc. xiii. 19.) Pseudo-Solomon, in touching on physical details which in that age were mostly a matter of guesswork, shews less wisdom than the sacred writers, who on this subject pretend to no knowledge: Ps. cxxxix. 13–16; Eccles. xi. 5. (Comp. 2 Macc. vii. 22.)

that came with sleep.] The same euphemism as in iv. 6.

3. *And when I was born.*] "Yea and I too, when born." Not only my birth, but my infancy was simply normal.

the common air.] A phrase first used (apparently) by Menander (Brunck, 'Gnom. Poet. Fr.' vi. 6).

fell.] A phrase for birth found both in Scripture (see the commentators on Is. xxvi. 19) and in Greek writers ('Il.' xix. 110), and in the Latin *cadere*. It is still used in English of animals ("to *fall* a lamb," &c.). Here the word is used to imply the common helplessness of infancy.

"*Tellure cadentem*
Excepi."—PAPINIUS.

which is of like nature.] Vulg., *similiter factam*. In the N. T. the word (ὁμοιοπαθὴς) occurs twice (Acts xiv. 15; Jas. v. 17), and is rendered "of like passions." Grimm understands it here in the sense of "*aequa* tellus" (Hor. 'Od.,' ii. 18, 32), "impartial," "treating all alike." Solomon is made to

the first voice which I uttered was crying, as all others do.

4 I was nursed in swaddling clothes, and that with cares.

5 For there is no king that had any other beginning of birth.

6 [c] For all men have one entrance into life, and the like going out.

7 Wherefore [d] I prayed, and understanding was given me: I called *upon God*, and the spirit of wisdom came to me.

8 I [e] preferred her before sceptres and thrones, and esteemed riches nothing in comparison of her.

9 Neither compared I unto her any [1] precious stone, because all gold in respect of her is as a little sand, and silver shall be counted as clay before her.

10 I loved her above health and beauty, and chose to have her instead of light: for the light that cometh from her never goeth out.

[c] Job 1. 21. 1 Tim. 6. 7.
[d] 1 Kings 3. 7, &c.
[e] Job 28. 15, &c. Prov. 3. 14, 15, & 8. 11.
[1] Gr. stone of inestimable price.

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imply that at his birth he received only the universal blessings of earth and air, like all other infants. Compare the lines—

> "For Mother Earth, she gathers all
> Into her bosom, great and small."

the first voice which I uttered was crying, as all others do.] Lit., "weeping equally my first utterance, like all." φωνὴν is here a cognate accusative after κλαίων. "Like all" is a brachylogy for "like *the voice of* all" (comp. ii. 15). Ἴσα, "equally," not ἧκα, "I uttered" (Vulg. *emisi*), is the true reading. The reading ἧκα arose from not understanding the idiom κλαίων φωνὴν, and from a dislike of the tautology ὁμοίαν . . . ἴσα. Men in all ages have noticed with a sense of melancholy that the first human utterance is a cry. See Lucret. v. 227.

> "On mother's knees, a naked new-born child,
> Sad thou didst weep while all around thee smiled."—SIR W. JONES (from the Persian).

4. *and that with cares.*] Lit., "and amid cares"—namely, the cares of those who guarded my infancy.

5. *of birth.*] Γένεσις is here used for "life" in general.

6. *going out.*] See note on iii. 2. This commonplace of moralists is expanded in Ecclus. xl. 1–7.

7–10. Solomon's prayer for Wisdom, and his love for her.

7. *Wherefore.*] Knowing my helplessness in common with all the rest of mankind (ix. 5, 6).

I prayed.] viii. 21.

understanding.] φρόνησις. See note on vi. 15.

I called upon God.] The verb ἐπικαλοῦμαι has this sense also in the LXX. (Gen. xiii. 4; Symmachus, Ps. lxv. 17), and in the N. T. (Acts vi. 59).

the spirit of wisdom.] The best commentary on the verse is Jas. i. 5. It is clear that St. James was familiar with this book (see Dean Plumptre's 'St. James,' p. 33). The special parallels suggested by writers like Hengstenberg and Stier ('Die Apokryphen') may be sometimes vague, as Keerl has shewn in his 'Apokryphenfrage;' but they are too numerous to be quite accidental. The full idea of "the spirit of wisdom" was only revealed by Christ (Lk. xi. 13). The writer is of course alluding to 1 K. iii. 5–15; iv. 29–34.

8. *I preferred her before . . . thrones.*] This passage resembles others in the Sapiential literature of the Jews (Prov. iii. 8–10; viii. 10, 11, &c.); and in the Book of Job (xxviii. 15–19).

9. *any precious stone.*] Marg., "stone of inestimable price." Ἀτίμητον is "unvalued," in the sense of "beyond the power to value." Comp. 3 Macc. iii. 23, τὴν ἀτίμητον πολιτείαν, "the priceless citizenship." Comp. Shakspeare—

> "I thought I saw a thousand fearful wrecks,
> Inestimable stones, *unvalued* jewels."
> *Richard III.* i. 2.

all gold.] ὁ πᾶς χρυσὸς, "the sum total of gold in the world." Comp. Menander, σοφία δὲ πλούτου κτῆμα τιμιώτερον.

10. *instead of light.*] Inward light would have compensated me even for outward blindness. For wisdom is the true light (Ps. cxix. 105), without which all is darkness (Matt. vi. 23).

> "So much the rather thou, celestial light,
> Shine inwards, and the mind through all her powers
> Irradiate; there plant eyes, all mist from thence
> Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
> Of things invisible to mortal sight."
> MILTON, *Par. Lost*, iii.

never goeth out.] Lit., "is sleepless." Vulg., *inextinguibile*.

11–14. Wisdom brought all other blessings in her train.

11. *All good things.*] In the original, "But

Kings ... 3. ... 6.

11 All good things together came to me with her, and innumerable riches in her hands.

12 And I rejoiced in *them* all, because wisdom goeth before them: and I knew not that she was the mother of them.

13 I learned [1]diligently, and do communicate *her* [1]liberally: I do not hide her riches.

14 For she is a treasure unto men that never faileth: which they that use [1]become the friends of God, being commended for the gifts that come from learning.

15 [1]God hath granted me to speak as I would, and to conceive as is meet for the things that [1]are given me: because it is he that leadeth unto wisdom, and directeth the wise.

[1] Or, *enter friendship with God.*

[1] Or, *God grant.*

[1] Or, *are to be spoken of*

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all good things." I valued her above all earthly blessings, but she gave me these as well.

innumerable riches.] See 2 Chron. i. 12, ix. 1–28; Ecclus. xlvii. 18.

12. *because wisdom goeth before them.*] The meaning is that earthly blessings become real blessings, when Wisdom is their leader, *i.e.* presides over their use; but when he prayed for wisdom, he was entirely unaware (ἠγνόουν) that she is the mother of temporal as well as of eternal blessedness. In other words, he desires to intimate that his prayer was pure and untainted by lower motives. Throughout the book the writer is thinking of the ideal and legendary Solomon, rather than of the far-from-faultless king—

"Whose heart, though large,
Beguiled by fair idolatresses, fell
To idols foul."

Possibly, too, he desires to correct the pessimistic views of the Book of Ecclesiastes.

I knew not.] This imperfect (ἠγνόουν) must neither be treated as though it were a pluperfect (Gutbertet), nor taken (as by Grimm) to mean that the author *continued to be unaware* of the connexion between wisdom and prosperity. It refers to the days when he was praying for wisdom, before his great prosperity began.

13. *diligently.*] Rather, "without guile"—a reference to the purity of his motives in desiring wisdom, as explained in the last verse.

do communicate.] The Greek present often involves the notion of a wish, "I am for communicating her," "I desire to diffuse her."

liberally.] "Ungrudgingly," "without envy;" a reference to vi. 23.

I do not hide.] "I do not *wish to* hide," as in the last clause.

14. *which they that use.*] Χρῆσθαι, with an accusative instead of with the instrumental case, is a very unclassical construction, and some MSS. here read κτησάμενοι. But it is certain that no scribe would have altered this to the rarer construction which is found also in 1 Cor. vii. 31 (leg. τὸν κόσμον).

become the friends of God.] The aorist is gnomic, and corresponds to the English present aorist "become." The phrase στέλλεσθαι φιλίαν means "to provide friendship for oneself." Comp. Is. xli. 8, "Abraham my friend" (El Khalîl); Jas. ii. 25; John xv. 14.

being commended.] Namely, "to God" (συσταθέντες). The verb is used in 1 Macc. xii. 43 in the sense of "introduce to a friend," as also in Rom. xvi. 1. It is rendered "commend" in 2 Cor. x. 18.

for the gifts that come from learning.] Rather, "from training" (ἐκ παιδείας). The "training" may either be "moral discipline" (i. 5), or more generally "education." The spiritual gifts derived from such training or instruction are compared to the gifts which recommend a suitor or visitor to an Eastern king. In iii. 6, by another figure, the self-devotion of the righteous is compared to a whole burnt offering acceptable to God.

15–22. Extent of the wisdom which God has bestowed on Solomon.

15. *God hath granted me.*] This is the reading of the Vulg. and Arabic versions, and of the Complutensian and Aldine texts. Grimm thinks that δῴη, "may He grant," has been purposely altered into δέδωκε by scribes who thought that the gift of wisdom, which the writer professes to have attained, must necessarily involve the fitting expression and worthy conception of the gifts he has received. But this does not follow. Though he had received wisdom from God, he might yet desire guidance as to "how" or "what" he should speak (Matt. x. 19).

for the things that are given me.] Vulg., *quae mihi dantur.* The true reading seems to be διδομένων, which implies that the gift of wisdom is *continuous.* The reading λεγομένων (Alex. and other MSS., Syriac, Arabic, Armenian versions, &c.) refers back to his promises in *v.* 13; but does not suit the sense so well, and cannot be rendered "are to be spoken of," as in the margin.

16 For in his hand are both we and our words; all wisdom also, and knowledge of workmanship.

17 For he hath given me certain knowledge of the things that are, namely, to know how the world was made, and the operation of the elements:

18 The beginning, ending, and midst of the times: the alterations of the turning *of the sun*, and the change of seasons:

19 The circuits of years, and the positions of stars:

20 The natures of living creatures, and the furies of wild beasts: the

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that leadeth unto wisdom.] Rather, "guide of wisdom." Vulg., *sapientiae dux*. The context shews that the Vulgate is right, for σοφίας ὁδηγός is the parallel to τῶν σοφῶν διορθωτής. God is both the leader of wisdom and the teacher of the wise.

directeth.] διορθωτής. Vulg., *emendator*. The word properly means "a critic" or "corrector." Both wisdom and the wise still need the superintending providence of God.

16. *For.*] This gives the reason for the prayer of the last verse, and therefore supports the reading δῴη, *v.* 15. The wise still need God's guidance; for all speech, and all knowledge, and all practical skill come from Him.

wisdom.] Rather, "skill" (φρόνησις). The rendering of the A.V. is confusing. See on vi. 15.

of workmanship.] The gifts of wisdom include even the genius of the artist and the skill of the artisan. In Ex. xxxi. 3 the ability of Bezaleel is attributed to inspiration.

17. *For.*] This "for" only introduces a second and special illustration of the truth proclaimed in *v.* 15. God corrects and teaches the wise, generally, for (*v.* 16) all knowledge comes from Him; and specially (*vv.* 17–21) He has granted to Solomon his manifold learning. The emphasis thus falls on "*me*."

hath given.] Rather, "gave" (ἔδωκε).

how the world was made.] The organisation (σύστασιν) of the universe. The word, in this sense, comes from Plato ('Tim.' p. 32), possibly through Philo ('Leg. Allegg.' i. 1). This may be the meaning of συνεστῶσα in 2 Pet. iii. 5, and the same phrase is found in Col. i. 17.

operation of the elements.] Their effective force. Vulg., *virtutes*. The first who reduced matter to four elements, which he called ῥιζώματα, was Empedocles; the first who tentatively used the word στοιχεῖα (οἱονπερεὶ στ.) was Plato ('Theaet.' 201 E; 'Tim.' 48 B), and from him it gained currency.

18. *The beginning, ending, and midst of the times.*] This somewhat obscure expression seems to mean the ability to regulate the calendar by astronomy. Owing to the importance of correct systems for the division of the year by the rising and setting of various constellations, this subject had attracted deep attention, and those who helped to elucidate it were rightly regarded as benefactors (Aesch. 'Prom.' 457, 458). Much more is meant than the mere divisions of the seasons or of the months.

the alterations of the turning of the sun.] τροπῶν ἀλλαγάς. Lit., "the changes of the solstices." This, and not "*of manners*" (τρόπων), is evidently the meaning, as is shewn by the context. The word τροπή in this or an analogous sense occurs in LXX., Deut. xxxiii. 14; Job xxxviii. 33 (A.V. "the ordinances of heaven;" LXX., τροπάς); and in Jas. i. 17 there can be little doubt that this is the correct explanation, though it is only one of many. The only *special* knowledge attributed to Solomon in Scripture—apart from insight into character and skill in government—is that of botany and natural history (1 Kings iv. 29–34); but all details respecting him had been indefinitely extended in Jewish and Eastern legends, which credited him with universal knowledge. The Book of Ecclesiastes attributes to him deep research, but gives no particulars (Eccles. i. 13, 14).

the change of seasons.] Besides a knowledge of the summer and winter solstice, he knew about months and seasons, and their interchanges (μεταβολάς). The expression is somewhat vague.

19. *The circuits of years.*] Another expression of somewhat indefinite meaning. In xiii. 2 we have κύκλος ἀστέρων. In Euripides ('Or.' 1645) ἐνιαυτοῦ κύκλος means "the circling seasons." Here apparently Solomon is made to claim knowledge of solar and lunar cycles, intercalations, &c.

positions.] θέσεις. This includes the knowledge of which Cicero speaks ('De Nat. Deor.' ii. 61): "Nos astrorum ortus, *obitus*, *cursus*que cognovimus."

"The heavens themselves, the planets, and this centre
Observe degree, priority, and place,
Insisture, course, proportion, season, form,
Office, and custom, in all line of order."
SHAKSPEARE, *Troil. and Cress.* i. 3.

20. *The natures of living creatures.*] "He

violence of winds, and the reasonings of men: the diversities of plants, and the virtues of roots:

21 And all such things as are either secret or manifest, them I know.

22 For wisdom, [g] which is the worker of all things, taught me: for

[g] ch. 8. 5.

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spake parables," says Josephus, "about all sorts of living creatures, whether on the earth or in the sea, or in the air; for he was not unacquainted with any of their natures."

the violence of winds.] Comp. iv. 4. So too the Vulg., *vim ventorum;* but the parallel clause ("and the reasonings of men") shews that the real meaning is "the forces of spirits," whether good or evil. Josephus ('Antt.' viii. 2, § 1) says that Solomon had "understanding and wisdom in such a degree as no other mortal man ever had:" and also that "God enabled him to learn that skill which expels demons, which is a science useful and sanative to men." All Eastern legends are full of stories concerning Solomon's power over spirits. One long story of his dealings with the demon Ashmedai is related in 'Gittin,' f. 68. 1, 2.

> "To him were known, so Hagar's offspring tell,
> The powerful vigil and the starry spell,
> The midnight call Hell's shadowy legions dread,
> And sounds that wake the slumbers of the dead.
> Hence all his might: for who could these oppose?"—HEBER, *Palestine.*

See Eisenmenger, 'Entd. Judenth.' ii. 440, sq.; Hamburger, 'Talmud. Wörterb.' *s. v.* Salomo.

the reasonings of men.] "The Spirit searcheth all things," 1 Cor. ii. 10. "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, searching all the inward parts of the belly," Prov. xx. 27.

diversities of plants.] Botanic classifications. The claim is founded on 1 Kings iv. 33.

> "Who every bird, and beast, and insect knew,
> And spake of every plant that quaffs the dew."
> HEBER.

virtues of roots.] There was one root, for instance (familiar to Solomon), with which Josephus saw a Jewish exorcist, named Eleazar, in the presence of Vespasian and Titus, draw out an evil spirit through the nostrils of a demoniac. ('Antt.' viii. 2, § 5.)

21. *secret or manifest.*] That is, "I had both a knowledge of phenomena, and of their hidden causes;" and as the clause is parallel to the preceding verses, "I knew the actions of men, and, by psychologic insight, saw their innermost motives." (Ecclus. xix. 29.) Cp. 1 Cor. ii. 10, "The Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God." The legendary wisdom of Solomon is here expanded into that range of knowledge which was possessed by the most cultivated Jews of Alexandria during the two centuries before Christ. He is represented as understanding cosmography, physics, astronomy, chronology, meteorology, zoology, angelology and demonology, psychology, botany, herbalism, as well as (viii. 8) rhetoric and history. See Grimm, 'Einl.' p. 151.

22 a. *the worker of all things.*] Reuss renders this "l'artiste universelle." Wisdom is spoken of as "an artificer" in viii. 6, and wisdom is ascribed to the artist (τεχνίτῃ) in xiv. 2. God is called the Artificer of the universe in xiii. 1; and in Prov. viii. 30, the words "as one brought up with him" should rather be rendered "*as a master-worker.*" Comp. Ecclus. xxiv. Philo speaks of Wisdom as the "mother" and "nurse" of all things. Eustathius, in an interesting note on Homer, 'Il.' xv. 411, says that "the ancients called all artificers wise." In Ex. xxxv. 31, God is said to have filled Bezaleel "with the Spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all kinds of workmanship." Similarly in Ex. xxviii. 4, Aaron's garments are to be made by "*all that are wisehearted, whom I* (the Lord) *have filled with the spirit of wisdom.*"

22 b. The division of clauses would be better at this point. The rest of the chapter is occupied with the qualities (**22, 23**); the nature (**24-26**); the effects (**27, 28**); and the glory of wisdom (**29, 30**).

22 b. *For in her is a . . . spirit.*] This (ἐν αὐτῇ) is the best reading. It is supported by the Vatican MS. and the four versions. Some have suspected that the reading was introduced by some Christian reader who wished to *distinguish between* the Son (= Wisdom) and the Holy Spirit, in the interests of Trinitarian controversy. Calovius and others, accepting it as the true reading, draw this theological inference from it. The inference is very remote, and has not the smallest argumentative value; and the reading (since it is accepted in the Itala) is certainly older than Arian disputes. It is the more difficult reading, but means that in the practical results of wisdom a spirit reveals itself, which is described by the following epithets. The other readings are αὐτὴ, αὐτὴ ("she," or "she herself is"), and αὕτη (a demonstrative, as in vi. 16), which *identify* Wisdom with the Spirit of God (comp. i. 4; vii. 7; ix. 17; xii. 1). See Nitzsch, 'Syst. of Christian Doctrine.'

in her is an understanding spirit, holy, [1]one only, manifold, subtil, lively, clear, undefiled, plain, not subject to hurt, loving the thing that is good, quick, which cannot be letted, ready to do good,

23 Kind to man, stedfast, sure, free from care, having all power,

1 Gr. *only begotten.*

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§ 75. After this word "spirit," there follows a series of no less than twenty-one epithets. The number 21 is no doubt deliberately chosen as a product of the two sacred numbers 3 × 7. (See Gfrörer, Philo, ii. 98.) It is probably from this passage (as Lipsius was the first to suggest) that the Book of Wisdom got its title of Πανάρετος Σοφία, or All-Virtuous Wisdom, or sometimes ἡ Πανάρετος alone;—a title which was extended to the other Sapiential Books, Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus. The word "*for*" introduces the explanation of the phrase "artificer *of all things*."

understanding.] νοερόν. The word is a technical term of the Stoic philosophy, and may be rendered "intelligential." The Stoics are said by Plutarch ('De plac. philos.' 6) to have defined God in these very words as "an intelligential Spirit" and "intelligential fire." Attempts have been made by Hasse and Baumgarten-Crusius to classify these epithets in a significant order. Hasse classes them under three heads. He says that the first seven express the permanent nature of Wisdom; the next seven her active work; and the last seven her exalted power. Baumgarten-Crusius says that the first four epithets are *general*, and all the others illustrative of them. A careful examination shews decisively that neither classification is tenable; and a certain resemblance of some of the epithets to each other, not without something like tautology, seems to prove that the writer was mainly influenced by rhetorical and numerical considerations. The passage may be profitably compared with Hooker, 'Eccl. Pol.' ii. 1, § 4: "The boundaries of Wisdom are large, and within them much is contained. . . . Whatsoever either men on earth or the angels of heaven do know, it is a drop of that unemptiable fountain of Wisdom."

one only.] μονογενές. The marg. suggests the literal rendering, "only begotten" (John i. 14). The meaning is decided by the contrast with the following word. This spirit is at once "*unique*," yet manifold. Similarly Clemens Romanus speaks of the Phœnix as "unique" (μονογενές).

manifold.] The Spirit of Wisdom, though unique in essence, confers manifold gifts, and works in manifold operations (1 Cor. xii. 4–11).

subtil.] λεπτόν. Lit., "fine," but implying here the sense of "immaterial." Philo employs the word in a similar sense ('De cherub.' 32): λεπτομερὴς γὰρ ἡ φύσις αὐτῆς (τῆς ψυχῆς) ὡς μηδεμίαν ἐμπάρεχειν λαβὴν σώματι. Anaxagoras spoke of the mind as "the *subtlest* and purest of all things," by which he meant that it was the most incorporeal. Euripides, in some of whose plays the word occurs so frequently as to excite the ridicule of Aristophanes, used it in the sense of "refined."

lively.] εὐκίνητον. In xiii. 11 it is used in the sense of "easily handled;" here it means "swift-moving" (comp. *v.* 24). An ancient gloss makes it almost equivalent to "ubiquitous" (ὅπου θέλει γινόμενον). Similarly Philo calls the Logos ὀξυκινητότατος ('De cherub.' 9).

clear.] Rather, "penetrative" (τρανόν, from τετραίνω, "I bore"). The Vulg. renders it *disertus*, and in the Syriac also it is understood to mean "eloquent" (comp. x. 21; Is. xxxv. 6, τρανὴ ἔσται γλῶσσα μογιλάλων). In classic Greek τρανής means "perspicuous." Both penetrative power (ὀξύ) and perspicuity (σαφὲς) are attributed to the Spirit of Wisdom in the subsequent epithets.

undefiled.] ἀμόλυντον, immaculate, and incapable of defilement (i. 4).

plain.] σαφές, "transparent," whether in essence or in undeceiving manifestations.

not subject to hurt.] ἀπήμαντον. Nothing can inflict injury on the Spirit of Wisdom. It is *impassible*, in the same sense as Anaxagoras called the mind ἀπαθής. The word is used in this *passive* sense in 2 Macc. xii. 5; 3 Macc. vi. 5. It might also mean "injuring none," but that would be a feeble epithet in the midst of so glowing an encomium.

loving the thing that is good.] Comp. Ps. xcvii. 10.

quick.] ὀξύ, "piercing." So Philo speaks of the Logos as "the *cutter* Word" (τομεύς, 'Quis rer. div. haer.'). Comp. Heb. iv. 12.

which cannot be letted.] ἀκώλυτον, "irresistible."

ready to do good.] Wisdom is the sole true "Euergetes" (comp. Lk. xxii. 25). This epithet represents the active side of the "philanthropy" attributed to Wisdom in the next epithet.

23. *Kind to man.*] φιλάνθρωπον. The adj. does not occur in either Testament. See note on i. 6. On the other hand, this epithet admirably characterises the tender humanism of Wisdom as illustrated by the Book of Proverbs, with its genial regard for every

overseeing all things, and going through all understanding, pure, and most subtil, spirits.

24 For wisdom is more moving than any motion: she passeth and goeth through all things by reason of her pureness.

25 For she is the [1]breath of the

[1] Or, vapour.

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phase and aspect of human life (Prov. xii. 10; xvii. 22; xv. 30; xi. 16; xx. 29, &c.). The Hebrew Wise-man could have said more truly than the Roman comedian,

Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto.

"Every way of man, and every expression of his mind and nature, has a charm for him."

stedfast.] βέβαιον, "unchangeable," in spite of its diversity of operation.

sure.] ἀσφαλές, "trustworthy," "forthright," "that may be relied on."

free from care.] ἀμέριμνον. The word implies independence of all anxieties; self-dependence; self-sufficiency.

having all power.] παντοδύναμον, "all-sovereign" (xi. 17; xviii. 15). It is the word rendered "Almighty" in the first clause of the Creed. It does not occur in the O. or N. T., which use παντοκράτωρ. See Pearson 'on the Creed,' art. "Almighty."

overseeing all things.] παντεπίσκοπον. This word is also extremely rare. Comp. i. 6, and πανεπόπτης, 2 Macc. ix. 5.

and going through . . . spirits.] There is nothing so subtle as to resist its permeating power, not even the "spirits" of men or angels. The epithets "understanding" and "subtle" have already been applied to the Spirit of Wisdom; "pure" means free from earthly admixtures (*v.* 24). Hooker refers to this passage ('Eccl. Pol.' v. lvi. 5).

24. *For.*] This verse gives the *reason* for the penetrative and permeating power of Wisdom; namely, because she is infinitely mobile and uncompounded.

more moving than any motion.] A somewhat fantastic expression to imply that her swiftness admits of no earthly comparison (comp. εὐκίνητον, *v.* 22). The neuter adj. in agreement with a feminine substantive is quite classical, as in ἥδιστον ἡ εὐδαιμονία (Arist. 'Eth. Nic.' i. 5). *Varium et mutabile semper Foemina.* With the thought we may compare Cowper's lines—

"How fleet is the glance of the mind!
Compared with the speed of its flight,
The tempest itself lags behind,
And the swift-winged arrows of light."

she passeth and goeth through.] These verbs διήκει and χωρεῖ were specially used by the Stoics to describe the universal *diffusion* of the Godhead, of which Grimm quotes many instances. Wordsworth uses a similar phrase—

"A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And *rolls through all things.*"

And Pope—

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;
That *changed through all and yet in all the same,*
Great in the earth as in the ethereal frame;
* * * *
Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent."

So, too, the Son of Sirach says of God that "He is the All" (τὸ πᾶν ἐστιν αὐτός, xliii. 27). This must not be confused with mere Pantheism. It is only the recognition of God's all-pervading providence. See Corn. à Lapide on these passages.

goeth through all things by reason of her pureness.] The Spirit of Wisdom is "unessential" in Milton's sense. Compare also the lines:—

"So soft
And uncompounded is their essence *pure.*"
Par. Lost, i. 425.

Tertullian quotes Kleanthes as speaking of "spiritum . . . *permeatorem universitatis*" ('Apolog.' 21).

With the use of these twenty-one epithets we may compare the fact that Philo ('De confus. linguæ,' Opp. i. 427) calls the Divine Word "a many-named angel" (ἄγγελος πολυώνυμος); and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says that God has revealed Himself πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, "fragmentarily and *multifariously.*" The literary form of this passage may have been influenced by a celebrated fragment of the Stoic Kleanthes, preserved in Clemens Alexandrinus ('Protrept.' vi. 72) and Eusebius ('Praep. Ev.' xiii. 3), in which he defines "the good," or the *summum bonum*, by twenty-six epithets, many of which (*e.g.*, ὅσιον, χρησιμόν, καλόν, αὐθέκαστον, ἀεὶ συμφέρον, ἄλυπον, ἄφοβον, λυσιτελές, ἀνώδυνον, ἄτυφον, σφοδρόν, ἀεὶ διαμένον) are closely analogous to those here used. This accumulation of adjectives (πύργωσις ἐπιθετῶν, as it is technically called) is not unknown in classic poets. In one passage of Aeschylus fifteen epithets are attached in succession to one substantive. The object of the writer in this passage is, however, not by any means exclusively rhetorical. He desires to give some conception of what Wisdom is, by describing her qualities and the results which she produces.

[1] Or, *stream.*

power of God, and a pure [1] influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty: therefore can no defiled thing fall into her.

One careful definition would have been at least equally serviceable. All that is clear is, that by "wisdom" the writer meant much the same as was meant by Solomon in Proverbs (viii. ix.) and by the Son of Sirach in Ecclus. i. We can, therefore, only regard wisdom in its highest sense as a personification of the spiritual power of God which pervades the universe, and expresses itself in all things artistically beautiful, mentally pure, and spiritually noble. Still the writer nearly approaches the attribution to Wisdom of a distinct personality, a separate essence. Wisdom has to him that ideal reality which he, as a partial Platonist, would have regarded as more real than any physical existence. If the Logos of Philo, though never distinctly hypostatised, constantly reminds us of the Eternal Son, so the Wisdom of this book is often spoken of in terms which might be directly applied to the Holy Spirit.

It may be doubted whether the author meant by these epithets all the profound thoughts which commentators have extracted from them. Some of them are intellectual, some moral; some are inherent qualities of personified Wisdom, others are the results of wisdom in the soul of man. Reuss may not be far wrong in seeing in this list of qualities "une énumération faite au hasard au gré d'une rhétorique exubérante."

25–30. The nature and glory of Wisdom.

25. *For she is the breath of the power of God.*] The "for" is intended to explain why Wisdom is entitled to all these manifold and glorious predicates. This and the following verse are interesting because they were evidently in the mind of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews in the noble proem to his epistle (Heb. i. 3). The word ἀτμὶς means properly "vapour," as in the marg. (see LXX., Lev. xvi. 13, &c.; ἀτμὶς καπνώδης, Hos. xiii. 5). Compare Job xxxiii. 4; Ecclus. xliii. 4, xxiv. 3. "I came forth from the mouth of the Most High, and covered the earth like a cloud" (ὁμίχλη).

a pure influence flowing from.] ἀπόῤῥοια εἰλικρινής, "an unmingled emanation." Compare Ecclus. i. 9, "He *poured her out* upon all His works;" Enoch xlix. 1, "Wisdom is poured out like water." But the word ἀπόῤῥοια is used of *lightning* by Aquila (Ezek. i. 14). Philo ('De monarch.' 5) applies the word to the sunbeams, and it was employed by Empedocles and Democritus to express the *effluences* by which material objects become perceptible (comp. Plato, 'Meno,' 76). It is applied to light by Marc. Aurel. (ii. 4) and by Athenagoras, who says ('Apol.' 10) that the Holy Spirit is an "effluence of God, flowing from Him . . . like *a ray of the sun*." Probably, therefore, the writer is thinking, not of water (as in Ecclus. i. 9), but of *light*, as in the following word, ἀπαύγασμα.

> "Bright *effluence* of bright essence uncreate.
> Or hear'st thou rather *pure ethereal stream*,
> Whose fountain who shall tell?"
> MILTON, *Par. Lost*, iii. 8.

"We have here and there a little clear light, some *sparks of bright knowledge*" (Locke).

pure.] There is nothing therefore in Wisdom which is not divine, for, according to Philo, the epithet εἰλικρινὴς cannot be attached to any *sensible* things ('De opif.' 8). This "purity" of the divine essence of Wisdom explains why she is "holy," "unique," "subtle," "swift," "perspicuous," "immaculate," "resistless."

of the Almighty.] τοῦ Παντοκράτορος. For the distinction between Παντοκράτωρ and Παντοδύναμος, see Pearson, *l. c.* Παντοκράτωρ implies the possession of force, παντοδύναμος the exercise of sovereignty.

no defiled thing.] She is ἀμόλυντον, *v.* 22.

can . . . fall into her.] The compound verb παρεμπίπτει describes a sudden, secret infusion of evil (*irrepit*, rather than the *incurrit* of the Vulg.). The word does not occur in the LXX. or N. T., but is used by Plato and by the Attic orators to imply intrusive and surreptitious agents.

26. *brightness.*] ἀπαύγασμα. This rare word is adopted by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (i. 3), and also occurs in Philo ('De Mund. opif.' § 51, where man is called "an impress, a fragment, or *apaugasma* of the blessed nature;" and in 'De concupiscent.' 11, 'De plantat. Noe,' 12, where he defines ἁγίασμα as ἁγίων ἀπαύγασμα, μίμημα ἀρχετύπου). Properly speaking, it does not imply *reflexion*, but *emanation*. "Wisdom" (in Philo "man," and in Heb. i. 3 "the Son of God") is described as "light *of* (i.e. *from*) light" (φῶς ἐκ φωτός). That Philo, however, meant by ἀπαύγασμα not "*emanating* light," but "*reflected* light," seems clear from his description of the world as ἁγίων ἀπαύγασμα, and the word thus resembles ἀπήχημα, "an echo," ἀποσκίασμα, "an adumbration." If this be the meaning here, Wisdom is described as *reflecting* the glory of God, as in the next clause; just as Philo calls the Logos "the *shadow*, and as it were copy (ἀπεικόνισμα) of God" ('Leg. Allegg.' iii. 31). We cannot, however, be sure that the author of the Book of Wisdom did not use the word

Hebr. 1. 3. 26 For she is the [k] brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and [i] the image of his goodness.

1 Cor. 4. 4. Col. 1. 15.

27 And being but one, she can do all things: and remaining in herself, she [l] maketh all things new: and in all ages entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God, and prophets.

[l] Or, createth.

28 For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with wisdom.

29 For she is more beautiful than the sun, and above all the order of stars: being compared with the light, she is found before it.

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in the higher sense attributed to it by the lexicographers (Hesych. ἡλίου φέγγος; Suid. Phavor. ἔκλαμψις; Lex. Cyrill. ἀκτὶς ἡλίου). Wisdom might be described *relatively* as a reflection, *absolutely* as an emanation. In the O. T. God is constantly spoken of under images of fire and light, and in 1 John i. 5 we read "God is Light." St. John would have been as anxious as Philo to explain that he did not mean *physical* light, but "spiritual light," an "unembodied splendour" (ἀσώματος αὐγή, φῶς ψυχικόν). See Siegfried, 'Philo,' 208, 216.

of the everlasting light.] Wisdom is therefore preferable to an earthly light (*v.* 10). Ἀΐδιος means "everlasting" in the strict sense of the word, without the more metaphysical connotations of αἰώνιος. It only occurs once in the N. T. (Rom. i. 20; Jude 6. In the latter passage it is used rhetorically).

unspotted.] See note on iv. 9.

the power.] ἐνεργείας. By δύναμις is meant power in the abstract; ἐνέργεια is power in operation.

the image.] 1 Cor. xi. 7; 2 Cor. iv. 4; Col. i. 15, iii. 10. For its full meaning of "manifestation," see Bp. Lightfoot's 'Colossians,' pp. 215, 281.

of his goodness.] See note on i. 1. According to Phavorinus, ἀγαθότης has exactly the same meaning as ἀγαθωσύνη, which is attributed to God in 2 Thess. i. 11. On the latter word see Trench, 'New Test. Synonyms,' p. 218. The resemblances to Christian theology in this passage are purely superficial.

27. *being but one, she can do all things.*] This is an amplification of the epithets "unique" and "manifold" in *v.* 22. Comp. 1 Cor. xii. 11.

remaining in herself, she maketh all things new.] Ps. cii. 26, 27, "As a vesture shalt Thou change them, and they shall be changed; but Thou art the same." Ps. civ. 30, "Thou renewest (ἀνακαινιεῖς) the face of the earth." Wisdom is a permeating spirit, "changed through all, and yet in all the same."

in all ages.] Lit., "throughout the generations."

entering.] μεταβαίνουσα, "passing from one to another." Vulg., *in animas sanctas se transfert.*

friends of God.] It is often difficult to be certain whether the writer is thinking most immediately of expressions which have at least their analogue or germ in Scripture, or of passages in the philosophic writers. Abraham is called "the friend of God" in Is. xli. 8; "Abraham my friend" (אֹהֲבִי, Vulg., *amici mei;* LXX., ὃν ἠγάπησα; Jas. ii. 23, φίλος Θεοῦ ἐκλήθη). The name by which Abraham is universally known in the East—*El Khalîl*—means "the Friend." The term is not, however, exactly applied to him in the LXX., and the writer may have had in his mind such passages as ὁ μὲν σώφρων Θεῷ φίλος· ὅμοιος γάρ (Plato, 'Legg.' iv.); and Philo, πᾶς σοφὸς Θεοῦ φίλος (Philo, 'Fr.').

prophets.] "Prophets" are all great moral and spiritual teachers and reformers, whether with or without the power to foretell events. Grimm would confine the term here to the Jewish prophets, because of the writer's burning hatred toward heathendom; and he would similarly confine the bearing of Philo's remark, "The sacred word witnesseth prophecy to every noble-hearted man." But as the Alexandrian Jews recognised the prophetic character of the Sibyls, so they certainly exempted the great Greek philosophers from the abhorrence with which they regarded the coarse and vicious heathens. In this respect the greater Fathers shared their views. They believed in the reality of an ethnic inspiration. Neither Philo nor this writer *confined* the gift of inspiration to the sacred writers. Philo says that he was sometimes inspired, θεοληπτεῖσθαι ('De cherub.' 9; 'De migr. Abr.' 7); and Josephus not only attributes inspiration to Hyrcanus ('Antt.' xiii. 10, § 7) and to some Essenes ('B. J.' ii. 8, § 12), but even claims some such power for himself ('B. J.' viii. 3, § 9). See Gfrörer, 'Philo,' i. 57.

28. *that dwelleth with wisdom.*] Comp. i. 1–5. The verb συνοικεῖν often means "to be married to" (Gen. xx. 3; Prov. xxx. 23); but as it is used with such expressions as "grief," "fear," &c., there is no proof that it has that meaning here.

29. *more beautiful than the sun.*] God is

30 For after this cometh night: but vice shall not prevail against wisdom.

CHAPTER VIII.

2 *He is in love with wisdom:* 4 *for he that hath it hath every good thing.* 21 *It cannot be had but from God.*

WISDOM reacheth from one end to another mightily: and [1]sweetly doth she order all things.

2 I loved her, and sought *her* out from my youth, I desired [1]to make *her* my spouse, and I was a lover of her beauty.

[1] Or, *profitably.*

[1] Or, *to marry her to myself.*

Light and the Creator of all forms of earthly light, yet Wisdom is nearer to His essence than light itself. Aristotle calls virtue "lovelier than the evening star."

order.] θέσιν. Comp. *v.* 19.

30. *after this cometh night.*] Darkness prevails over light in the constant succession of night to day, but vice can never thus displace and prevail against wisdom. With the construction σοφίας . . . ἀντισχύει comp. Matt. xvi. 18. If any one had objected that Solomon himself furnished a proof of the power of vice to prevail over wisdom, the writer would probably have answered that Wisdom never enters into contact with vice, but withdraws from the soul, step by step, as evil enters into it. See i. 3, 5.

CHAPTER VIII.

Universality and rule of Wisdom (1). Solomon's love for her (2) because of her affinity to God (3, 4). She is better than riches (5) and intelligence (6). She teaches the virtues (7) and gives experience and insight (8), and is specially necessary for rulers (9-16). Considering all the blessings which she bestows, and knowing that she comes from God alone, Solomon prayed for Wisdom (17-21).

1. *Wisdom reacheth from one end to another.*] This verse belongs properly to the last chapter. The word διατείνει has a middle sense, "expands herself." Philo uses this and similar verbs to express the diffusiveness of wisdom. He says that "The universe is held together by unseen powers, which the Creator extended (διέτεινε) from the ends (ἐσχάτων) of the earth to the bounds (περάτων) of heaven" ('De migr. Abr.' § 32).

mightily.] This adverb (εὐρώστως) is not in the Greek Bible, but occurs three times in the 2nd Book of Maccabees. The verb (εὐρωστέω) is used by Philo.

sweetly.] χρηστῶς. Marg., "profitably." Lit., "excellently," "kindly." God's "*tender mercies* are over all His works."

doth she order.] διοικεῖ (xii. 18; xv. 1); whence comes our word "*diocese.*" The verb was used by the Stoics (Chrysippus, Epictetus, Marc. Aurelius), who decided in the affirmative the question "Is the world managed (διοικεῖται) by forethought?" (Diog. Laert. vii. 133.) It was borrowed from the Stoics by Josephus and Philo. Wisdom is here only another name for the immanent Divine power which sustains and governs the whole order of things. Anaxagoras (Plato, 'Cratyl.' p. 413) spoke of "Mind" as "ordering (κοσμεῖν) all things, going through all things."

2. *I loved her.*] We have here a stronger expression of the thought touched upon in vii. 7 (comp. Ecclus. li. 13-21). The word used for "loved" (ἐφίλησα, *amavi*) expresses the love of warm personal affection, and not merely of high esteem (ἠγάπησα, *dilexi*). Hence we never find in the Bible the phrase φιλεῖν τὸν Θεόν, but always ἀγαπᾶν. On the other hand, φιλεῖν is used of the love of God to Christ (John v. 20) and to redeemed man (*id.* xvi. 27). In 1 Cor. xvi. 22 we have φιλεῖν used of our love to Christ, as in John xvi. 27, &c. (See Trench, 'N. T. Synonyms,' § xii.)

from my youth.] See 1 K. iii. 1, xviii. 12; Prov. ii. 17; Eccles. xii. 1; Ecclus. vi. 18.

I desired.] ἐζήτησα. Having *sought her out* (ἐκζητήσας, Vulg. *exquisivi*), he *sought* to wed her to himself.

to make her my spouse.] The metaphor is a natural and universal one. (Comp. Ecclus. xv. 2.) It runs throughout the writings of the Mystics—St. Bonaventura, St. Bernard, St. Hugo, and St. Richard de Victore. Luther says, "The Epistle to the Galatians is *my* Epistle. I have espoused her to myself. *It is my wife.*" This is one of the passages which have been quoted to prove that the writer of the Book of Wisdom belonged to the Therapeutae, of whom Philo says that "they despised bodily pleasures out of love for Wisdom, and eagerness to dwell with her" ('De vit. contempt.' Opp. ii. 482). The inference is obviously of the most precarious kind.

I was.] Rather, "I became;" "I shewed myself."

a lover.] ἐραστής. The word means a lover in the most human sense, and it proves the tendency of mystical language to adopt sensuous images—a tendency which leads writers like St. Jerome, as well as many of the later Mystics, into most unseemly and irreverent expressions. The same word occurs in xv. 6. In the LXX. it is only used by the translator of Jeremiah. Neither the verb ἐράω nor any of its cognates or deriva-

3 In that she is conversant with God, she magnifieth her nobility: yea, the Lord of all things himself loved her.

4 For she is [1] privy to the mysteries of the knowledge of God, and a [1] lover of his works.

5 If riches be a possession to be desired in this life; [a] what is richer than wisdom, [b] that worketh all things?

6 And if [c] prudence work; who of all that are is a more cunning workman than she?

7 And if a man love righteousness, her labours are virtues: for she teacheth temperance and prudence, justice and fortitude: which are such

[1] ...ter. [1] ...ter. [a] ...7. 8. [b] ch. 7. 22. [c] Exod. 31. 3, 6.

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tives occur in the N. T. The sacred writers who gave depth and universality to such words as ἀγαπή, found the word ἔρως too deeply dyed in heathen associations to be at all redeemable for holy usage.

of her beauty.] Plato ('Phaedr.' 250 d) says that Wisdom (φρόνησις) is invisible to mortal eyes, because otherwise her image would have inspired overwhelming passions. Prodicus, in his famous apologue of the Choice of Hercules, speaks of the comely and winning beauty of Virtue (Xen. 'Mem.' II. i. 22). Aristotle, in his hymn to Virtue, says—

σᾶς περὶ, παρθένε, μορφῆς
καὶ θανεῖν ζηλωτὰς ἐν Ἑλλάδι πότμος.

3. *conversant with God.*] She is the bride of God. The word συμβίωσις—the common life of wife and husband—occurs again in *vv.* 9, 16. The thought had been already expressed by Solomon (Prov. viii. 22). Philo speaks of God as the Father, and Knowledge as the *mother* of created things ('De ebriet.,' 8).

she magnifieth her nobility.] This is the right rendering, not "she glorifies the nobility of men." (Vulg., *generositatem illius glorificat.*) The "nobility" of Wisdom is her divine origin. Comp. Epictet. ii. 8, § 11.

yea.] Vulg., *sed et.* The word rightly expresses the accumulative force of the καὶ in the original. God loved her, *though* He is the Lord of all.

4. *For.*] This is the reason why God loved her. She was ever with Him (Prov. viii. 30).

privy to the mysteries.] Μυστὶς is the feminine of μύστης, which means (1) "one initiated," or (2) μυσταγωγὸς, "a mystagogue," "one who initiates into mysteries." The marg. therefore suggests the alternative rendering "teacher" (Vulg., *doctrix*).

of the knowledge of God.] The genitive is here not objective, "knowledge about God," but subjective, "God's own knowledge" (comp. John xv. 15).

a lover.] Αἱρετὶς means literally, as in the margin, "a chooser." Vulg., *electrix.* The extreme rarity of the word led to the numerous variations of the MSS. It is strange that in two consecutive verses the A. V. should select the same word "lover" to render two words so unlike each other as ἐραστὴς and αἱρετίς.

5. *that worketh all things.*] Ἐργάζεσθαι means "to work," and also "to get gain" or "to trade" (οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι, "tradesmen"). The writer here plays on the interchange of meaning. Heavenly wisdom, as a Divine force, brings about all God's ends; earthly wisdom produces all man's gains (Prov. viii. 18).

6. *prudence.*] φρόνησις. See on iii. 15; vi. 15. The ideal wife is prudent (Prov. xxxi. 10–31).

work.] There is still a play on the word —"works" and "is gainful" (comp. John vi. 27).

who of all that are.] Rather, "who is more an artificer of the things that are than she?"

workman.] τεχνίτης. Vulg., *artifex.* "Artisan" or "artificer" would have been a better rendering.

7. *her labours.*] Here, as often, the abstract is used for the concrete—the results of her toil. (Comp. x. 10; Ecclus. xiv. 15, xxviii. 15.)

she teacheth.] Rather, "she *thoroughly* teacheth."

temperance and prudence, justice and fortitude.] These are the four "cardinal virtues" of the Platonists, which occur also in 4 Macc. i. 18, v. 22, 23, xv. 7, with the substitution in the latter passages of piety (εὐσέβεια) for prudence (φρόνησις) or fortitude (ἀνδρεία). According to Xenophon, εὐσέβεια was also used by Socrates as one of the cardinal virtues. Philo refers to them, and compares them to the four rivers of Eden ('Leg. Allegg.' i. 19–23). Comp. Ambrose, 'De Parad.' 3. See Siegfried, 'Philo,' 21, 22, 272. The writer interchanges σοφία (*v.* 5) and φρόνησις (*v.* 6), "prudence." Plato himself did so in his later writings (Zeller, 'Philos.' ii. 319), from which the Stoics adopted the term φρόνησις. How far the names of these virtues are here used in the senses attached to them by the Greek philosophers is uncertain, since we have no definition of them in

things, as men can have nothing more profitable in their life.

8 If a man desire much experience, she knoweth things of old, and conjectureth *aright* what is to come: she knoweth the subtilties of speeches, and can expound dark sentences: she foreseeth signs and wonders, and the events of seasons and times.

9 Therefore I purposed to take

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this book. Cicero defines them popularly in 'De Off.' i. 5; 'De Fin.' v. 23. The δικαιοσύνη contemplated by Pseudo-Solomon (see i. 1) was, as it was with Plato, something more than a separate virtue. Still the writer's view of these virtues could not have been *identical* with Plato's, because that depended on his fundamental trichotomy of human nature into τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, τὸ θυμοειδές, τὸ λογιστικόν, which this writer does not recognise (see Ueberweg, 'Hist. of Philos.' i. 128). The allusions to the four cardinal virtues are frequent in the Middle Ages. They are painted by Giotto in the Chapel of the Arena at Padua, and allegorised by Dante—

> "Dalla sinistra quattro facean festa,
> In porpira vestiti dietro al modo
> D'una di lor, ch' avea tre ocche in testa."
> *Purgatorio*, xxix. 130.

The virtue which has the three eyes is "Prudence," who sees the Past, the Present, and the Future. They are called "cardinal" virtues because they are, as it were, the hinges (*cardines*) on which the other virtues turn. Thurot ('De l'Entendement,' i. 162) says that they are rather the necessary and essential *conditions* of virtue than each individually a virtue. Dr. Whewell considers that the division fails altogether, "since the parts are not distinct, and the whole is not complete. The portions of morality so laid out, both overlap one another or are indistinguishable; and also leave parts of the subject which do not appear in the distribution at all" (Whewell, 'System Mor.' iv.).

8. *experience.*] Comp. Ecclus. xxv. 6. Already, in vii. 17–21, a knowledge of all arts and sciences has been attributed to Wisdom; here she is spoken of as mistress of all the experience and insight and foresight of which the mind is capable. The A.V. omits the καί. "And if any one longs for *even* wide experience," which is better than earthly wealth. As applied to the *future*, the word means that Wisdom is *versed in* the coming issues of events.

conjectureth.] Her knowledge of the past ("*cogitavi dies antiquos*," Ps. cxliii. 5) helps her to foresight of the future. Homer says of Kalchas ('Il.' i. 70) that "he knew both the present, the future, and the past."

> "Multa tenens antiqua, vetusta, sepulta."
> ENNIUS.

the subtilties of speeches.] στροφὰς λόγων. This phrase comes from the LXX., Prov. i. 3. Comp. Ecclus. xxxix. 2. The Jews, like all Orientals, delighted in elaborate and recondite forms of expression. Hence στροφή is here used (apparently) in a good sense, though both in Greek and in Latin it is used in a bad sense. Ar. 'Plut.' 1154, οὐ δεῖ στροφῶν, "No tricks here!" Plat. 'Rep.' 405 C: πάσας στροφὰς στρέφεσθαι. In Plautus *strophae* means "slippery wiles," and *strophosus* = δόλιος.

can expound dark sentences.] Lit., "and solvings of riddles." The Jews were familiar with "riddles" in the ordinary sense of the word (Lat. *scirpus*), as appears both in Scripture (Judg. xiv. 12, 14) and in the Talmudic legends. The word αἴνιγμα is also used for any "dark saying:" Num. xii. 8; 1 K. x. 1; 2 Chron. ix. 1; Prov. i. 6. In the N. T. the word only occurs in 1 Cor. xiii. 12, δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι. Solomon was renowned for his skill in "riddles" of all kinds (1 Kings x. 1; 2 Chr. ix. 1, LXX.; Ecclus. xlvii. 15, 17). See Bellerman, 'Aenigmata Hebraica,' 1798. "Manifestis pascimur," says Augustine, "*obscuris exercemur*" ('De doctr. Christ.' ii. 6). He calls a riddle "obscura allegoria" ('De Trinitate,' xv. 19), and points to Prov. xxx. 15 as a specimen.

signs and wonders.] The words are again conjoined in x. 16, in the Gospels (Matt. xxiv. 24; Mk. xiii. 22; John iv. 48), in the Acts, and in the Epistles. Σημεῖον, the favourite word of St. John, indicates a miracle regarded as a proof of the power by which it was worked; τέρας means a miracle which excites the astonishment of those who witness it. The word "foreseeth" shews that the writer is here speaking of prophecies, and of portents and prodigies exhibited for a divine purpose in the sphere of natural phenomena. It appears from xi. 19–21; xix. 6, 18–21, that the writer regarded "miracles" as results produced by God in accordance with laws which are themselves natural, although they transcend the ordinary workings of nature. They are (to use St. John's term) the ordinary ἔργα of God.

the events of seasons and times.] By "times" the writer means the longer periods or epochs of history; by "seasons" he means the decisive crises and turning points in human affairs. The words are joined in Dan. ii. 21; Acts i. 27; 1 Thess. v. 1. Wisdom knows "the issues" or "outcome" of all human events; both of these in which "God shews all things

her to me to live with me, knowing that she [1] would be a counsellor of good things, and a comfort in cares and grief.

10 For her sake I shall have estimation among the multitude, and honour with the elders, though I be young.

11 [d] I shall be found of a quick conceit in judgment, and shall be admired in the sight of great men.

12 [e] When I hold my tongue, they shall bide my leisure, and when I speak, they shall give good ear unto me: if I talk much, they shall lay their hands upon their mouth.

13 Moreover [f] by the means of her I shall obtain immortality, and leave behind me an everlasting memorial to them that come after me.

14 I shall [1] set the people in order, and the nations shall be subject unto me.

15 Horrible tyrants shall be afraid,

[f] ver. 17.

[1] Or, govern.

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in the slow history of their ripening," and of those in which the intense action of a few years exerts an influence over many generations.

9–16. The writer here passes from the general blessings conferred by Wisdom on mankind, to those which she specially confers on rulers both in their public (9–15) and in their private life (16).

9. *I purposed.*] Ἔκρινα, "I decided" (as in 1 Cor. ii. 2).

to live with me.] Ἀγαγέσθαι (*v.* 2) πρὸς συμβίωσιν (see note on *v.* 3).

a counsellor of good things.] σύμβουλος ἀγαθῶν. The parallel clause shews the meaning to be "*an adviser in prosperity.*" The genitive ἀγαθῶν cannot properly mean this, but seems to be used by a sort of false analogy.

a comfort in cares and grief.] No other instance is quoted in which παραίνεσις has this meaning. In classical Greek it means "an exhortation." It does not occur in the LXX. nor in the N. T., but is used by Symmachus in Ps. cxix. 100 in the sense of "precepts." The Lexicographers do not give it the sense of "consolation," but it is obvious that "an admonition" (*e.g.* to bear sorrows bravely) may come as a consolation, and this is the sense involved in the Vulg. *allocutio.*

10. *among the multitude.*] In all public gatherings. Comp. 1 K. iii. 28.

though I be young.] This allusion is valuable, as shewing that the writer is speaking throughout in the person of Solomon at the beginning of his reign, and in the zenith of his power and wisdom. It thus becomes needless for him to enter into any of the questions suggested by the fact that his ideal teacher in the ways of Divine Wisdom himself became a conspicuous example of unwisdom and self-indulgence. What was the exact age of Solomon when he came to the throne we cannot tell; but in his prayer at Gibeon he says, "I am but a little child" (1 K. iii. 7), and David speaks of him as "young and tender" when the people first swore allegiance to him (1 Chron. xxix. 1; comp. xxii. 5). "How wise wast thou in thy youth!" Ecclus. xlvii. 14. Josephus ('Antt.' viii. 7, § 8) says that he was fourteen at his accession.

11. *of a quick conceit in judgment.*] An obvious allusion to 1 K. iii. 16–28. "Conceit" is used in the Elizabethan sense of the word to mean "understanding." It is derived from the Latin *conceptum.* Hence in our Translators' preface "If any man conceit" means "if any *suppose.*"

of great men.] Lit., "of potentates." An allusion to the respect felt for Solomon by Hiram (1 K. v. 7, ix. 14), Pharaoh (1 K. ix. 24), the Queen of Sheba (1 K. x. 5–9), and other rulers (1 K. iv. 24).

12. *when I speak.*] The verse indicates the deep and universal admiration for Solomon's wisdom, as excelling "the wisdom of all the children of the east country, and all the wisdom of Egypt." He "was wiser than all men" (1 K. iv. 30, 31). The form of the passage is influenced by Job xxix. 7–11.

if I talk much.] λαλοῦντος ἐπὶ πλεῖον. Vulg., *sermocinante me plura,* "if I extend my discourse."

they shall lay their hands upon their mouth.] In sign of deep and humble respect: Judg. xviii. 19; Job xxi. 5, xxix. 9, xl. 4. Comp. Ps. xxxi. 9.

"Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant."
VIRG.

13. *by the means of her.*] Rather, "on her account" (δι' αὐτήν), as in *v.* 10.

immortality.] Here, as the context shews, "undying fame." The word first occurs in the writings of Plato (see *v.* 17; iv. 1; xv. 3).

14. *I shall set . . . in order.*] Διοικήσω. See *v.* 1.

the people.] The tribes subject to me (1 Kings iv. 24) as far as the Euphrates.

the nations.] The Gentiles (*Goîm*).

15. *Horrible tyrants.*] Perhaps the writer is

when they do but hear of me; I shall [1] be found good among the multitude, and valiant in war.

[1] Or, *appear.*

16 [1] After I am come into mine house, I will repose myself with her: for her conversation hath no bitterness; and to live with her hath no sorrow, but mirth and joy.

[1] Or, *Being entered into mine house.*

17 Now when I considered these things in myself, and [g] pondered them in my heart, how that to be allied unto wisdom [h] is immortality;

[g] Prov. 7. 3.
[h] ver. 13.

18 And great pleasure it is to have her friendship; and in the works of her hands are infinite riches; and in the exercise of conference with her, prudence; and in talking with her, a [1] good report; I went about seeking how to [1] take her to me.

[1] Or, *fame.*
[1] Or, *marry her.*

19 For I was a witty child, and had a good spirit.

20 Yea rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled.

21 Nevertheless, when I perceived

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thinking of Pharaoh and other Gentile kings whose daughters Solomon married.

valiant in war.] Solomon was never engaged in any actual war, but the whole characterisation is ideal. In the description of a perfect king, a "good and valiant," the writer may have silently recalled Homer's description of Agamemnon as "both a good king and a stalwart warrior"—

> ἀμφότερον βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθός, κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής.

Plutarch says that this line was constantly on the lips of Alexander the Great.

16. *After I am come into mine house.*] Wisdom confers domestic peace as well as public glory.

mirth and joy.] Comp. 1 Macc. v. 54. "Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace" (Prov. iii. 17). Various expressions in this ideal picture of Wisdom shew that the writer had read Prodicus's famous and beautiful apologue, "The Choice of Hercules" (Xen. 'Mem.' ii.).

17, 18. A recapitulation.

17. *immortality.*] See *v.* 13. The word is here used in its loftier sense of *personal* immortality.

18. *great pleasure.*] "Pure delight," *v.* 16.

infinite riches.] *V.* 5; vii. 14.

in the exercise of conference with her.] Συγγυμνασία, "fellow-exercise," is a late Greek word, used also by Plutarch. It means the wrestling of soul required by intercourse with Wisdom, and aided by her.

a good report.] "Glory," *v.* 15.

to take her to me.] Marg., "to marry her." Εἰς ἐμαυτὸν has the same sense as εἰς ἐμαυτοῦ, "into my own house."

19-21. Wisdom only obtainable from God by prayer.

19. *a witty child.*] The English word "witty" is here used in its former sense of "clever" (Vulg. *ingeniosus*), as in Prov. viii. 12. Judith xi. 23, "Thou art beautiful in thy countenance, and *witty* in thy words." The word εὐφυής, "well-natured," degenerated in meaning (just as "witty" has done, but to an even greater extent) till it came to mean jocose, like εὐτράπελος, or even βωμολόχος. Here it is used in its best sense, to imply excellent natural disposition, as in Arist. 'Eth. Nic.' iii. 5, 17. Possibly, however, the writer intended it to mean merely "comely," and to imply that the *bodily beauty* of Solomon was perfected by the assignment to him of a nobler soul. Jewish legends made Solomon as supreme in loveliness as in wisdom. The thought would then resemble that of Virgil—

> "Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus;"

but we must not import into it any fancies about pre-established harmony. The interpretation of the passage as a *prophecy* of Christ (Aug. 'De Gen.' *ad lit.* x. 18) belongs to the uncritical and unhistorical misapplications of Scripture which occupy so large a part of exegesis.

had a good spirit.] Lit., "I obtained as my lot a good soul,"—an expression on which we need not dwell, because the writer proceeds, in the next clause, to correct it, and to intimate the view which he took of the relations between the soul and body. By a "good" soul is meant a soul naturally inclined to virtue—endowed with good dispositions.

20. *Yea rather.*] The last clause needed correction in two respects: (1) It involved the use (however accidental and cursory) of "I" in the sense of "my body;" and (2) it left room for a possible error, if any understood the word ἔλαχον to imply the godless opinion that the possession of a "good soul" was a matter of *haphazard* (ii. 2). In this clause he uses "I" of the soul, and treats the body as its mere *receptacle* (σκεῦος, 2 Cor. iv. 7; 1 Thess. iv. 4. Comp. *vas,* Lucret. iii. 441; Cic. 'Tusc. Disp.' i. 5).

being good, I came into a body undefiled.] This clause opens the way for endless inferential speculations. St. Augustine, for instance, claims it as a support of Crea-

that I could not otherwise obtain her, except God gave her me; and that was a point of wisdom also to know whose gift she was; I [1] prayed unto the Lord, and besought him, and with my whole heart I said,

[1] Or, *went.*

tianism (the view that each separate soul is created immediately by God) as against Traducianism (the view that our souls are derived from our parents *ex traduce*, in the ordinary process of birth). There can be no doubt that the former, whatever may be its difficulties, is the view implied by Scripture (Eccles. iii. 21, xii. 7; Zech. xii. 1, "the Lord who . . . formed the spirit of man within him"). We need not enter into such controversies, because our only object is to explain the meaning of the writer. It is clear then that this passage implies the author's belief in the pre-existence (προύπαρξις) of souls. Compare Dante, 'Purgatorio,' xvi. 85–90:

"Esce di mano a lui, che la vagheggia
Prima che sia, a guisa di fanciulla,
Che piangendo e ridendo pargoleggia.
L'anima semplicetta, che sa nulla
Salvo che, mossa da lieto Fattore
Volentier torna a ciò che la trastulla;"

and xxv. 68–73 ["know that so soon as the articulation of the brain is complete, the Mover turns to it with joy, *and breathes into it a new spirit*"].

We find the same thought in Wordsworth's

"Not in entire forgetfulness,
Nor yet in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home."

Here, however, the Roman Catholic commentators found themselves involved in a difficulty. The doctrine of the pre-existence of souls was condemned as heretical by the Second Council of Constantinople; and yet the Apocrypha was regarded as inspired. It followed, in accordance with the rule so fatal to all sound and honest exegesis, that the passage must be forced into accordance with orthodox dogma. One way of doing this was to take μᾶλλον with ἀγαθός, as is done by the Vulgate ("Et cum essem *magis bonus*"), and to explain it to mean, "when I became better," or "after making progress in goodness," in consequence of good training (Luther, Osiander, Calov), or of special grace (Bonaventura). Protestants, who regarded the doctrine of pre-existent souls as militating against their view of original sin, either looked on the passage as a proof that the book is not canonical and not inspired (Buddeus); or if they belonged to the school of Hengstenberg and Stier, which undertook a defence of the Apocryphal orthodoxy, they explained the verse away by rendering ἦλθον as a pluperfect, "I had come," or adopted other impossible means of reconciling the writer's view with that of the Protestant Confessions. See Grimm on this passage. The translation of the verse is perfectly simple. Even if (with Schmid) we could make παῖς the nominative to ἦλθον, the clause cannot be tortured into the meaning that he acquired bodily purity as he grew up. Setting aside these efforts to make the passage express the doctrinal views of the commentators, it is obvious that the words can only bear one sense; namely, that the soul exists before and apart from the body. This was the general belief of the Jews at this epoch. It is found in Philo, who held that Gen. i. 27 narrated the creation of a "heavenly" and "sexless" man ('Leg. Allegg.' i. 12, 28; ii. 4); and that Gen. ii. 15 described his reception of (λαμβάνειν) "a created mind" (ὁ ποιηθεὶς νοῦς, *ib.* 28), which was pre-existent and perfect (*ib.* i. 30). See also 'De Somn.' 22; 'De Gigant.' ii. 3; and Siegfried, 'Philo,' p. 242. It is also found in the current opinion of the Essenes, who believed in the transmigration of souls ('B. J.' II. viii. § 11); in the Kabbalah ('Zohar.' ii. 96); and in the Talmud generally. The Jews held that all the unborn souls of Jews were summoned to Sinai to hear the moral law, and that before birth the soul of every human being was taken to see both Paradise and Gehenna, that it might learn the rewards of virtue and the penalty of sin. Some have found precarious traces of this view in John ix. 2, and in Deut. xxix. 14, 15; Job xxxviii. 21. The Alexandrians derived it from Plato and the Stoics ('Phaedr.' 248, c). The doctrine of pre-existence was openly held by Synesius even after he became a bishop. The views of St. Augustine may be found in 'De libero Arbitrio,' i. and iv.; 'Ep.' cxx. A panegyrist on Theodosius says, "Sive ille divinus animus venturus in corpus dignum metatur hospitium, sive cum venerit fingit habitaculum pro habitu suo." Pseudo-Solomon differs, however, both from the Stoics and from Philo in that he does not dwell on the body as irredeemably evil, or as the tomb of the soul (σῶμα = σῆμα); nor does he hold that only the sensuously-inclined souls (ἴυγγί τινι φυσικῇ κατασπωμέναι, Jos. *l. c.*) become incorporated with bodies. His view is that souls are created "good" or "bad," in the sense that they are more or less well- or ill-disposed; or at any rate that they may have become good or bad in previous states of existence.

21. *I could not otherwise obtain her.*] Some would render the words ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλως ἔσομαι ἐγκρατής "that otherwise I shall not be temperate," or "have mastery over myself."

CHAPTER IX.

1 *A prayer unto God for his wisdom*, 6 *without which the best man is nothing worth*, 13 *neither can he tell how to please God.*

O GOD of my fathers, and Lord of mercy, [a] who hast made all things with thy word,

[a] Gen. 1. Ps. 33. 9. John 1. 3.

2 And ordained man through thy wisdom, that he should [b] have dominion over the creatures which thou hast made,

[b] Gen. 1. 28. Ps. 8. 6.

3 And order the world according to equity and righteousness, and execute judgment with an upright heart:

The Vulgate (*quoniam aliter non possem esse continens*) might have this meaning, but may also intend the same as the A. V. No doubt "continence," in the sense of mastery over bodily desires, was regarded by the writer as an essential element of Wisdom (ix. 15); nor is the incontinence of Solomon any argument against this rendering, since the writer has before him both an ideal and a youthful Solomon (*v.* 10). Ἐγκρατὴς has the meaning of "chaste" in Ecclus. xxvi. 15, and in Tit. i. 8 (where alone it occurs in the N. T.). On the other hand, the more common meaning of ἐγκρατὴς is *compos voti;* and although the genitive is almost invariably expressed (ἐγκρ. γνώσεως, Ecclus. xv. 1, &c.), yet in Ecclus. vi. 27 we find ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος μὴ ἀφῇς αὐτήν, "when thou hast *got hold of her* (Wisdom), let her not go." It is true that there the σοφίας is easily supplied; but so it is in this passage, for σοφία is the subject of the whole chapter and of the whole book, though φρόνησις (in its lower sense) is a prominent substantive in these clauses. The A. V. is therefore probably right.

and that was a point of wisdom also.] The meaning is, "Yea and this (τοῦτο, the following) required thoughtful intelligence;" namely, to know to whose gift of grace wisdom belongs. Jas. i. 5, 17.

with my whole heart.] Deut. vi. 5; Josh. xxii. 5.

CHAPTER IX.

Solomon's Prayer for Wisdom.

An appeal to the love of God as the Creator (1–4), because Solomon is but weak and human, and needs wisdom (5, 6) as a king (7), and that he may build the Temple (8); since without the guidance of Wisdom and her universal knowledge he cannot rule worthily (9–12). For man is ignorant (13), feeble (14), sensuous (15), and incapable of knowing heavenly or spiritual things (16, 17), and Wisdom is the only Saviour of mankind (18).

1. *God of my fathers.*] This form of address is derived from Gen. xxxii. 9. The vocative Θεὲ of the original is only used in late Greek. The prayer in this chapter is suggested by the prayer of Solomon in 1 K iii. 6–9 and 2 Chron. i. 8–10.

Lord of mercy.] The title concentrates the force of the very numerous passages of Scripture which speak of mercy as the most essential among the Divine attributes: Ex. xxxiv. 7; Num. xiv. 18; Ps. lxxxvi. 15, &c. God is called in the N. T. "the Father of uttermost compassion" (πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν, 2 Cor. iii. 1), and the "God of all grace" (1 Pet. v. 10). Some MSS. read "Lord of *thy* mercy." In a striking passage of the Talmud we find the story of Rabbi Ishmael ben Elishah, who, entering into the Holy of Holies, saw Acathriel Jah, Lord of Sabaoth, sitting on a throne, and prayed: "May it please Thee to cause Thy mercy to subdue Thy anger; may it be revealed above Thy other attributes; and mayst Thou deal with Thy children according to the quality of mercy." And it seemed as though God was pleased at the prayer. ('Berakhoth,' f. 7. 1.) It is well known that every sura of the Koran begins with the words "In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful." One of Mohammed's traditional sayings is, "When God created the creation, He wrote a book, which is near Him upon the sovran throne, and what is written is this, '*Verily my compassion overcometh my wrath.*'" Comp. Jas. ii. 13, κατακαυχᾶται ἔλεος κρίσεως.

with thy word.] Ps. xxxiii. 6. This is parallel to "by thy wisdom" in the next verse. Both "word" and "wisdom" may sometimes be used in the Philonian sense of a personified, though not incarnate, Logos; but it is much more probable that in a prayer based on Old Testament analogies the words bear their ordinary sense: Gen. i. 2; Ecclus. xlii. 15.

2. *through thy wisdom.*] Christ is called "the power of God and the wisdom of God" in 1 Cor. i. 24: but expressions like these in the Book of Wisdom only dimly prefigure the future revelation.

that he should have dominion.] Gen. i. 26–30; Ps. viii. 6–8; Ecclus. xvii. 4.

the creatures.] The word κτίσμα properly means "a building" (Hesych. οἰκοδόμημα) or "a colony" (Strabo). It does not occur in the LXX., and in the N. T. only in 1 Tim.

[c 1 Kings 3. 9.] 4 Give [c] me wisdom, that sitteth by thy throne; and reject me not from among thy children:

[d Ps. 86. 16. & 116. 16.] 5 For I [d] thy servant and son of thine handmaid am a feeble person, and of a short time, and too young for the understanding of judgment and laws.

6 For though a man be never so perfect among the children of men, yet if thy wisdom be not with him, he shall be nothing regarded.

7 Thou hast chosen me to be a [e] king of thy people, and a judge of thy sons and daughters: [e 1 Chron. 28. 5. 2 Chron. 1. 9.]

8 [f] Thou hast commanded me to build a temple upon thy holy mount, and an altar in the city wherein thou [f 2 Sam. 7. 12, 13.]

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iv. 4; Jas. i. 18; Rev. v. 13, viii. 9, where it has the same sense as here, and in xiii. 4, 5, viz. "a created thing."

3. *equity and righteousness.*] Rather, "holiness and righteousness." The same words are conjoined in Luke i. 75; Eph. iv. 24. Even in Plato we find the definition that ὅσιος refers to holiness towards God, and δίκαιος to just conduct towards men ('Gorg.' 507, b). Man's dominion over the material universe and its living inhabitants is indeed to be absolute (ἵνα δεσπόζῃ), but it is not to be arbitrary and tyrannical.

execute judgment.] That is, "maintain his rule." See note on i. 1. Here the phrase is applied to the dominion of man over the world.

with an upright heart.] So, too, in 1 K iii. 6. Solomon prays that he may govern "in uprightness of heart."

4. *Give me wisdom.*] The writer has not overlooked the fact that man must do his part as well as God, and that, while he thus prays for wisdom, he must also by moral purity and faithfulness strive after its attainment (i. 1–5, &c.). "Nur durch ein göttliches Leben wird der Mensch Gottes inne" (Jacobi).

that sitteth by.] The metaphorical expression that Wisdom is "the Assessor of God's throne" is founded on Prov. viii. 30, 31, "Then was I by Him." Comp. Ecclus. i. 1. So in the classic poets the words πάρεδρος, σύνθρονος, σύνεδρος (τῷ θεῷ) are applied to Justice, Righteousness, Themis, &c. (Pind. 'Ol.' viii. 22; Soph. 'O. C.' 1382; Eur. 'Iph. Aul.' 192, &c.; Philo, 'Vit. Mos.' ii.)

thy throne.] Lit., "thy thrones." The *pluralis excellentiae* for "throne," as in *v.* 12; xviii. 15. The use of this plural in Dan. vii. 9 led to a great and important controversy among the Jewish Rabbis. The true rendering of that verse is "the thrones were *placed*," and in the discussion about the plural Rabbi Iddith said that a second throne was placed for Metatron (μεταθρόνιος). In all such speculations we trace the dim influence of Christian doctrine, and the instinctive yearning for "a Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus." See 'Yevamoth,' f. 16. 2; 'Chagigah,' f. 14. 2; 'Sanhedrin,' f. 38. 2.

reject me not.] Ἀποδοκιμάζω means "I test, and reject." Thus in Jer. vi. 30, ἀργύριον ἀποδεδοκιμασμένον means silver "tested and found to be spurious." Hence the word ἀδόκιμος, "reprobate:" Is. i. 22; 2 Cor. xiii. 6; 2 Tim. iii. 8; Heb. vi. 8, &c.

from among thy children.] See ii. 13.

5. *thy servant and son of thine handmaid.*] Ps. lxxxvi. 16; cxvi. 16.

a feeble person, and of a short time.] Ps. lxxxix. 47.

too young.] Comp. viii. 10. Founded on 1 K. iii. 7.

6. *shall be nothing regarded.*] Lit., "shall be reckoned for nought." Man's "nothing-perfect," even when it is perfect relatively to human estimate, becomes valueless in contrast with "God's All-complete." 1 Cor iii. 19, "The wisdom of this world is folly with God," and "the foolishness of God is wiser than men" (*id.* i. 25). Compare also 2 Cor. xiii. 1–3.

7. *hast chosen me.*] Lit., "chosen me beforehand" or "by preference," "before all the house of my father," 1 Chron. xxviii. 5. An allusion to the prophecy of Nathan to David (2 Sam. vii. 12–14).

of thy sons and daughters.] The rarity of the latter expression ("*daughters* of God") is due perhaps to the depressed condition of Eastern womanhood. It occurs in Is. xliii. 6; 2 Cor. vi. 18. The Jews are here regarded as being God's "sons and daughters," not because God is "the Father from whom *every* fatherhood is named," but in a special and peculiar sense.

8. *to build a temple.*] 2 Sam. vii. 13; Ex. xxv. 40.

upon thy holy mount.] Moriah. It was hallowed by the tradition of the Jews that there Abraham had slain the ram in place of Isaac; and by the vision of the Angel to David on the threshing-floor of Araunah. Afterwards it was called "the holy hill," because of the Temple (Ps. xxiv. 3; xlviii. 1; lxxxvii. 1, &c.). The Jews spoke of it as

dwellest, [g] a resemblace of the holy tabernacle, [h] which thou hast prepared from the beginning.

9 And [i] wisdom was with thee: which knoweth thy works, and was present when thou madest the world, and knew what was acceptable in thy sight, and right in thy commandments.

10 O send her out of thy holy heavens, and from the throne of thy glory, that being present she may labour with me, that I may know what is pleasing unto thee.

11 For she knoweth and understandeth all things, and she shall lead me soberly in my doings, and preserve me [1] in her power.

12 So shall my works be acceptable, and then shall I judge thy people righteously, and be worthy to sit in my father's seat.

13 For [k] what man is he that can know the counsel of God? or

[g] Hebr. 8. 5. [h] Matt. 25. 34. Hebr. 11. 10. [i] Prov. 8. 22. John 1. 1, 2, 3, 10. [1] Or, *by her power*, or, *glory*. [k] Isai. 40. 13. Eccles. 6. Rom. 11. 34. 1 Cor. 2. 16.

"the Hill of the House." These phrases were probably later than Solomon's days.

in the city wherein thou dwellest.] Lit., "of thine encampment." Comp. LXX. 2 Chron. vi. 21. Jerusalem was called "the City of God" (Ps. xlvi. 5; lxxxvii. 3). It is still called "The Holy, the Noble" (El Koodsh es Shereef). With the word κατασκήνωσις compare Heber's lines:

"Ye guardian saints! ye warrior sons of Heaven,
To whose high charge Judea's state was given!
Oh wont of old your nightly watch to keep,
A host of gods on Sion's towery steep!"

a resemblance.] Lit., "an imitation." The word is in apposition both to "temple" and "altar." The allusion is to Ex. xxv. 40, "Look that thou make them after their pattern, which was shewed thee in the mount;" Acts vii. 44; Heb. viii. 5.

which thou hast prepared from the beginning.] Rather, "which thou preparedst." The same verb is used in Ex. xv. 17; Prov. iii. 19. The various allusions to the heavenly archetype of the earthly tabernacle were seized upon both by superstition and by philosophy. The literalist school of Jewish Rabbis, those who devoted themselves to the Halakhah and spent their lives in glorifying the *minutiae* of ritual, said that there was in heaven an actual material temple and altar of fire corresponding to the real ones ('Menachoth,' f. 29. 1).

On the other hand, the Alexandrian school of Jewish hagadists and philosophers eagerly applied these passages to support the doctrine of ideas, and expanded them into the conception that all things have an eternal archetype, and that

"Earth
Is but the shadow of heaven, and things therein
Each to the other like more than on earth is thought."

As a matter of fact, Solomon's temple diverged very widely from the tabernacle in the wilderness, and therefore from "the pattern in the mount." The conception of "a heavenly tabernacle" is found in Heb. viii. 2, ix. 11; Rev. xiii. 6. Clement of Alexandria ('Strom.' iv. 8) calls the earthly Church "an image (εἰκὼν) of the heavenly."

from the beginning.] The phrase might be used in its ordinary scriptural sense (Is. xlv. 21, &c.), in which it is equivalent to "from the dawn of Jewish or of human history," "from the foundation of the world" (Rev. xiii. 8). Many Alexandrian readers of the book would, however, interpret such expressions in accordance with the philosophy of Eternal Ideas which they fancied that they could read into Scripture. That such notions were in harmony with those of the author appears from his remarks on the High Priest's robes (xviii. 24).

9. *wisdom was with thee.*] The verse expresses exactly the same thoughts as Prov. viii. 22–31.

acceptable in thy sight.] Gen. xvi. 10.

right in thy commandments.] Εὐθὲς is often used in the LXX. (for εὐθὺ) as a translation of טוֹב, "good." The writer implies that even the works of the natural creation were carried out in accordance with moral laws.

10. *out of . . . from.*] The prepositions ἐξ and ἀπὸ are here correctly used, the former meaning "from within," and the latter merely "from;" but that the writer paid no special heed to these distinctions appears from his reversing the expressions in xviii. 15, ἀπ' οὐρανῶν ἐκ θρόνων. The A. V. omits the "send" (πέμψον) of the second clause.

11. *in her power.*] Rather, "in her glory." Her glory—an emanation of the divine glory (vii. 26)—shall be like a protecting atmosphere around me. The Jews sometimes spoke of the Shechinah as an overshadowing tent.

12. *acceptable.*] Προσδεκτὰ is a rare word, which only occurs in Prov. xi. 20; xvi. 16 (LXX.). The word rendered "acceptable" in *v.* 9 is ἀρεστόν.

seat.] "Thrones," as in *v.* 4; Ps. cxxi. 5.

13. *For.*] He gives the reason why it is so

who can think what the will of the Lord is?

14 For the thoughts of mortal men are [1]miserable, and our devices are but uncertain.

15 For the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and [2]the earthy tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things.

16 And hardly do we guess aright at things that are upon earth, and with labour do we find the things that are [1]before us: but the things that are in heaven who hath searched out?

[1] Or, *fearful.* [2] 2 Cor. 5. 1.

[1] Gr. *at hand.*

necessary for him to seek wisdom from God. The passage closely resembles Is. xl. 13, 14; Rom. xi. 34, 35; 1 Cor. ii. 16. Comp. Job xxxvi. 22, 23, 26.

14. *For the thoughts of mortal men are miserable.*] Rather, "the reasonings of mortals are timid," *i.e.* vacillating and uncertain, or "wretched." Δειλοὶ is used but seldom in the LXX., and may have either meaning. In the N. T. it has the former sense (Matt. viii. 26; Rev. xxi. 8). Comp. 1 Cor. iii. 20, "The Lord knoweth the thoughts (διαλογισμοὺς) of man that they are vain" (Ps. xciv. 11).

are but uncertain.] ἐπισφαλεῖς, "unstable." Comp. ἐπισφαλῶς, iv. 4; Acts xxvii. 9. The word does not occur in the LXX.

15. *the corruptible body presseth down the soul.*] The writer does not say that matter is inherently evil, but he evidently shares the feelings of many schools of philosophy which looked on the body as a burden. See Cic. 'Somn. Scip.' 3. For the views of Philo see Siegfried, pp. 235–237. He goes so far as to call the body an "utterly polluted prison" (παμμίαρον δεσμωτήριον, 'De Migr. Abr.' 2; Opp. i. 437). Josephus also says that the soul suffers harm from its close union with the body ('c. Ap.' ii. 24). These views are derived from Plato, who says ('Phaed.' 83, d) that "each pleasure and pain has, as it were, a nail, and nails down the soul to the body, and fastens it to the body and makes it corporeal." Plotinus "blushed that he had a body;" and through the Neo-Platonists there filtered down to the Fathers, and from them to the Middle Ages, the notion that the body was a source of all corruption, and was to be crushed as an enemy. St. Francis of Assisi spoke of his body as "my brother, the ass," and the Curé d'Ars as "*ce cadavre.*"

presseth down the soul.] Compare Hor. 'Sat.' ii. 77–79:—

"Quin corpus onustum
Hesternis vitiis animam quoque *praegravat* una,
Atque affigit humi divinae particulam aurae."

The phrase may be borrowed from Plato ('Phaedo,' 81, c), where he speaks of the body as ἐμβριθὲς and βαρύ, and says that the soul is "weighed down" (βαρύνεται) by its earthiness. So, too, Seneca ('Ep.' 65), "Corpus hoc animi *pondus* et *poena* est: *premente* illo urgetur, in vinculis est."

the earthy tabernacle.] The body is often compared to a tent: Is. xxxviii. 12, "a shepherd's tent;" Job iv. 19, "them that dwell in houses of clay;" 2 Cor. v. 4, "We that are *in this tabernacle*, do groan, *being burdened;*" 2 Pet. i. 13, "As long as I am in this tabernacle." St. John says that the Word "tabernacled (ἐσκήνωσεν) among us" (i. 14). So, too, Plato called the body "an earthy tabernacle" (γήϊνον σκῆνος, *ap.* Clem. Alex. 'Strom.' v. 593), and "*a house* that is united with the soul" ('De Somn.' i. 20); Hippocrates, 'Aphor.' viii. 18, ἀπολείπουσα ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος σκῆνος. Aelian uses it even of animals, τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ζώου σκῆνος ('H. Animal.' v. 3).

"Here *in the body pent*,
Afar from Him I roam,
Yet nightly pitch *my moving tent*
A day's march nearer home."
J. MONTGOMERY.

Longfellow speaks of death as

"Nought but a step into the open air
Out of a tent already luminous
With light, that shines through its transparent folds."

the mind that museth upon many things.] Vulg., *multa cogitantem*, "the much-pondering" mind. "Mind" is here only a varied phrase for "soul" in the previous clause. The writer nowhere recognises the Platonic trichotomy of the being of man. Πολυφροντὶς more often means "full of care," but that sense is here unsuitable to the context.

16. *things that are upon earth, &c.*] We have but an imperfect inkling (viii. 8) of earthly phenomena (vii. 20), and the discovery of what immediately concerns us requires labour; who then can track out (vi. 22) the secret things which are known only to God? The antithesis is the same as in John iii. 12. Comp. 4 Esdr. iv. 21: "They that dwell upon the earth can understand nothing but what is upon the earth; and he who is above the heavens, what is above the height of the heavens."

the things that are in heaven.] Comp. our Lord's words to Nicodemus: "If I have told you *earthly things* and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of *heavenly* things?" (John iii. 12.)

17 And thy counsel who hath known, [m] except thou give wisdom, and send thy Holy Spirit from above?

[m] 1 Cor. 2. 10.

18 For so the ways of them which lived on the earth were reformed, and men were taught the things that are pleasing unto thee, and were saved through wisdom.

CHAPTER X.

1 *What wisdom did for Adam*, 4 *Noe*, 5 *Abraham*, 6 *Lot*, *and against the five cities*, 10 *for Jacob*, 13 *Joseph*, 16 *Moses*, 17 *and the Israelites.*

SHE preserved the first formed father of the world, that was created alone, and brought him out of his fall.

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17. *thy counsel who hath known?*] God's counsel is known only to Wisdom (*vv.* 9–12) and to those to whom she partially reveals it (*v.* 18).

thy Holy Spirit.] See on vii. 22, 25. The verse must not of course be interpreted in the full sense of modern doctrine; but the thought is similar to that in 1 Cor. ii. 10–12: "The Spirit searcheth all things, even the depths of God." St Paul very possibly had this passage in his mind.

from above.] Lit., "*from highest* realms," Job xxii. 12 (LXX.); τὰ ἐπουράνια, "the heavenlies," Eph. i. 3, &c.

18. *were reformed.*] Vulg., *correctae*. The verb διορθόω is used in Jer. vii. 2 to express amendment, ἐὰν διορθώσητε τὰς ὁδοὺς ὑμῶν. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 10) speaks of "the epoch of amendment" (μέχρι καιροῦ διορθώσεως). As it is, mankind is walking in "crooked ways:" i. 3; Prov. ii. 15.

and were saved through wisdom.] The word "saved" has many shades of meaning, and we may consequently say that we are saved by faith (Lk. vii. 50); "by grace through faith" (Eph. ii. 5); or "by hope" (Rom. viii. 24); or by the Gospel (1 Cor. xv. 2); or "according to mercy" (Tit. iii. 5); or by love (Lk. vii. 47); or, as here, "by wisdom." Wisdom saves men by turning them from the paths of sin and error. The answer to the question "*Who* are they who are thus saved?" is practically given by the words here added in the Vulgate, *quicumque tibi placuerunt, Domine, a principio*. The answer is meant to be furnished by the entire remainder of the book. The prayer of Solomon ends here, and the subject of the second great division of the book is ingeniously introduced by this last verse. This first great section is complete in itself, and is superior both in style, depth, and originality to the following section.

X.–XIX. Wisdom exemplified as a Power in History.

How Wisdom saved individual souls and the Israelites in general (x.). A contrast of the fortunes of Israel and idolatrous Egypt (xi. xii.). The origin, the folly, and the punishment of idolatry (xiii.–xv.). Development of the contrast between the fortunes of Israel and Egypt (xvi.–xix.).

In the following chapters of the book we have a Jewish philosophy of history, in which the lessons of the past are deduced from the scriptural notices of Patriarchs from Adam and Moses (x. 1–14); and of the Israelites, especially in the days of the Exodus (x. 15–xii.), and after the Exodus (xvi.–xix.). The same theme is also illustrated by a digressive sketch of the history of idolatry (xiii.–xv.). The object of the writer is to glorify Wisdom by shewing that the wise, the just, the upright, who feared God, were by her preserved and blessed, while guilty men and idolatrous nations were punished. The two thoughts most prominently developed are the baseness of idolatry and the punishment of guilt. This section is chiefly remarkable (1) for the extreme elaboration of the style, which is always highly rhetorical, and sometimes degenerates into bombast, euphuism, and affectation; (2) for the licence with which the writer deals with the scriptural records, amplifying, exaggerating, idealising, and not unfrequently availing himself of details either invented by himself or borrowed from the Jewish Hagadah. Attention will be drawn to these points in some of the following notes.

Similar passages, so far as a moral and spiritual review of the lessons of history is concerned, are Judges ii. 1–23, vi. 7–10; 2 Kings xvii. 7–23; Nehem. ix. 9–31; Pss. lxxviii., lxxx., cv., cvi., cxxxv., cxxxvi.; Acts vii.; Heb. xi.; Clemens Rom. 1 Ep. ad Cor. 9–12; and parts of the Ep. of Barnabas.

Readers may recall the fine prayer in Cardinal Newman's 'Dream of Gerontius.'

CHAPTER X.

Wisdom saved Adam (1, 2); punished Cain and his guilty descendants, but saved Noah (3, 4); preserved Abraham (5); preserved Lot, but punished the Sodomites and Lot's wife (6–9); preserved Jacob (10–12); Joseph (13, 14); and the Israelites by the instrumentality of Moses (15–21).

1. *She preserved the first formed father of*

Gen. 1. 2 And [a]gave him power to rule all things.

Gen. 4. 3 [b]But when the unrighteous went away from her in his anger, he perished also in the fury wherewith he murdered his brother.

4 For whose cause the [c]earth being drowned with the flood, wisdom

[c] Gen. 7. 19, 21, 22, 23. 2 Pet. 2. 5.

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the world.] The writer begins with Adam, whom he again calls "the protoplast" (vii. 1); and he shews that Wisdom saved him. "Wisdom" throughout these chapters—though the various meanings attached to the word still continue to be interchanged — is generally used to express the active redeeming principle which is at work in the world; the Divine Providence which protects the righteous, because it is trusted in and apprehended by them. The writer is fond of using the emphatic pronoun αὕτη for Wisdom (vii. 10, 29; viii. 1, 7, 9, &c.).

that was created alone.] "Adam, who *was the Son of God*" (Lk. iii. 38). This is the simplest way of taking the words. Adam alone was "*created;*" other men are born to their parents. Great stress is laid upon this fact in 'Sanhedrin,' f. 38. 1; and Targ. Jonathan, Gen. iii. It is true that even Traducianists might speak of all men as "created," but the word applies to Adam with special force. Other versions are suggested; as, "*while he was the only-created,*" i.e. before the birth of Eve, as it is understood by Pellicanus, Osiander, Tirinus, &c. But though such a rendering may be analogous to 1 Tim. ii. 14, and to the views of Philo ('De opif. mund.' § 63), neither the Greek nor the context admit of it. Grimm, Calmet, Wahl, Schmid, &c., give to μόνον the sense of "*unprotected,*" "left to himself," as in John viii. 29, xvi. 32; but in those passages μόνος derives that shade of meaning exclusively from the context. Wisdom "protected" Adam, not from sin, nor from external dangers (Corn. à Lapide, Grimm, &c.), but from final ruin, in the sense implied by the next clause.

and brought him out of his fall.] Lit., "rescued him out of his own transgression." Wisdom—*i.e.* the redeeming power of God working in the penitent heart of man—"rescued" Adam, as Tirinus says, "inspirando *poenitentiam* et indulgendo *veniam.*" It is true that Adam's repentance is nowhere distinctly stated in Scripture, but it seems to be implied in the Book of Genesis. The Rabbis ('Bereshith Rabba,' viii.; 'Nishmath Chajim.' f. 152. 2), and the Fathers generally, believed in the final salvation of Adam (Iren. 'c. Haer.' iii. 23; Tert. 'de poenit.' 12; Epiphan. 'Haer.' xlvi., &c.), and that he was delivered from purgatory when Christ "descended into Hades." See Dante, 'Purgat.' xxxiii. 61, 62. In the 'Paradiso,' xxxii. 121, he is represented sitting in the very heart of the Celestial Rose.

"He who is sitting near her on the left
Is that great sire, through whose temerity
Mankind were of their happiness bereft."

Dähne, Nitzsch, Keerl, and others have given other explanations of this verse, which are needless, and indeed untenable. What was meant by the strange addition in some MSS. of the Vulgate, *et eduxit illum de limo terrae*, it is difficult to say. It may be a mere blunder. "Fall" is παράπτωμα, "trespass" (Rom. v. 15, 17, 18). To refer Adam's "peculiar fall" to the ante-natal offence of desiring to be born (Gfrörer, 'Urchristenthum,' ii. 242) is quite unwarrantable.

2. *power to rule all things.*] Probably no more is meant than an allusion to Gen. i. 20; Ps. viii. 1. Ἰσχὺς properly means "strength." The Rabbis supposed Adam to be endowed with superhuman size, strength, and knowledge, but there is no certain reference here to these Hagadoth ('Bereshith Rabba,' viii., xvii., &c.). See Hamburger, 'Geist d. Hagadah,' *s. v.* Adam.

3. *the unrighteous.*] Cain. It is true that the writer means each scriptural personage to stand for a class, yet the continuous suppression of the names can hardly be excused from a charge of literary affectation.

from her.] From Wisdom.

he perished also in the fury wherewith he murdered his brother.] These eleven words somewhat tamely represent the almost Aeschylean energy of the three words of the original—ἀδελφοκτόνοις συναπώλετο θυμοῖς. The manner in which Cain "perished with" Abel through his fratricidal passion is not detailed. There are in the Talmudic writings two legends respecting the death of Cain. One was that he was "the man" whom Lamech accidentally slew (Gen. iv. 23); another that he was crushed in the ruins of a falling house. The word συναπώλετο seems to imply that he perished *with Abel* by incurring spiritual death in the very act of inflicting natural death. The blow that murdered his brother, murdered also his own soul. What makes this explanation nearly certain is that (1) it harmonises with the literary manner of the author; and (2) it agrees with the remark of Philo ('Quod det. pot.' 14) that "Cain rose up, and *slew himself*, but not his brother," because his soul died to virtue when he became a murderer. (See on Cain, 'Bereshith Rabba,' § 22.)

4. *For whose cause.*] "On whose account"—because the guilt of Cain was trans-

again preserved it, and directed the course of the righteous in a piece of wood of small value.

5 Moreover, [d] the nations in their wicked conspiracy being confounded, she found out the righteous, and preserved him blameless unto God, and [e] kept him strong [1] against his tender compassion toward his son.

6 [f] When the ungodly perished, she delivered [g] the righteous man, who fled from the fire which fell down upon [1] the five cities.

7 Of whose wickedness even to

[d] Gen. 11. 9.
[e] Gen. 22. 10.
[1] Or, in.
[f] Gen. 19. 16.
[g] 2 Pet. 2. 7.
[1] Gr. *Pentapolis.*

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mitted to his descendants, who filled the world with crime (Gen. vi. 4, 5). Josephus dwells on the fact that Cain's descendants became worse and worse (κατὰ διαδοχὴν καὶ μίμησιν) by handing on an evil disposition and an evil example ('Antt.' I. ii. 2). In this enumeration Enoch is passed over, perhaps because he has been already mentioned in iv. 10; or because the writer wished to connect the Deluge immediately with the guilt of Cain.

> "'Twas but a little drop of sin
> We saw this morning enter in;
> And lo! at eventide a world is drowned!"
> KEBLE.

Grimm's notion that he meant to discountenance those of his contemporaries who regarded Enoch rather than Solomon as a type of perfect wisdom is surely very far-fetched.

being drowned.] κατακλυζομένην. The word for the Deluge in Gen. vi. 17, &c., is κατακλυσμός. Comp. 2 Pet. iii. 6.

preserved it.] Saved the earth and the race from final destruction, by "steering the just man by a contemptible log." St. Peter (iii. 20) uses the curious expression that Noah and his family were saved "by" or perhaps "through" water (δι' ὕδατος).

the righteous.] Noah represented the ideal just man, *i.e.* the faithful Hebrew: Gen. vi. 9; Heb. xi. 7.

in a piece of wood of small value.] Lit., "by a cheap log." The writer is not disparaging the size of the Ark as described in Genesis, but is only contrasting the insignificance of the means of safety with the terrors of the great Deluge. Similarly, in xiv. 5 he calls a ship ἐλάχιστον ξύλον, just as Seneca uses "*tenue lignum*" ('Med.' 306). Both words—εὐτελὲς, "cheap," "valueless," and ξύλον, "a log," "a piece of timber"—are contemptuous. The passage is analogous to xiv. 3–5, where the "wisdom" which is here described as the saving principle is called "the providence of God."

5. *Moreover.*] The verse again begins with the emphatic "she," and might be rendered, "*She also, when the nations were mixed together in unanimity of wickedness, recognised the just man.*" The contemptuous term συγχυθέντων seems to be an allusion to Babel with its confusion of tongues (συγχέωμεν, σύγχυσις, LXX., Gen. xi. 7, 9). The "concord of wickedness" means universal idolatry.

found out.] This is a rendering of εὗρε, which is found in some MSS., but ἔγνω, "recognised," is better supported. Comp. 2 Tim. ii. 19, ἔγνω Κύριος τοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ.

the righteous.] Abraham (Gen. xvii. 1). If the words are pressed, the writer seems to make Abraham a contemporary of the building of Babel. It is not improbable that he held this view, for the Jewish Hagadists told how Abraham had been saved out of a burning furnace, into which he was put by Nimrod, for destroying the idols which his father Terah made. The whole legend is framed out of the word Ur, which means "fire" or "light." See 'Sanhedrin,' f. 93. 1.

unto God.] Comp. Jon. iii. 3; Acts vii. 20.

kept him strong against his tender compassion toward his son.] ἐφύλαξεν; *custodivit*, "guarded." In the last clause the verb was ἐτήρησεν, *conservavit*, "preserved" (comp. ἐτήρουν . . . ἐφύλαξα, John xvii. 12). The meaning is that Wisdom protected him from the temptation to disobey God's command out of love for his son: Gen. xxii. 1; Ecclus. xliv. 20, "when he was proved, he was found faithful;" 1 Macc. ii. 52; Heb. xi. 18; Jas. ii. 21.

6. *When the ungodly perished.*] Rather, "were being destroyed;" namely, in the overthrow of Sodom.

the righteous.] Lot (Gen. xix. 17–22). Comp. xix. 17; 2 Pet. ii. 7.

which fell down upon the five cities.] καταβάσιον Πενταπόλεως. In late Greek (Plutarch) αἱ καταβάσιαι is used for lightning-flashes ("fulmen *caducum*," Hor.; "the *rushing* thunderstroke," E. B. Browning). Aeschylus calls Zeus "the lightener" (καταιβάτης). For the five cities—Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, Zoar (Gen. xiv. 2)—the writer uses the classic term Pentapolis. We find the same tendency to make use of classical analogies in the LXX., which even goes so far as to render the name Keren Happuch by Amalthea's horn (Job xlii. 14).

7. *the waste land that smoketh is a testimony.*] A reference to Gen. xix. 28, and to the current belief that the land around the shores of the Dead Sea still smoked in sign of the divine vengeance. The same belief is found in Philo ('De Abrah.' 27), Josephus

this day the waste land that smoketh is a testimony, and plants bearing fruit that never come to ripeness: and [h] a standing pillar of salt *is* a monument of an unbelieving soul.

Gen. 19. 26.

8 For regarding not wisdom, they gat not only this hurt, that they knew not the things which were good; but also left behind them to the world a memorial of their foolishness: so that in the things wherein they offended they could not so much as be hid.

9 But wisdom delivered from pain those that attended upon her.

10 When [i] the righteous fled from his brother's wrath, she guided him in right paths, shewed him the king-

[i] Gen. 28. 5, 12.

('B. J.' iv. 8, § 4), and in Jude 7. It is also found in the Fathers (Tert. 'Apolog.' 40). In ancient days this bituminous soil may have smoked, like burnt Phrygia, the Solfatara, parts of Idumea (Isa. xxxiv. 10), and, according to the Rabbis, the Valley of Hinnom; or the dense mist which rises from the scorched hollow in which the Dead Sea lies may have led to this notion. The Rabbis made Job xxviii. 5 a description of the land of Sodom ('Sanhedr.' f. 109. 1). The word *Sedôm*, perhaps, means "burning" (Gesenius, 'Thesaur.' 939 a).

plants bearing fruit that never come to ripeness.] Lit., "plants fruit-bearing in unperfected seasons." The writer seems to think that the burning and accursed soil ripened before their time the fruits, which consequently came to nothing. He must have heard of the famous "apples of Sodom," which look alluring outside, but are full of dust and bitterness, or, in the exaggerated expression of Josephus ('B. J.' iv. 8, § 5), "dissolve into smoke and ashes." Solinus ('Polyhist.' 38) describes the fruit as "having indeed an appearance of ripeness, but covering within an ashen griminess" (*fuliginem favillaceam*). Tacitus, who had heard these stories, devotes to this region a descriptive chapter, and says that the natural productions of the soil, even when they grow to the semblance of maturity, "black and empty, vanish as it were into ashes." There are various fruits—such as the fruit of the *Asclepias gigantea, Solanum sanctum, Calotropis procera,* and *Solanum melangaena*—of which an exaggerated description might correspond with the legends of

"Dead Sea fruits that tempt the eye,
But turn to ashes on the lips."

is a testimony.] Comp. Jas. v. 3.

a standing pillar of salt is a monument of an unbelieving soul.] Lot's wife is called "an unbelieving soul," because the root of her longing to return to Sodom was want of faith. The catastrophe which befel her during the flight from Sodom is expressed in language of somewhat uncertain meaning; but it is certain that, in later days, the verse (Gen. xix. 26) was understood to mean that she actually became "a pillar of salt." This pillar was identified with the curious detached columns of crystallised salt, 40 feet high, above their natural pedestal, which are found in a valley of Usdum, on the S.W. of the Dead Sea (see Ritter, 'Erdkunde,' xv. 733). We find in the Jerusalem Targum, "Because the wife of Lot was of the children of the people of Sodom, she looked behind to see what would be the end of her father's house; and behold she was made to stand a statue of salt, until the time of the resurrection shall come" (Etheridge, 'Targums,' i. 217). Ancient travellers who saw these strange phenomena were told by the inhabitants, and sincerely believed, that they had seen the salt pillar into which Lot's wife had been turned (Iren. 'Haer.' iv. 31, § 3; Justin Mart. 'Apolog.' i. 53). Thietmar (A.D. 1217), in his 'Peregrinatio,' mentions (xi. 47) the spot where he had seen "the statue of salt into which Lot's wife was turned." There is a curious legend ('Bereshith Rabba,' § li.) that she made a pretence of borrowing salt to betray the presence of her guests.

8. *regarding not.*] παροδεύσαντες. See note on vi. 22.

to the world.] Lit., "to life," *i.e.* to all living men, as in xiv. 21.

a memorial.] Namely, the smoking soil, the "Hell-apples," and the pillar of salt.

of their foolishness.] ἀφροσύνης. See note on iii. 12.

so that.] Rather, "in order that." It was God's purpose that there should be a perpetual memorial of the detection and exposure of secret crime.

9. *those that attended upon her.*] The notion that the word θεραπεύσαντας supports the theory of the writer's supposed connexion with the sect of the Therapeutae, is on a piece with many other attempts to force exaggerated inferences out of simple words. In Philo, Jacob is the type of the man who has *trained himself* in virtue by ἄσκησις.

10. *the righteous.*] Jacob.

fled from his brother's wrath.] Lit., "fugitive of the wrath of his brother." The allusion is to Gen. xxvii. 42. Philo also speaks of Jacob as "the fugitive" in his tract περὶ φυγάδων ('De Profugis').

dom of God, and gave him knowledge of holy things, made him rich in his travels, and multiplied *the fruit of* his labours.

[k] Gen. 31.

11 [k] In the covetousness of such as oppressed him she stood by him, and made him rich.

12 She defended him from his enemies, and kept him safe from those that lay in wait, and [l] in a sore conflict she gave him the victory; that he might know that godliness is stronger than all.

[l] Gen. 32. 24.

[m] Gen. 37. 28. & 39. 7. Acts 7. 10.

13 [m] When the righteous was sold, she forsook him not, but delivered him from sin: [n] she went down with him into the pit,

[n] Gen. 39. 21. & 41. 14, 40, 41.

14 And left him not in bonds, till she brought him the sceptre of the kingdom, and [1] power against those that oppressed him: as for them that had accused him, she shewed them to be liars, and gave him perpetual glory.

[1] Or, *the power of them that ruled over him.*

15 [o] She delivered the [1] righteous people and blameless seed from the nation that oppressed them.

[o] Exod. 1. 12. & 12. 41.

[1] Or, *holy.*

16 [p] She entered into the soul of

[p] Exod. 3. 12.

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in right paths.] The context shews that the meaning is moral.

shewed him the kingdom of God.] A remarkable expression, with which we may compare John iii. 3, 5; though no doubt the immediate reference is to Jacob's dream (Gen. xxviii. 12–22).

knowledge of holy things.] Jacob's dream gave him, as it were, a glimpse of heaven.

made him rich.] εὐπόρησεν. The word is usually intransitive. It is one of the functions of Wisdom "to enrich" (vii. 11).

the fruit of his labours.] This is no doubt the true rendering of πόνους here, as in Prov. iii. 9 (LXX.). The reference is to the growth of Jacob's flocks and herds (Gen. xxx. 25–43).

11. *of such as oppressed him.*] Laban (Gen. xxix. 15; xxx. 27–35; xxxi. 55). The more usual construction of κατισχύω is with the genitive (as in vii. 30), with the meaning "prevail against."

12. *from those that lay in wait.*] A reference either to Laban's pursuit (Gen. xxxi. 23), or to some Hagadah about Esau, who is represented in far darker colours in later Jewish tradition than he is in the Bible. The narrative of Gen. xxxii. xxxiii. in no wise justifies the expression. The Talmud speaks of Esau as "the wicked" ('Giltin,' f. 56. 2; 'Soteh,' f. 13. 1). There may, however, be an allusion to the hostility of the Canaanite tribes (Gen. xxxv. 5), which was suppressed by "the terror of God."

gave him the victory.] The verb βραβεύω is rare, not occurring in the LXX., and only once in the N. T. (Col. iii. 15, where it is used intransitively). The "sore conflict" alluded to is the wrestling with the angel at Penuel (Gen. xxxii. 24–32; Hos. xii. 4).

13. *the righteous.*] Joseph.

delivered him from sin.] Gen. xxxix. 7–20. The Vulg. vaguely paraphrases ἐξ ἁμαρτίας by *a peccatoribus.*

into the pit.] The pit (λάκκον) must here be a metaphorical expression for Potiphar's prison, as in Ex. xii. 29, where the LXX. use λάκκος, and the A.V. "dungeon," for the Hebrew "house of the pit." It is true that the word might seem more applicable to the dry pit into which Joseph was let down by his brothers: but (1) it is not obvious in what sense Wisdom went down with him into that pit; (2) the next clause refers to the Egyptian prison; and (3) there seems to be an allusion to Joseph's interpretation of the dreams (Gen. xxxix. 21—xl. 23).

14. *the sceptre of the kingdom.*] Σκῆπτρα is the *pluralis excellentiae* to express, as in classic Greek poetry, the abstract sense of power. The writer may only be referring to Gen. xli. 39–45, but the expressions seem to point to the Jewish exaggeration mentioned by Philo: "Then Pharaoh appointed him successor of the kingdom, or rather, to speak the exact truth, king, leaving to himself the *name* of rule, but resigning to Joseph the reality of government" ('De Joseph.' § 21).

those that oppressed him.] Potiphar and his wife (Gen. xxxix. 16–20), and Joseph's brethren in his early years (Gen. xxxvii. 4–11, 20).

15. *the righteous people.*] Rather, "the *holy* people." Here the application of history passes from individuals to the whole race of Israelites. Of course it is only in a highly ideal sense that such terms as "holy nation" and "blameless seed" can be applied to a people whom the Scriptures in many passages repeatedly characterise as sensual, idolatrous, disobedient, stiffnecked, and rebellious (Deut. ix. 1–24, xxxi. 27, xxxii. 15–29; Nehem. ix. 16–35; Ezek. xx. 8–44, xxiii. 3; Amos v. 26; Acts vii. 37–43, 51–53, &c.). The idealisation is, however, maintained unbroken throughout this book, and can only be explained by the considerations that (1) Israel was a chosen people (Ex. xix. 6; Lev. xx. 24; Deut. vii. 6;

Josh. 1. [q] the servant of the Lord, and [r] withstood dreadful kings in wonders and signs;

17 Rendered to the righteous a reward of their labours, guided them in a marvellous way, [s] and was unto them for a cover by day, and a [t] light of stars in the night season;

18 [t] Brought them through the Red sea, and led them through much water:

19 [u] But she drowned their enemies, and cast them up out of the bottom of the deep.

20 Therefore the righteous spoiled the ungodly, and [x] praised thy holy name, O Lord, and magnified with one accord thine hand, that fought for them.

21 For wisdom opened the mouth of the dumb, and made the tongues of them that cannot speak eloquent.

i. 105. ebr. 3. 5. Exod. 5. & 7. 10. 8, & 9, & , & 11, & , & 13. . 105. , &c. Ps. 105. Or, tme. Exod. 21, 22, 29. Ps. 78. 13. [u] Exod. 14. 27, 28. [x] Exod. 15. 1.

Is. lxii. 12, &c.), in spite of incessant backsliding; and (2) that the writer stedfastly fixes his thoughts on the true and faithful Israelites, who were representatives of "the righteous man" (John i. 47).

16. *She entered into the soul.*] Compare vii. 27.

of the servant of the Lord.] Moses. The word is not the common term δοῦλος, but the more honourable θεράπων, which, with reference to Ex. xiv. 31, Num. xii. 7, seems to be given in this sense exclusively to Moses (Heb. iii. 5, where alone the word occurs in the N. T.).

dreadful kings.] Here, as throughout these references, the writer may have in his mind the Jewish Hagadoth, which made Moses a military leader against Pharaoh's enemies (Jos. 'Antt.' ii. §§ 1, 2). But, on the other hand, the plural may be merely generic, just as in classic Greek the plural is used to give rhetorical force to a statement. Comp. *vv.* 11, 14; Ps. civ. 30, &c.

in wonders and signs.] See note on viii. 8.

17. *to the righteous.*] Rather, "to the holy," *i.e.* to the Israelites.

a reward of their labours.] Namely, the "jewels of silver and jewels of gold" (Ex. xi. 2, 3; xii. 35, 36), which might be regarded as a late payment for their long toils in building the treasure-cities of Egypt (Ex. i. 11, v. 2–14; Gen. xv. 14).

was unto them for a cover by day.] It was natural that many legendary particulars should be added by the Jews to the simple scriptural allusion to the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night (Ex. xiii. 21, 22; xiv. 19, 24; xl. 38, &c.). The writer alludes to it again in xviii. 3 (where he makes it both a guide and "a harmless sun to entertain them honourably"), and xix. 7, where it is called "a cloud shadowing the camp." This view of it appears as early as Ps. cv. 39: "He spread a cloud for a covering." From the allusions in the passages of Exodus, it was natural for Philo to identify the pillar of cloud and fire with the Logos, as Pseudo-Solomon here identifies it with 'Wisdom' ('Quis rer. div. haer.' Opp. ii. 501). Compare Scott:

"When Israel, of the Lord beloved,
Forth from the land of bondage came,
Her fathers' God before her moved,
An awful guide, in smoke and flame.
By day along the astonished sands
The cloudy pillar guided slow;
By night Arabia's crimson sands
Returned the fiery column's glow."

a light of stars.] Lit., "a *flame* of stars." It is not easy to see the exact meaning of the writer in thus describing the "pillar of fire." Comp. Ps. lxxvii. 14, ὡδήγησεν αὐτοὺς . . . . ὅλην τὴν νύκτα ἐν φωτισμῷ πυρός.

18. *through the Red sea.*] Rhetorically amplified in xix. 7; Ps. lxxvii. 13, xxxii. 7 (in both which places the LXX. have the curious expression ὡσεὶ ἀσκόν, "like a wine-skin").

19. *cast them up out of the bottom of the deep.*] The Red Sea flung up the bodies of the Egyptians "from the bottomless depth." It is quite impossible to follow the Vulg., Luther, &c., in rendering it *ab altitudine inferorum eduxit illos* (the Israelites). The reference is to the Egyptian corpses (Ex. xiv. 30). In the Jerusalem Targum the earth and the sea reject the Egyptian corpses with equal abhorrence. Comp. Ps. lxxiv. 14. See 'Bereshith Rabba,' § 22, where Rabbi Eliezer says that in the Red Sea the Egyptians were struck with 200 plagues.

20. *spoiled the ungodly.*] This alludes to the very natural Jewish tradition that the dead bodies of the Egyptians supplied the Israelites with arms (Jos. 'Antt.' ii. 16, § 6), although Josephus only mentions the arms and baggage, not the corpses.

praised.] Lit., "hymned." Ex. xv. 1–21.

21. *the mouth of the dumb.*] The plurals "the dumb," "them that cannot speak," are poetic generalisations founded on the stammering tongue of Moses (Ex. iv. 10; vi

CHAPTER XI.

5 *The Egyptians were punished, and the Israelites reserved in the same thing.* 15 *They were plagued by the same things wherein they sinned.* 17 *God could have destroyed them otherwise,* 23 *but he is merciful to all.*

SHE prospered their works in the hand of the holy prophet.

2 [a] They went through the wilderness that was not inhabited, and pitched tents in places where there lay no way.

[a] Exod. 16. 1.

3 [b] They stood against their enemies, and were avenged of their adversaries.

[b] Exod. 17. 10, 11, 13.

4 When they were thirsty, they called upon thee, and [c] water was given them out of the flinty rock, and their thirst was quenched out of the hard stone.

[c] Exod. 17. 6. Numb. 20. 11.

5 For by what things their enemies were punished, by the same they in their need were benefited.

6 For instead of a fountain of a

12, 30), but here ideally extended to all the Israelites.

of them that cannot speak.] Lit., "of babes." Comp. Ps. viii. 2.

eloquent.] τρανός. See note on vii. 22.

XI., XII. CONTRASTS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT, AS FURNISHING ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE LAWS OF DIVINE PUNISHMENT.

CHAPTER XI.

God's care of Israel in the wilderness (1–3): He gave them water (4); by which element He also punished the Egyptians (5–7), dealing with them in judgment, not for fatherly admonition (8–10). The retributive misery of the Egyptians was analogous to their sins (11–16). How God might have punished them in His power (17–22); but God's power is conditioned by His love (23–26).

1. *She prospered their works in the hand.*] Rather, "by the hand," a common Hebraism (בְּיַד), Acts vii. 35, &c. The same phrase is used with this verb (εὐώδωσε) in LXX.: Gen. xxxix. 23; Judg. xv. 18; Ps. lxxvi. 21 (ὡδηγήσας).

the holy prophet.] Moses (Deut. xviii. 15). "By a prophet the Lord brought Israel out of Egypt, and by a prophet was he preserved" (Hos. xii. 13). Philo ('Vit. Mos.' 23) and Josephus ('Antt.' iv. 8, § 49) agree in speaking of Moses as the greatest of all the prophets. In the Talmud he is on all occasions exalted beyond measure. All his prayers were granted ('Berachoth,' f. 7. 1). He was equivalent to all Israel, since (by Gematrics) "Moses our Rabbi" = 613, as also does "Lord God of Israel" (see Hershon, 'Talmudic Treasures,' p. 322). For the epithet "holy," see 2 K. iv. 9; Lk. i. 70; 2 Pet. iii. 2; Eph. iii. 5. This first verse belongs in form to the last chapter, since Wisdom is still the subject.

2. *They went through.*] Διώδευσαν. The word is chosen for the sake of the paronomasia with εὐώδωσε in the last verse.

the wilderness that was not inhabited.] Rather, "an uninhabited wilderness."

pitched.] The classical verb (ἔπηξαν), used also in Heb. viii. 2.

where there lay no way.] Through these "pathless places" they were led by the cloudy and fiery pillar, and afterwards by Hobab.

3. *their enemies.*] Amalek (Ex. xvii.), Arad (Num. xxi.), Sihon, and Og, the Moabites, the Midianites, &c. Πολέμιοι means "enemies in war;" ἐχθροὶ enemies generally.

were avenged of.] Rather, "successfully repelled."

4. *called upon thee.*] This statement is due to the generalising idealism of the writer. The Book of Exodus says: "The people thirsted . . . and . . . *murmured against Moses*" (Ex. xvii. 3), and "were almost ready to stone him." It was Moses, not the people, who "cried unto the Lord" (Ex. xvii. 4), and he, together with the better and more faithful Israelites, are here regarded as the real representatives of the people (comp. Num. xx. 2–6).

out of the flinty rock.] The word ἀκροτόμου is borrowed from the LXX. Deut. viii. 15. It is used in the senses of "sharp" and "hard." The Vulg. renders it *de petrâ altissimâ*, as though the reading were ἀκροτάτου, but probably the word is to be understood in the sense of "precipitous." It occurs again in Ecclus. xl. 15, "upon a *hard* rock;" *id.* xlviii. 17; and in Philo, 'Vit. Mos.' i. 38.

their thirst was quenched.] Lit., "a healing of their thirst."

5. *For by what things their enemies were punished.*] This verse strikes the key-note of the topic which is touched upon in *vv.* 6, 7, and elaborately illustrated in chapters xvi.–xix. In this verse the Vulgate has the unimportant and wholly unauthorised addition *a defectione potus sui.* This passage

[d] Exod. 7. 17. [e] Exod. 1. 12. ch. 18. 5. [f] Exod. 7. 10.

perpetual running river [d] troubled with foul blood,

7 For a manifest reproof of [e] that commandment, whereby the infants were slain, thou gavest unto them abundance of water by a means which they hoped not for:

8 Declaring by that thirst then [f] how thou hadst punished their adversaries.

9 For when they were tried, albeit but in mercy chastised, they knew how the ungodly were judged in wrath and tormented, thirsting in another manner than the just.

10 For these thou didst admonish and try, as a father: but the other, as a severe king, thou didst condemn and punish.

11 Whether they were absent or present, they were vexed alike.

12 For a double grief came upon

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is alluded to in the Sarum use for Baptism. See Blunt, 'Annotated Prayer-book,' p. 218.

6. *troubled.*] The best-supported reading is not ταραχθέντες, but ταραχθέντος, which also avoids the supposition of a change of construction in the ἔδωκας αὐτοῖς (*anakoluthon*). A writer so careful and polished as the author of this book is rarely contented to leave an *anakoluthon* in his style. Render, "Instead of a perennial fountain, their river being turbid with mire-clotted blood." Both Philo ('Vit. Mos.' 17) and Josephus ('Antt.' II. xiv. § 1) exaggerate the narrative of Exodus, and the latter says ('Antt.' III. i. § 4) that the same river was blood to the Egyptians and sweet to the Hebrews.

7. *For a manifest reproof.*] He here incidentally alludes to the thesis which he afterwards fully develops, "that wherewithal a man sinneth, by the same also shall he be punished" (*v.* 16). For the "infant-slaying ordinance," see Ex. i. 22; Heb. vii. 23. The word "infant-slaying" (νηπιοκτόνος) is a compound not found elsewhere, and probably invented by the writer (comp. τεκνοφόνος, xiv. 23). Philo says that the water of the Nile was turned into blood because the Egyptians honoured water as the primary element ('Vit. Mos.' 17). The Scriptures neither recognise this notion, nor allude to the resemblance between the punishment and the crime, but simply speak of the plagues of Egypt as signs of God's power, intended to convince the Egyptians that they must obey His commands.

8. *Declaring . . . how thou hadst punished their adversaries.*] The writer draws his own inferences quite independently of any scriptural warrant, and not at all in accordance with the best spirit of the scriptural writers. He gives the same fantastic explanation of the trials of the Israelites in xvi. 4.

9. *in mercy chastised.*] In a series of finely-balanced antitheses, which belong to the most euphuistic forms of Greek style (*parisosis, paromoiosis*), the writer in these verses (8–10) practically—though perhaps not intentionally—represents God as being what He is not; namely, a respecter of persons.

they knew how the ungodly were judged in wrath.] It is impossible not to see the narrowness of Jewish pride and particularism (1) in the assumption that all the trials which befell the Israelites were only the outcome of fatherly tenderness, whereas the misfortunes of the Egyptians were the result of their guilt and God's severity; and (2) in the unworthy fancy that one object of the sufferings of Israel was to shew them how much more severely their enemies had suffered. Far nobler are the thoughts of Deut. viii. 2, 3, where Moses tells the Israelites that these sufferings were meant to teach them "that man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live." The writer may have founded his view on various passages of Scripture, but only by reading them apart from their context, and with the blindness of Jewish prejudice. Indeed such passages as this are scarcely consonant with the nobler views expressed at the end of the chapter (*vv.* 24–26).

thirsting in another manner than the just.] This clause is not found in this verse either in the original or the Vulgate, but is taken from *v.* 14. The conjecture that the clause has got misplaced, thus boldly adopted into the text, is, to say the least, highly ingenious; for here it is eminently appropriate, and does not seem equally so in *v.* 14.

10. *as a father.*] Deut. viii. 5; Heb. xii. 5, 6.

as a severe king.] For the word ἀπότομος see *v.* 20. The truth, of course, is that God equally rewards all who in every nation feel after Him and find Him (Acts x. 35; xvii. 27), and punishes Jew and Gentile alike out of His equal justice. "Yet ye say the way of the Lord is not equal. Hear now, O house of Israel; Is not my way equal? are not your ways unequal?" (Ezek. xviii. 25.) The kindness (χρηστότης) and severity (ἀποτομία) of God are contrasted in Rom. xi. 22.

11. *Whether they were absent or present.*] Namely, from the Israelites. How they could be grieved when they were *absent* from the Israelites is explained in *vv.* 12–14.

them, and a groaning for the remembrance of things past.

13 For when they heard by their own punishments the other to be benefited, they [1]had some feeling of the Lord.

14 For whom they rejected with scorn, when he was long before thrown out at the casting forth *of the infants*, him in the end, when they saw what came to pass, they admired.

15 But for the foolish devices of their wickedness, wherewith being deceived they worshipped serpents void of reason, and vile beasts, thou didst send a multitude of unreasonable beasts upon them for vengeance;

16 That they might know, that

[1] Or, *perceived.*

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they were vexed.] ἐτρύχοντο. The verb does not occur in the Bible, but is used again in xiv. 15.

alike.] The adverb should be taken with the two participles—"alike, whether being present or absent."

12. *a double grief.*] They suffered both the actual punishment and the subsequent remorse and envy described in the next verse.

13. *the other to be benefited.*] It added poignancy to their misery to feel that it involved a continuous boon to their enemies (εὐεργετουμένους).

they had some feeling of the Lord.] "They perceived the Lord," *i.e.* they recognised His hand.

14. *they rejected with scorn.*] Lit., "they refused, jeering at him." We are in the region of rhetoric and of Hagadoth; for it is nowhere said that either Pharaoh or the Egyptians "jeered" at Moses. On the contrary, he seems to have inspired them with awe.

when he was long before thrown out.] The "*when*" is misleading, for it is not meant that the Egyptians mockingly rejected Moses when he was an infant in the ark of bulrushes. Render "Him whom, long ago flung forth at the exposure (of the infants), they refused with jeers." The exposure of Moses in the Nile is again alluded to at xviii. 5. The Pentateuch does not justify the expression χλευάζοντες, though it speaks of the *anger* of the Egyptians against Moses (Ex. vii. 23; x. 10, 11, &c.).

when they saw what came to pass.] Lit., "at the end of the consequent issues," *i.e.* after the deliverance from Egypt.

they admired.] The allusion is to Ex. xi. 3. If the meaning is that they admired the miracles wrought by Moses in the wilderness, the writer must be following some Jewish tradition, for there is no allusion to the fact in Scripture. Compare Acts vii. 23; Heb. xi. 24, 25. It is after this clause that we find in the original the words οὐχ ὅμοια δικαίοις διψήσαντες, which the A.V. has transferred to *v.* 9, where they are much more apposite. The Egyptians thirsted "*unlike* the just" (a *litotes* for "in a worse manner than the Hebrews"). The writer thinks himself authorised to make the assertion because the thirst of the Israelites was not mocked by the "miry blood" which tormented the Egyptians, and was terminated by the miracle of the stricken rock. There is no warrant in Scripture for this view.

15. *for the foolish devices of their wickedness.*] St. Paul seems to have had this passage in his thoughts when he wrote Rom. i. 21, ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία. Their iniquity ἀδικία (Rom. i. 22) was the cause of their senseless imaginations. The writer has already said (i. 5) that "the holy spirit of discipline ... will remove from senseless devices" (ἀπὸ λογισμῶν ἀσυνέτων).

they worshipped serpents void of reason, and vile beasts.] xii. 24; xv. 18, 19. Ἑρπετὰ means "reptiles" in general, all creatures that creep, *e.g.* crocodiles, beetles, &c. Vulg., *mutos serpentes.* Ancient authors (Herod. ii. 74; Clem. Alex. 'Paedag.' III. ii. 4, &c.) testify to Egyptian ophiolatry; but both words in the Vulgate are wrong, for ἄλογα means "irrational" (2 Pet. ii. 12), and ἑρπετὰ is not confined to "serpents." The poetic word rendered "beasts" (κνώδαλα) means any kind of noxious, and especially poisonous, creatures (xvii. 9). Εὐτελής, "cheap," "vile," occurs again at xv. 10.

thou didst send.] xvi. 3, "Thou didst send against them." Vulg., *immisisti.*

of unreasonable beasts.] Frogs, flies, lice, locusts, in the various plagues (xvi. 9), to which the writer in xvii. 9 adds serpents, and Josephus ('Antt.' ii. 14, § 3) unknown wild beasts.

16. *that wherewithal a man sinneth . . .*] In this verse the writer enunciates a remarkable moral law which is enshrined in the proverb—

"Per quod quis peccat, per idem punitur et idem."

There is undoubtedly in many cases a hideous resemblance between crime and punishment;

ch. 12. [f] wherewithal a man sinneth, by the same also shall he be punished.

17 For thy Almighty hand, that made the world of matter without

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men suffer in a manner similar to that in which they have sinned. Sometimes the crime reproduces itself, and they become the victims of crime taught by their own bad examples. Sometimes the sin becomes itself the punishment, and in the form of destroying habits their vices, no longer pleasurable, become the instruments with which they are scourged. The engineer is

"hoist with his own petard;"

and

"Even-handed justice
Commends the ingredients of the poisoned chalice
To our own lips."

The writer seems to feel something of the delight of a moral discoverer in dwelling on this characteristic of judgment. See *vv.* 7, 8; xii. 23; xvi. 1; xvii. 3; xviii. 6. While, however, we would give him due credit for his eloquence and insight, it must be admitted (1) that he dwells on this law of punishment with disproportionate emphasis; (2) that the law is liable to numerous exceptions. It is a still more serious objection to his method of handling the subject that he fails to develop the truth, that the resemblance of sins to their retribution is in the most striking and instructive instances due to the *normal* character of punishment, working not by arbitrary inflictions, but by uniform consequences. He represents the plagues of Egypt as being inflicted with express reference to their affinity to Egyptian transgressions. He is perhaps partially entitled to this opinion, though nothing is said about it in the Book of Exodus; but the retributive law which he is illustrating has a much more solemn significance when we see that it is not due to direct divine interference, but to the normal process by which the self-avenging power of sins, in their very commission, involves the germs of their own fatal consequences.

It is a further objection to his method of treatment that he strains facts into accordance with his theories. For instance, in these verses he distinctly implies, and in xii. 23, 24 expressly states, that the Egyptians were tormented with vermin because they worshipped vermin. This, however, was not true of the ancient Egyptians, who were of all nations in this respect the most scrupulously clean.

We find more than one recognition of exact Nemesis in Scripture. The famous *Lex talionis* (Gen. ix. 6; Ex. xxi. 24, &c.) is based upon it. Jacob the deceiver is himself deceived. "In the thing wherein they (the Egyptians) dealt proudly, God was above them," Ex. xviii. 11. Adonizedek, who had cut off the thumbs and toes of 70 kings, has his own cut off (Judg. i. 6, 7). Agag's sword has made many mothers childless, and his mother is made childless by the sword (1 Sam. xv. 23). David has sinned by treachery, adultery, and murder, and is punished by treachery, adultery, and murder. In Hab. ii. 6, by an ingenious "taunting proverb" the word for "pledges" means also "thick clay." In Rev. xvi. 5, 6 the Angel cries, "Thou art righteous, O Lord . . . because Thou hast judged thus: for they have shed the blood of saints . . . and Thou hast given them blood to drink; for they are worthy."

In other scriptural allusions the law is explained as sometimes rising from example and the sense of human equity (Matt. vii. 2, "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again;" Matt. xxvi. 52, "They that take the sword, shall perish with the sword;" Jas. ii. 13, "He shall have judgment without mercy, who shewed no mercy"): sometimes as due to the natural development of human crimes (Gal. vi. 7, "Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for *whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap;*" Rom. ii. 2, "We are sure that the judgment of God is *according to truth*").

The law is occasionally pointed out by other writers. Thus the Egyptians imagined that Cambyses died by the same dagger with which he had stabbed their Apis, and by a wound in the same spot (Herod. iii. 64). Josephus often alludes to analogous retributions, as illustrated by the death of Herod the Great ('Antt.' xvii. 6); by the misfortunes of Herod Antipas ('Antt.' xviii. 5, § 2) and of Herod Agrippa (*id.* xix. 8, § 2); and by the compulsory circumcision, through disease, of Apion, who had derided circumcision ('c. Ap.' ii. 13); and, on a large scale, by the final miseries of the Jews ('Prolog. ad B. J.'). Philo narrates that an Alexandrian heathen who had sneered at the splendid present which the Lord of the world had made to Abraham and Sarah of the letters *α* and *ρ*, was punished with madness ('De nomin. mutat.' § 8). He dwells with satisfaction on the horrible death of Flaccus as suitable to a persecutor ('Leg. ad Caium'). A similar theme is treated by Lactantius in 'De mortibus persecutoria.'

17. *thy Almighty hand.*] Interchangeable with "thy Almighty Word," xviii. 15.

that made the world of matter without form.] Rather, "even though it created the Universe (*Kosmos*) out of formless matter."

form, wanted not means to send among them a multitude of bears, or fierce lions,

18 Or unknown wild beasts, full of rage, newly created, breathing out either a fiery vapour, or filthy scents

The words ὕλη and ἄμορφος are both borrowed from the Platonists (Timaeus, p. 51 *a*). Plato does not himself indeed use the word ὕλη for "matter," but it became common among his followers; and Diogenes Laertius (iii. 41) says that Plato set forth two principles of all things, God and Matter. The conception of the eternity of matter was fixed by the aphorism of Aristotle ('Phys.' i. 4, § 9) that "nothing can be made out of nothing." At the same time Plato had already saved himself from appearing to *limit* the creative power of God by denying to matter all conceivable accidents and speaking of it as invisible (Vulg. *ex materiâ invisâ* here) and infinitely plastic (Timaeus, p. 51 *a*). According to Timaeus Locrius (in whom the word ὕλη in the sense of "matter" first occurs), Matter, the mother of all visible and perceptible things, is invisible, chaotic (ἄμορφον), unformed (ἀσχημάτιστον), and receptive of any shape. Plutarch also calls it colourless (Tim. Locr. 94 *a*). It is the passive and constituent principle of things (Diog. Laert. vii. 134). Philo adopts this terminology ('De Vict. offer.' Opp. ii. 261; 'De Mund. opif.' 2), and adds other epithets descriptive of the substance in which

"All form is formless, order orderless."[1]

"Matter" is the antithesis to "mind" (νοῦς). Aristotle uses the phrase ὑλικὸς ἀρχή ('Part. An.' i. 1, 20) and ὑλικὴ οὐσία ('Metaph.' iv. 7. 1). See Ueberweg, 'Hist. of Philos.' i. 123, 194, &c.

Now, if Philo and Pseudo-Solomon meant to teach the eternity of matter, they are so far heretical; since the teaching of the Church has ever been that "God made all things of nothing," or, at least, out of Himself.

There can be no doubt that *Philo* believed in the eternity of matter, because he emphatically repeats the aphorism of Aristotle ('De incorrupt. Mundi,' § 2),[2] and because he says that there are four causes of creation —the Agent (God, ὑφ' οὗ), the Instrument (the Logos, δι' οὗ), the *material* cause (Matter, ὕλη, ἐξ οὗ), and the final cause (the illustration of God's goodness, δι' ὅ). He nowhere distinguishes—not even in his special tract on Creation ('De Mundi opificio')— between any *first* creation of matter and *second* creation of the Kosmos,[1] but regards creation as a ceaseless act.[2]

On the other hand, commentators, both Romanist and Protestant, have been anxious to defend the orthodoxy of the writer of this book. As far as the present verse is concerned he may merely have meant to refer to Gen. i. 2, and ὕλη ἄμορφος may be only a classic and philosophical equivalent for the "without form and void" (תֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ), which the LXX. render by ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος. Out of this "vast abyss" God created the κόσμος or orderly disposition of the universe (*v.* 20). St. Augustine takes this to have been the writer's meaning, but it cannot be regarded as certain. Kübel ('Stud. u. Krit.' iv. 698) refers to ix. 1, xii. 9, as indicating that the writer here only alludes to the *secondary* creation of order out of chaos; but the references are very far from decisive.

wanted not means.] In *vv.* 17–23 he shews what God might have done in the exercise of His Almighty power; but he adds (23–26) that God did not adopt these means because of His love for all. With the expression οὐκ ἠπόρει, "lacked not means," comp. xii. 9; LXX. 1 Sam. xiv. 6; 2 Chron. xiv. 11.

a multitude of bears, or fierce lions.] The writer is not here thinking of any beast worship, which in some ages prevailed in some parts of Egypt (*e.g.* the worship of lions at Leontopolis), but is only saying that if it had been God's object to *destroy* them, He might have sent against them as many bears and lions as He did send flies and locusts. The passage is probably a reminiscence of Philo ('Vit. Mos.' 1, 19), who says that, since God only wished to admonish (νουθετεῖν) the Egyptians, He did not send "bears and lions and panthers," but only minute and contemptible insects. The Jews were fond of illustrating God's power to overthrow His enemies by the smallest creatures. This is the point of the famous story about the gnat which crept up the nostril of Titus and grew in his brain ('Gittin,' f. 56. 2). The Israelites are threatened with wild beasts in Lev. xxvi. 22; and "the noisome beast" is among God's four sore judgments in Ezek. xiv. 21.

[1] He calls matter the παθητὸν, and mind the δραστήριον αἴτιον. He attempts to support his unscriptural notion by some fantastic allegorising of Laban and τὰ ἄσημα in Gen. xxx. 42. See Siegfried, 'Philo,' 230, 231.

[2] ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ οὐδαμῇ ὄντος ἀμήχανόν ἐστι γενέσθαι τι. He seems to contradict himself in 'De Somn.' i. § 13.

[1] Ἐξ ἐκείνης γὰρ (ὕλης) πάντ' ἐγέννησεν ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἐφαπτόμενος αὐτός· οὐ γὰρ ἦν θέμις ἀπείρου καὶ πεφυρμένης ὕλης ψαύειν τὸν ἴδμονα καὶ μακάριον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀσωμάτοις δυνάμεσιν . . . κατεχρήσατο. 'De Victim. offer.' 13. Comp. 'De Plantat.' 1; 'De Cherub.' 35; 'De Mund. opif.' 2.

[2] παύεται γὰρ οὐδέποτε ποιῶν ὁ θεός. 'Leg. Allegg.' i. 3.

of scattered smoke, or shooting horrible sparkles out of their eyes:

19 Whereof not only the harm might dispatch them at once, but also the terrible sight utterly destroy them.

20 Yea, and without these might they have fallen down with one blast, being persecuted of vengeance, and scattered abroad through the breath of thy power: but thou hast ordered all things in measure and number and weight.

21 For thou canst shew thy great strength at all times when thou wilt; and who may withstand the power of thine arm?

22 For the whole world before thee is [k] as a [1] little grain of the balance, yea, as a drop of the morn-

k Isai. 40. 15.
1 Or, little weight.

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18. *unknown wild beasts, full of rage, newly created.*] Josephus ('Antt.' ii. 14, § 3), following some different legend, says that God *did* fill Egypt full of all sorts of wild beasts, of kinds that had never been seen before. Some render θυμοῦ πλήρεις "full of *venom*," and θυμὸς has this meaning in some passages of the LXX. (Deut. xxxii. 33; Ps. lvii. 4; Amos vi. 12; Heb. ראשׁ). But it is better to retain the common meaning of "rage," as in vii. 20; xvi. 5.

either.] ἤτοι. The only other place in the Bible where the word occurs is Rom. vi. 16, where also it is used in the unclassical sense of "either," followed by ἤ, "or."

or filthy scents of scattered smoke.] The better reading is λικμωμένους (Vulg., *aut fumi odorem proferentes*), "frothing forth" (lit., "winnowing," "scattering like chaff"), "a roar of smoke." Βρόμος, "a roaring" (*fremitus*), is sometimes confused with βρῶμος, "a stench," as in Joel ii. 20, ἀναβήσεται ὁ βρόμος αὐτοῦ. There is no sufficient reason for taking the word in that sense here. "A roar of smoke" is one of the Aeschylean, lyrical expressions which the writer likes. Comp. Ovid. 'Met.' vii. 114, "*fumificisque* locum *mugitibus* implent." Comp. Job xli. 18, 20; xxxix. 20.

shooting.] Lit., "lightning." Job xli. 19, "Out of his (Leviathan's) mouth go burning lamps, and sparks of fire leap out;" *id.* 21, "His breath kindleth coals, and a flame goeth out of his mouth."

19. *but also the terrible sight.*] Rather, "but even the sight (was able) to destroy, by terrifying them." The fabled basilisk was able to kill by a glance.

"As the basilicok sleth folk
By venime of his sight."
CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale.*

"So soon kills not the basilisk with sight."
GREENE.

"Make me not like the sighted basilisk.
I've looked on thousands who have sped the better
By my regard, *but killed none so.*"
SHAKSPEARE, *Winter's Tale*, i. 2.

The basilisk is the "cockatrice" (*Tsiphoni*) of Is. xi. 8; Jer. viii. 17. The *cockatrice* is also said to kill by a glance:—

"That bare vowel *I* shall poison more
Than the death-darting *eye* of cockatrice."
Rom. and Jul. iii. 2.

Comp. 'Twelfth Night,' iii. 4, &c. The word is a corruption of *cocodrillo*, crocodile.

20. *with one blast.*] As Sennacherib and his host were destroyed (2 K. xix. 7).

being persecuted of vengeance.] Rather, "being chased, or pursued, by Justice." This notion of Vengeance dogging the heels of crime, like a hound upon the scent, is common in all literature. "Some men's sins are open, going before to judgment, and some they *follow after*" (1 Tim. v. 24); Acts xxviii. 4, "whom vengeance (ἡ δίκη) suffereth not to live."

"Vengeance, thy fiery wing, their race *pursued.*"
HEBER.

through the breath of thy power.] Chap. v. 23; Job iv. 9.

thou hast ordered.] Rather, "Thou orderedst" (*i.e.*, at Creation).

in measure and number and weight.] Comp. 4 Esdr. iv. 36, 37. The true and valuable meaning of the clause is that God did not create these leviathans, and basilisks, and strange monsters, because He loves the ordered regularity of the kosmos (Job xxviii. 24–27; Is. xl. 12). In such passages we see the early conceptions of a Realm of Law. Further, God's mercy proportioned the means of punishment to the desired ends (Job xxxi. 6, "Let me be weighed in an even balance;" Is. xxviii. 17, the "line" and "plummet" of judgment). Another reason is given in *vv.* 23–26.

21. *thou canst shew . . . at all times.*] There was no immediate necessity therefore for any abnormally supernatural, intervention.

22. *the whole world.*] 2 Macc. viii. 18, "who at a beck can cast down . . . all the world."

as a little grain of the balance.] Lit., "a speck out of the scales." Comp. Is. xl. 15 (LXX.) ῥοπὴ ζύγου. 'Ροπὴ properly means the

ing dew that falleth down upon the earth.

23 But thou hast mercy upon all; for thou canst do all things, and winkest at the sins of men, because they should amend.

24 For thou lovest all the things that are, and abhorrest nothing which thou hast made: for never wouldest thou have made any thing, if thou hadst hated it.

25 And how could any thing have endured, if it had not been thy will? or been preserved, if not called by thee?

26 But [f] thou sparest all: for they are thine, O Lord, thou lover of souls.

[f] ch. 12 16.

CHAPTER XII.

2 God did not destroy those of Canaan all once. 12 If he had done so, who could controul him? 19 But by sparing them he taught us. 27 They were punished with their gods.

FOR thine incorruptible Spirit is in all things.

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trembling dip, or inclination of the scales, but is here used for the tiniest grain that can cause the scales to dip if taken out or put in.

as a drop of the morning dew.] The *morning* dewdrop is the very type of evanescence: Hos. vi. 4; xiii. 3.

23. *But thou hast mercy . . .*] Ecclus. xviii. 13. God's omnipotence and man's utter feebleness are mentioned as the grounds of God's mercy, as in xii. 16, 18. From this is taken the beginning of the fine collect, "O God, who declarest Thine Almighty power, most chiefly by shewing mercy and pity."

"It is an attribute of God himself,
And earthly power doth then shew likest God's
When Mercy seasons Justice."

winkest at the sins of men, because they should amend.] Lit., "overlookest men's sins for repentance," xii. 10. The same curious English phrase is used in Acts xvii. 30, which is closely parallel to this: "The times of this ignorance God winked at (ὑπεριδών), but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent (μετανοεῖν)." For the thought see Rom. ii. 4; 2 Pet. iii. 9. With the phrase compare also Ecclus. xxviii. 7, "wink at (πάριδε) ignorance;" xxx. 11, "wink not at his follies."

"But we must give each other leave, and *wink at* either's war."—CHAPMAN, *Il.* iv. 66.

"*Because* they should amend" is old English for "in order that."

24. *For thou lovest all the things that are.*] We may be grateful to the writer for the beautiful thoughts of this and the following verses without stopping to inquire how he co-ordinated them with the uncompromising severity expressed in such passages as *vv.* 10–13, v. 17–23, &c. He here agrees with Philo, who in many passages speaks of "goodness," *i.e.* "kindness," as the final cause of all creation ('De opif. Mundi,' § 6; 'De Cherub.' § 35; 'De sacrif. Abel.' § 15, &c.).

abhorrest nothing which thou hast made.] Referred to in our Collect for Ash Wednesday.

25. *how could any thing have endured.*] Love is the law of God's providence no less than of His creative power.

if not called by thee.] Namely, "called into being." The expression is a Hebraism, καλεῖν being used like קָרָא in the senses both of "calling" and "creating" (Rom. iv. 17).

26. *thou sparest all: for they are thine.*] "His tender mercy is over all his works" (Ps. cxlv. 9).

O Lord, thou lover of souls.] Δέσποτα φιλόψυχε. This is an exquisite and original expression. In classical Greek φιλόψυχος means "loving life," *i.e.* cowardly. (Comp. John xii. 25.) It is here used in the sense that God "loveth not the death of a sinner," i. 13. The epithet may have been suggested by Ezek. xviii. 4, "Behold all souls are mine."

CHAPTER XII.

The reason why God spares all (1). Hence He gave gradual warning punishments even to the guilty Canaanites (2–8); not from want of power, or fear of consequence, since He is Almighty (9–14), but because His power is the basis of His justice and mercy (15–18); and because He desired to teach us mercy and to inspire hope (19), and to point the contrast of the yet greater mercy which He shews to His children (20–22). Hence even the plagues of Egypt had a merciful design.

The reader can hardly fail to observe that throughout the chapter the writer seems to be on the very verge of flagrant self-contradiction. He has just uttered the most noble thoughts about the love and mercy and universal care of God for all, and he continues at intervals to touch on this thought; yet his Jewish nationality constantly leads him to express sentiments of so fierce a satisfaction respecting those whom he regards as the

2 Therefore chastenest thou them by little and little that offend, and warnest them by putting them in remembrance wherein they have offended, that leaving their wickedness they may believe on thee, O Lord.

3 For it was thy will to destroy by the hands of our fathers both those [1]old inhabitants of thy holy land,

4 Whom thou hatedst for doing most odious works of [1]witchcrafts, and wicked sacrifices;

[1] Or, ancient.

[1] Or, sorceri

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enemies of God and Israel, as to be scarcely reconcilable with the catholicity of his higher generalisations respecting the nature of God. We see, throughout, the conflict of Hellenistic thought and Hebraic prepossessions, and the writer's apparent inconsistencies are the more excusable, because he is dealing with the nature and purposes of God as exhibited in dealings which we understand so imperfectly that the conclusions which we draw from them can only be regarded as partial and relative.

1. *For thine incorruptible Spirit is in all things.*] As this clause gives an explanation of the sense in which "all things are God's," it might more conveniently be added to the last chapter. The Vulg. paraphrases it, *O quam bonus et suavis est, Domine, spiritus tuus in omnibus.* This seems to point to a reading ἀγαθὸν (for ἄφθαρτον), which is found in the Syriac and Arabic versions, but is otherwise without authority, and gives a weaker sense. Since God's Spirit is "incorruptible," men may grieve that Spirit and desecrate its temple, but never wholly lose it. "In all things" includes "in all men." Πάντων (xi. 26) and πᾶσι in this verse are *neuter*, as is proved by xi. 24. The writer, in his Alexandrian fashion, no doubt regarded as practically identical the *Stoic* conception of an *anima mundi* (to which his words seem to point in i. 7; vii. 24; viii. 7), and the *scriptural* conception of the life of man as being dependent on the Spirit of God (Gen. vi. 3; Job xxxii. 8, xxxiv. 14; Ps. civ. 30; Eccles. xii. 7). He says, indeed, that "Wisdom," which he uses interchangeably with "the Spirit of God," cannot dwell in sinful bodies or guilty souls (i. 3–5); but even in these he supposes a certain unalterable indwelling of Divine forces.

2. *Therefore.*] God's mercy, and the immanence of His Spirit in all things, explain the merciful gradualness of His punishments.

chastenest thou.] ἐλέγχεις, i. 3. Vulg., *corripis.*

them . . . that offend.] παραπίπτοντας, vi. 9.

by little and little.] κατ' ὀλίγον (Vulg., *partibus*); like the classical κατὰ βραχύ. But for His mercy God might have annihilated sinners at one stroke (*v.* 9, xi. 20).

warnest them.] In xi. 10 the writer has said that while God *warned* and tested the Israelites (νουθετῶν ἐδοκίμασας) as a Father, He judged and condemned (καταδικάζων ἐξητάσας) the Egyptians as a severe king. Since he proceeds to speak of the abominations of the old Canaanites, which were in every sense much worse than those of the Egyptians, his language involves a self-contradiction. Doubtless he would have been able to offer some sort of explanation of this inconsistency, but a more careful and less rhetorical writer, even if he were constantly struggling in the opposite currents of philosophy and Judaism, would hardly have left these contradictions side by side.

wherein.] ἐν οἷς, *i.e.* of the things wherein.

that leaving their wickedness they may believe on thee.] The writer is not here entering into theological considerations, and it is hardly fair to say that he considers punishment as the cause of repentance and faith. He meant no more than Isaiah, when he said (xxvi. 9), "When Thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness." The "belief" of which he speaks (though expressed by πιστεύειν ἐπὶ σέ, Acts ix. 42; Rom. iv. 5) means no more than the acknowledgment of God mentioned in *v.* 27. Still we may agree with Grimm in the remark that the verse could hardly have been written by a Christian.

3. *it was thy will to destroy.*] In the Greek these words are in *v.* 6; the intermediate words in *vv.* 4, 5, 6, being parenthetical.

by the hands of our fathers.] The extermination may be attributed either to man or to God (Ex. xxiii. 33; Numb. xxxiii. 52).

those old inhabitants.] The tribes of Canaan.

of thy holy land.] We find the same expression in 2 Macc. i. 7. The name "the Holy Land" does not occur in either Testament, though we have "the Holy Mountain," "holy cities," "holy Jerusalem," &c. This is the earliest trace of the famous designation.

4. *Whom thou hatedst.*] The expression must of course be understood not only anthropologically, but popularly. The writer's impetuous particularism leads him into expressions which do not cohere. He here speaks of God *hating* the Canaanites, though he has just said (xi. 24) that God "*loveth all*

[a] ch. 14. 23.

5 And also [a] those merciless murderers of children, and devourers of man's flesh, and the feasts of blood,

6 With their priests out of the midst of their idolatrous crew, and the parents, [b] that killed with their own hands souls destitute of help:

[b] Deut. 12. 31.

7 That the land, which thou

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things that are." Had he been writing more calmly and accurately, he would have probably tried to draw some distinction between sinners and their sins (*v.* 8), though in general language this is often left unnoticed (Ps. v. 6, 7, "The Lord abhorreth the bloody and deceitful man").

of witchcrafts.] φαρμακειῶν. The word φαρμακεία properly means "incantation by means of drugs" (Vulg., *per medicamina*), but is used by the LXX. to express all kinds of sorcery, כְּשָׁפִים, *praestigiae* (Ex. vii. 11; Isa. xlvii. 9, &c.). On the crimes of the Canaanites, see Deut. xviii. 11–14.

wicked sacrifices.] Rather, unholy (ἀνοσίους) rites of all kinds; rites which offend against the Majesty of God. Such rites formed the main part of the worship of Baalim and Asherah.

5. *murderers of children.*] Comp. xiv. 23. The accusative depends on "hating" (μισήσας). The allusion is to the Ammonite worship of

"Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice and parents' tears;
Though, for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
Their children's cries unheard, that passed through fire
To his grim idol."

See Lev. xx. 2; Ps. cvi. 37 ("they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils"); Ezek. xvi. 20, &c. The same horrors, which have their guilty root in depraved instincts, sometimes occurred in the worship of Baal (Jer. xix. 5).

and devourers of man's flesh, and the feasts of blood.] It is impossible to be sure of the reading here. The Vatican MS., which is the best, reads καὶ σπλαγχνοφάγων ἀνθρωπίνων σαρκῶν θοῖναν καὶ αἵματος, "and (hating) the banquet of entrail-devourers of human flesh, and of blood." Vulg., *et comestores viscerum hominum et devoratores sanguinis.* Possibly they read σπλαγχνοφάγους. The word is very rare, but occurs in Plutarch ('de Fluv.' v. 3, ὑπὸ σπλ. ἀετοῦ). Σπλάγχνα is specially used of sacrifices (see 2 Macc. vi. 7). The writer here accuses the Canaanites of cannibalism. The charge is unsupported, and is supremely improbable. Moloch-worship (Deut. xii. 31) was not cannibalistic.

6. *With their priests out of the midst of their idolatrous crew.*] The MSS. are here hopelessly confused, and the corruption must have sprung from the rarity of the expressions used and the difficulty of understanding them. The *text. rec.* has ἐκ μέσου μυσταθείας σου, and the Vulg. *a medio sacramento tuo.* The variations of the MSS. are within sufficiently narrow limits to shew that the true reading must have been something like this, but the σου is meaningless, and there is no such word as either μυστάθης or μυσταθεία, though Hesychius says that μυστάθης meant "a guild of augurs." It would be useless to enter into the many conjectures which have been made by the editors, because most of them are either extremely improbable or entirely untenable. The original reading may have been ἐκ μέσου μύστας θιάσου, "initiated worshippers from the mid religious rout" (Fritzsche), or ἐκ μύσους μύστας θιάσου, "initiated worshippers from the abomination of the religious rout" (Grimm). The latter reading is the more probable, because (1) μύσος is one of the rare, poetic, Aeschylean words which the writer likes; (2) the double genitive may have seemed harsh to the copyists, and may therefore have been altered; and (3) some MSS. have εκμυσουμυσταθειασου (Vatican, *a sec. manu*). The word θίασος originally meant a Bacchanalian choir of Moenads; and it suits the orgiastic priesthoods and votaries of the wild Phoenician nature worships. Another possible conjecture is ἐκμύσους μύστας θιάσου, "initiates of the abominable rout." The writer may have heard or invented the adjective ἐκμυσής.

that killed with their own hands.] This is the proper meaning of αὐθέντας, but the word is also used in wider and more general senses (Aesch. 'Eum.' 212; Eur. 'Andr.' 172); so that the writer may merely mean "parent-murderers of helpless souls," in the sense that they *authorised* the sacrifice of their children (*v.* 5). The priests kept these matters in their own hands. The "helplessness" of the lives thus sacrificed enhances the pity and horror of the crime. Comp. Ps. cvi. 37, 38; Jer. vii. 31.

7. *the land which thou esteemedst above all other.*] The Jews had many sayings in honour of Judea and Jerusalem. They thought that Jerusalem was the central point, as well as "the joy," of the whole earth. "Jerusalem is the light of the world" ('Bereshith Rabba,' § 59). "He who traverses so much as four ells in the land of Israel is sure of everlasting life" ('Kethuboth,' f. 111. 1). Its ten special excellences are extolled in 'Bava Kama,' f. 82. 1.

esteemedst above all other, might receive a worthy [1]colony of God's children.

8 Nevertheless even those thou sparedst as men, and didst send [c]wasps, forerunners of thine host, to destroy them by little and little.

9 Not that thou wast unable to bring the ungodly under the hand of the righteous in battle, or to destroy them at once with cruel beasts, or with one rough word:

10 But executing thy judgments upon them by little and little, thou gavest them place of repentance, not being ignorant that they were a naughty generation, and that their malice was bred in them, and that their cogitation would never be changed.

11 For it was a [d]cursed seed from the beginning; neither didst thou for fear of any man give them pardon for those things wherein they sinned,

[1] Or, new inhabitance.

[c] Exod. 23. 28. Deut. 7. 20. Josh. 24. 12.

[d] Gen. 9. 25.

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a worthy colony.] The word "colony" (ἀποικίαν) is not what we should expect, since the Jews regarded Palestine as their native land. The land of *exile* was called ἀποικία, and "the children of the captivity" are called υἱοὶ τῆς ἀποικίας, Esth. i. 11, &c. In Jer. xxix. 1, the prophet's letter to the exiles is called ἐπιστολὴν τῇ ἀποικίᾳ. Hence the marginal suggestion, "or *new inhabitance*" (Vulg., *peregrinationem*). Perhaps the writer used it by mistake for ἐποικία, "a settlement," or παροικία, "a sojourning," since the latter word is sometimes used in a spiritual sense (1 Pet. i. 17). "A holy colony" would be "worthy" of a holy land.

of God's children.] Comp. xi. 10.

8. *thou sparedst as men.*] The word "men" points to the weakness and moral frailty of men, whom God spares as "remembering that they are but dust," Ps. lxxviii. 39.

wasps.] Ex. xxiii. 28, "I will send hornets before thee, which shall drive out the Hittite, &c., from before thee. I will not drive them out from before thee in one year, lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee. By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased and inherit the land." Comp. Deut. vii. 20; Josh. xxiv. 12. Philo understood the expression literally ('De proem. et poen.,' Opp. ii. 423), and there can be little doubt that it alludes to the weakening or depopulation of parts of Canaan by swarms of hornets—a circumstance by no means unprecedented in Eastern history. See Aelian, xi. 28, xvii. 35; Ammian. Marc. xxiv. 8; Bochart, 'Hieroz.' iii. 407. That hornets were common in Palestine we see from the name *Zoreah* (Josh. xv. 33). Those who, with St. Augustine, take "hornets" to mean "*aculei timoris*" ('Qu. in Exod.' ii. 93) refer to Deut. i. 44, "The Amorites . . . chased you, as bees do" (comp. Ps. cxviii. 12), and quote the analogous metaphorical use of the word gadfly (*oestrus*) by classical writers.

by little and little.] κατὰ βραχύ. Ex. xxiii. 30, κατὰ μικρὸν μικρόν. See note on *v.* 2. The reason assigned by the writer—that the Canaanites might not be destroyed at once, and so might have time for repentance—is doubtless a legitimate inference, though it is not the one assigned in Ex. xxiii. 30.

9. *Not that thou wast unable.*] οὐκ ἀδυνατῶν. Comp. οὐκ ἠπόρει, xi. 17.

in battle.] ἐν παρατάξει, by fighting enemies face to face, Judith i. 6. The thought of the verse is only a repetition of xi. 17–23.

at once.] ὑφ' ἕν; comp. xviii. 19. πρὸς μίαν ῥοπήν, xviii. 12.

rough.] ἀποτόμῳ. See note on v. 20, 22 (the word is a favourite one with the writer); vi. 5; xi. 10; xviii. 15.

10. *thou gavest.*] Rather, "Thou wert giving" (imperfect).

place of repentance.] The same phrase, which corresponds to the Latin *locus poenitentiae* (though not in the common sense in which those words are used), is found in Heb. xii. 17. Comp. Rom. xii. 19; Eph. iv. 27.

not being ignorant.] The writer is fond of this *litotes:* xviii. 19; comp. 2 Cor. ii. 11.

that they were a naughty generation.] Lit., "that their birth was evil" (comp. iii. 12, 13).

and that their malice was bred in them.] Their wickedness (κακία) was not an exotic, but indigenous. It was commonly discussed in the schools of philosophy "whether virtue was a thing innate (ἔμφυτον) or acquired (διδακτόν)." In Jas. i. 21 the word is used in the sense of "implanted" or "engrafted," which the context (*v.* 11) shews to be here inadmissible. To talk here of "the doctrine of original sin" is an anachronism.

11. *a cursed seed from the beginning.*] The allusion is to the curse of Canaan (Gen. ix. 25). It is hard to see how the writer reconciles the thought of an hereditary curse producing innate wickedness with the doctrine of God's love for all (xi. 24). Perhaps he would have distinguished between predes-

12 For who shall say, [e] What hast thou done? or who shall withstand thy judgment? or who shall accuse thee for the nations that perish, whom thou hast made? or who shall come to stand [1] against thee, to be [1] revenged for the unrighteous men?

13 For neither is there any God but thou that [f] careth for all, to whom thou mightest shew that thy judgment is not unright.

14 Neither shall king or tyrant be able to set his face against thee for any whom thou hast punished.

15 Forsomuch then as thou art righteous thyself, thou orderest all things righteously: [g] thinking it not agreeable with thy power to condemn him that hath not deserved to be punished.

16 For thy power is the beginning of righteousness, and [h] because thou art the Lord of all, it maketh thee to be gracious unto all.

17 For when men will not believe

[e] Rom. 9. 20.
[1] Or, *in thy presence.*
[1] Or, *a revenger.*
[f] ch. 6. 7. 1 Pet. 5. 7.
[g] [illegible]
[h] [illegible]

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tination and prescience (xix. 1); or would have left the antinomy as irreconcilable, while at the same time he pointed out that room was left for individual amendment (*v.* 20), and even for individual salvation (Josh. ii. 1; Heb. xi. 31; Jas. ii. 25).

for fear of any man.] The exact nature of the fear—whether of the consequences of rebellion against God, or of man's judgments respecting God's actions—is left undefined.

pardon.] Lit., "fearlessness," "security." The meaning is not that God gave them *permission* to sin (ἀδ. τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν, *veniam, licentiam peccandi*). The sense is not clear, but seems to be that God did not, out of fear of any one, pardon them for their offences. (Vulg., *Nec timens aliquem veniam dabas peccatis illorum.*)

12. *For who shall say.*] How can God fear any one when there are none to resist His will? xi. 21; Job ix. 12; Is. xlv. 9; Rom. ix. 20.

for the nations that perish, whom thou hast made.] This is an appeal to God's irresistible power as closing all questions, and is analogous to the lesson deduced from the potter and the clay (Jer. xix. 1–10). It must, however, be borne in mind that the argument is merely tyrannical and immoral unless it be assumed from the very idea of the nature of God, that *because* His power is Almighty, therefore also His mercy is infinite. The appeal, "Nay, but who art thou, O man, that disputest with God?" (Rom. ix. 20,) is valid as an appeal to *trustful submission* in those who know God's goodness to be unbounded, but could never be a defence for arbitrary tyranny. Here the appeal is somewhat harshly emphasised, but in the next verse the writer shews that he desires to form a real *Theodicaea*, and not merely to silence inquiry.

to stand against thee.] This (and not the marginal "in thy presence;" Vulg., *in tuo conspectu*) is the correct rendering of εἰς κατάστασίν σοι.

13. *For neither is there any God but thou.*] There is no other God to be an avenger of the unrighteous whom Thou destroyest; and man has no power to intervene.

to whom thou mightest shew.] Rather, "*so that* (in the later *consecutive* force of ἵνα) thou mightest shew." Were there any other God in existence, Thou mightest then have proved to such a god the righteousness of Thy dealings.

14. *to set his face against thee.*] Lit., "to look thee in the face" (comp. Acts xxvii. 15), and so "to resist." Ecclus. xix. 5, ἀντοφθαλμῶν ἡδοναῖς.

thou hast punished.] The Vulg. has *perdidisti;* and that the writer would not have shrunk from ἀπωλέσας is shewn by the ἀπολωλότων of *v.* 12.

15. *not agreeable with thy power.*] Injustice is a thing alien from God's sway (δυνάμεως), because His strength (ἰσχύς) is righteousness.

16. *For thy power.*] It is a pity that the A. V. here follows the Vulg. in using the same word, "power" (*virtus*), for δύναμις and ἰσχύς.

is the beginning of righteousness.] Rather, "the principle" or "ground" (ἀρχή) of righteousness. In xiv. 27, ἀρχή and αἰτία, "cause," are placed side by side. The writer says that God is righteous *because* He is strong. Josephus says ('Antt.' iv. 8, § 14) that God's strength *is* righteousness (τοῦ Θεοῦ ἰσχὺς ἐστι τὸ δίκαιον). Comp. xi. 23. The thought that lies at the basis of such remarks may be that man's injustice is partly due to his feebleness and selfishness, and God being omnipotent has none of that bias to do wrong which springs from weakness.

because thou art the Lord of all.] This is expressed in the original with beautiful energy: "Thy lordship over all makes Thee spare all."

17. *when men will not believe.*] ἀπιστού-

that thou art of a [1] full power, thou shewest thy strength, and among them that know it thou makest their boldness manifest.

[1] Or, *perfect*

18 But thou, mastering thy power, judgest with equity, and orderest us with great favour: for thou mayest use power when thou wilt.

19 But by such works hast thou taught thy people that the just man should be merciful, and hast made thy children to be of a good hope that thou givest repentance for sins.

20 For if [i] thou didst punish the enemies of thy children, and the condemned to death, with such deliberation, giving them time and place, whereby they might be delivered from their malice:

[i] Rom. 9. 22.

21 With how great circumspection didst thou judge thine own sons, unto whose fathers thou hast sworn, and made covenants of good promises?

22 Therefore, whereas thou dost chasten us, thou scourgest our enemies a thousand times more, to the intent that, when we judge, we should carefully think of thy good-

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μενος. Lit., "being disbelieved in." Ex. v. 2, Pharaoh said, "Who is the Lord?" Comp. 2 Kings xviii. 30–37.

among them that know it.] ἐν τοῖς εἰδόσι. The Vulg. has οὐκ εἰδόσι (*qui te nesciunt*), following the Alexandrian MS. If with other MSS. and with St. Augustine (*qui sciunt*) we adopt the reading translated by the A. V., the allusion is to those who *know* God's will but do it not.

18. *But thou.*] The word "but" (which is omitted by some MSS.) points to the contrast between God's conduct and that of the bold tyrants to whom the writer has been alluding.

mastering thy power.] A fine epigrammatic expression. God is a δεσπότης (*v.* 16, xi. 26), but He "despotises over His own strength," so that it shall never be exercised unjustly. The Vulg., followed by St. Augustine, takes δεσπόζων as a substantive, and renders the words by *Dominator virtutis;* but this is a much inferior sense.

with equity.] ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ, in mildness and reasonableness.

19. *that the just man should be merciful.*] Rather, "a lover of mankind." The lesson of mercy is in this chapter historically based on the single circumstance that the plague of hornets was sent on the Canaanites before they fell victims to the exterminating wars of Israel. The writer seems to intimate a justification of the relentless severity practised by the Hebrews (*v.* 3), on the ground that the milder *initial* judgments of God produced no repentance. The word φιλάνθρωπον (see i. 6) implies cosmopolitan love for the race of man, and Grätz supposes (but with little probability) that it was meant as a defence against the charge that Jews hated all nations but themselves (Matt. v. 43; "odium generis humani," Tac. 'Hist.' v. 5).

thy children.] The writer constantly seems to fall back into the self-satisfied prejudice (see Lk. iii. 8) which made the Jews speak as if all mankind were created for their sake. Thus in Midrash 'Rabbah Esther' we read that nine-tenths of Wisdom and the Law are in Israel; and passages of extravagant self-exaltation may be found in 'Bava Bathra,' f. 10. 2. Not only are Israelites regarded as "the dearly beloved" (Jer. xii. 7), but all Gentiles are no better than "asses" ('Berachoth,' f. 25. 2). But perhaps this chapter in its wordiness, its particularism, its antinomies, and its indistinctness, is—in spite of some beautiful thoughts and fine expressions—one of the least satisfactory parts of the book.

20. *condemned to death.*] ὀφειλομένους θανάτῳ. Vulg., *debitos morti*, to whom death was due.

with such deliberation.] The A.V., like the Vulg., takes no notice of the words καὶ δεήσεως, which are omitted in the Alex. and other MSS. Some MSS. have καὶ διέσωσας, and some MSS. of the Vulg. *et liberasti;* but this reading is against the context. Δεήσεως gives no tolerable sense, for it cannot mean either "pity" or "condescension." One MS. reads διέσεως, "letting through" or "forbearance," and this is very probably the true reading. If so, the rarity of the word, especially in this sense, may have led to its alteration and omission.

and place.] *I.e.* opportunity.

21. *covenants of good promises.*] Comp. 2 Pet. i. 4, "greatest and precious promises."

22. *thou scourgest.*] The contrast of μαστιγοῖς with παιδεύων (comp. Prov. iii. 11), when *nationally* applied, can only be regarded as a misapprehension of God's impartial love for all whom He has made.

a thousand times more.] ἐν μυριότητι, "in myriadness." This expression does not occur elsewhere.

when we judge.] Viz., our fellow-men.

ness, and when we ourselves are judged, we should look for mercy.

23 Wherefore, whereas men have lived dissolutely and unrighteously, [k]thou hast tormented them with their own [1]abominations.

24 [l]For they went astray very far in the ways of error, and held them for gods, which even among the beasts of their enemies were despised, being deceived, as children of no understanding.

25 Therefore unto them, as to children without the use of reason, thou didst send a judgment to mock them.

26 But they that would not be reformed by that correction, wherein he dallied with them, shall feel a judgment worthy of God.

27 For, look, for what things they grudged, when they were punished, that is, for them whom they thought to be gods; [now] being punished in them, when they saw it, they acknowledged him to be the true God, whom before they denied to know; and therefore came extreme damnation upon them.

[k] ch. 11. 16. & 16. 1.
[1] Or, *abominable idols.*
[l] ch. 11. 15. Rom. 1. 23.

CHAPTER XIII.

2 They were not excused that worshipped any of God's works. 19 But most wretched are they that worship the works of men's hands.

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when we . . . are judged.] Viz., by Thee.

23–27. A retrogression to the case of the Egyptians, and the reason why they were punished.

23. *Wherefore.*] Since our enemies are punished ten thousandfold more severely than we.

whereas men have lived.] Rather, "those unrighteous also who lived."

dissolutely.] Lit., "in folly of life." See i. 3, iii. 12, x. 8; Rom. i. 21.

with their own abominations.] "By means of the abhorred things which they worshipped." He is now referring to the Egyptian animal-worship. Βδελύγματα is one of the words used by the LXX. for גִּלּוּלִים and other terms of disgust which the Jews gave to heathen idols (1 Sam. xv. 2; 1 K. xxi. 26; Ezek. xxx. 13, &c.). "Against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment" (Ex. xii. 12).

24. *very far in the ways of error.*] μακρότερον. Grimm considers this to be an hyperbole: "They wandered *farther* than the ways of error." Either rendering is tenable.

which even among the beasts of their enemies were despised.] Serpents, crocodiles, monkeys, beetles, &c. The 16th satire of Juvenal is one continuous strain of scorn against Egyptian worship.

being deceived, as children of no understanding.] Rom. i. 19–25. The adverb δίκην, "like," occurs here alone in the Bible or Apocrypha.

25. *to mock them.*] Childish follies were chastised with childish punishment. The words παισὶν—ἐμπαιγμὸν παιγνίοις are chosen for the sake of the paronomasia.

26. *by that correction, wherein he dallied with them.*] Two words in the original—παιγνίοις ἐπιτιμήσεως, "with sportive correction;" Vulg., *ludibriis et increpationibus.* The writer means that the first plagues of Egypt were but child's play compared with the later ones.

27. *they grudged.*] Rather, "they were indignant." The meaning of this somewhat awkwardly expressed sentence is, "For being punished in those things (wild beasts, &c.) which they deemed to be gods, in their case, wherein they were indignant while suffering, they recognised the true God, seeing Him of whom they used to deny that they knew Him." In other words, it was the punishment inflicted on their animal-gods which made them most indignant amid their sufferings, and yet it was that very punishment which forced on them the conviction of the true God.

acknowledged him to be the true God.] Ex. viii. 8, 28; ix. 27; x. 7, &c.

whom before they denied to know.] Comp. xvi. 16; Ex. v. 2.

extreme damnation.] Rather "the extreme of their condemnation," *i.e.* the last and severest plagues, and destruction of their king and host in the Red Sea (1 Thess. ii. 16, ἔφθασε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ εἰς τέλος).

came . . . upon them.] xvi. 4; Luke xxi. 26; Jas. v. 1, &c.

CHAPTER XIII.

The folly of idolatry; whether it consist in a worship of God's works (1–9), or of the works of men's hands (10–19).

The writer is not unnaturally led to this digression concerning idolatry, because he has touched on the revolting worship both of

SURELY vain are all men by nature, who are ignorant of God, and [a] could not out of the good things that are seen know him that is: neither by considering the works did they acknowledge the workmaster;

[a] Rom. 1. 19, 20.

2 [b] But deemed either fire, or wind, or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the violent water, or the lights of heaven, to be the gods which govern the world.

[b] Deut. 4. 19. & 17. 3.

3 With whose beauty if they being delighted took them to be gods; let

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the Canaanites (xii. 3–6) and of the Egyptians (xi. 15; xii. 27).

The Jews during the course of their history had been thrown into contact with various forms of idolatry. The noblest and most innocent form assumed by false worship was the Persian worship of the sun; the coarsest and most brutal was the demon-worship of the Canaanites. The Egyptians partly worshipped natural powers and partly images. The Greeks and Romans worshipped images, not as being divine things, but as the symbols of deities who were originally personifications of the forces of nature. The writer here divides idolaters into two classes: 1. Nature-worshippers; 2. Idol-worshippers; and, like Philo ('De decal.' §§ 12–15; 'De monarch.' i. §§ 1–3), he also alludes to animal-worship under a separate head (xii. 24; xv. 18, 19).

1. *vain.*] Rather, "foolish;" ματαιόφρονες, 3 Macc. vi. 11. The *folly* of idolatry is touched upon in 2 K. xvii. 15; Rom. i. 21. Comp. θεὸν μάταιον, xv. 8; ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ματαίων, Acts xiv. 15.

by nature.] Man's folly is not solely the result of bad teaching and extraneous *influences*. It is not only adventitious but innate. See note on xii. 10.

who are ignorant of God.] Lit., "to whom ignorance of God belonged." "The world even by its wisdom knew not God," 1 Cor. i. 21.

could not.] Lit., "had not strength."

out of the good things that are seen.] St. Paul argues that He who is invisible was yet seen by means of His works, and would have been seen by the heathen, but for a blindness partly voluntary and partly penal (Rom. i. 20–23; Acts xiv. 15–17).

him that is.] The Eternal "I am"—'Ο ὤν—the Absolute Being, who alone can say, "I am, and there is none besides me" (Ex. iii. 14).

neither . . . did they acknowledge.] ἐπέγνωσαν, "they did not *further* know." They did not look through nature up to nature's God.

the workmaster.] Heb. xi. 10, "the artificer." See note on vii. 21.

2. *either fire.*] The writer, if, as we have conjectured, he lived after the days of Caligula, is very probably thinking of passages in which Philo identifies Grecian worship with a worship of the four elements (earth, air, fire, water); the sun, moon, planets, and stars. Thus fire was worshipped under the name of Hephaestus; air under the names of Hera, Aeolus, &c.; water as Poseidon, &c.; the sun as Apollo; the moon as Artemis; the earth as Demeter, &c. The worship of the sun was prominent at On (Heliopolis) in Egypt, and in Palestine at Beth-shemesh (House of the Sun).

the swift air.] Like Spenser's "the flitting skies" (Deane).

the circle of the stars.] The starry vault of heaven which appears to revolve round the earth (Vulg., *gyrum stellarum*).

the violent water.] The stormy sea and rushing streams.

the lights of heaven.] Aeschylus (Agam. 6) calls them

λαμπροὺς δυνάστας ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι.

("Bright potentates set proudly in the sky.")

The words φωστῆρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, *luminaria coeli*, occur in LXX. Gen. i. 14 (comp. Phil. ii. 15, ὡς φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ).

to be the gods which govern the world.] The word πρυτάνεις κόσμου might be taken also in the sense of Gen. i. 16, "the sun *to rule* the day, and the lesser light *to rule* the night" (LXX. εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἡμέρας κ. τ. λ.), but they are rightly regarded here as being in apposition to θεούς. The Greeks worshipped the sun and moon under the names of Apollo and Artemis; the Shemites under the names of Baal and Ashtoreth; the Egyptians as Isis and Osiris.

3. *With whose beauty.*] This reference to the beauty of the external world shews, as Gfrörer says (Philo, ii. 212), the trace of Hellenistic influences. The word καλλονή occurs in the LXX. (Ps. xlvi. 4; lxxviii. 7), but not in this sense or connexion. Neither κάλλος nor καλλονή occurs in the N. T. What impressed the Hebrew mind was not so much the beauty as the *wonder* and the *power* of creation (Job xxxvi.–xli.). It is only after contact with the Hellenic mind that we find in Jewish writers such passages as Ecclus. xliii. 9–11: "The beauty of heaven, the glory of the stars, an ornament giving light . . . Look upon the rainbow . . . very beautiful it is in the brightness thereof."

Cyril ('Adv. Julian.') quotes Plato as saying

them know how much better the Lord of them is: for the first author of beauty hath created them.

4 But if they were astonished at their power and virtue, let them understand by them, how much mightier he is that made them.

5 [c] For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures proportionably the maker of them is seen.

Rom. 1. 20.

6 But yet for this they are the less to be blamed: for they peradventure err, seeking God, and desirous to find him.

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that we ought "from the beauty of things seen to mount up to the beauty of God;" and Plutarch ('Plac. Philos.' 3) tells us that from the beauty of the creature the Stoics inferred the moral beauty of the Divine character. Even among the Greeks, however, the sense of beauty in nature is rare and late. It appears markedly in the description of Colonos by Sophocles, but Plato has to apologise for the poetical description in 'Phaedrus' as due to the eccentric idiosyncrasy of Socrates. On this whole subject, see the admirable chapters in Humboldt's 'Cosmos.' In modern times few have developed the argument here touched upon, but it has been finely set forth by the late Canon Mozley in his Sermon on Nature ('Univ. Sermons,' p. 138). He says: "Nature has two great revelations,—that of use and that of beauty . . . The glory of nature in reality resides in the mind of man . . . It is obvious that the beauty of nature is necessary for the perfection of praise; and that the praise of the Creator must be essentially weakened without it." "But," he adds, "no man can get a religion out of the beauty of nature. The outer world, when idolised, spoiled men for the inward, and in anger they fell back upon a Manichean God who was lovely in nature and unjust in man."

them.] ταῦτα, "these things;" not without that shade of contempt or depreciation often involved in the use of this demonstrative. The writer would teach the heathen "to climb by these sunbeams to the Father of Lights."

the first author.] γενεσιάρχης (Vulg. *generator*). The word does not occur elsewhere in the LXX., the Apocrypha, or the N. T. Even in late Greek, the word used to express this meaning is γενάρχης, which is used by Philo and by Plutarch.

the first author of beauty hath created them.] "The cypher (of beauty in the universe)," says Canon Mozley, "is not unintelligible; it lets out something. The Great Spirit, speaking by dumb representation to other spirits, intimates and signifies to them something about Himself; for if nature is symbolical, what it is symbolical about must be its author."

4. *But if they were astonished.*] Lit. "being amazed" (understand "they thought them to be gods").

at their power and virtue.] Here the author reverts to the notion about the universe, which is mainly dwelt upon in the O. T The word rendered "virtue" is ἐνέργειαν, "their active efficiency."

let them understand.] This verb (νοεῖν) is often used of the perception or apprehension of God: Rom. i. 20, τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου νοούμενα καθορᾶται. Comp. Heb. xi. 3.

how much mightier.] Lactantius ('Instt.' ii. 3, § 5) ends a similar argument with the words "quanto major quantoque mirabilior qui illa fecit ex nihilo."

5. *by the greatness and beauty of the creatures.*] This is the fundamental argument developed in Job xxxvii.–xli.

proportionably.] ἀναλόγως; Vulg., *cognoscibiliter*. The adverb does not occur in the Bible (though we have ἀναλογία, Rom. xii. 6). It means "conformably," "relatively," "according to a due ratio" (ἀνὰ λόγον).

the maker of them.] ὁ γενεσιουργός. The word is found once or twice in late Greek, but not in the LXX. or N. T.

is seen.] The verb θεωρέω is used especially of mental, spiritual, and adoring vision (Rom. i. 20). "*Theoria* is the worship of heaven" (Ruskin).

6. *But yet for this they are the less to be blamed.*] Although they ought to have looked from created things to the Creator, yet (ὅμως) with reference to these aberrations (the worship of the great forces of nature) the blame is small. Of all forms of idolatry that of the Persians—sun-worship and fire-worship—is the least reprehensible.

for this.] The words (ἐπὶ τούτοις) might also be rendered "in the case of these worshippers."

they peradventure err.] An excuse may, perhaps (τάχα, Rom. v. 7; Philem. 15), be made for their error. The "perhaps" implies a charitable doubt: if it be admissible to suppose that any can go astray who really are "seekers after God," then a charitable allowance may be made for these.

seeking God.] In their search for God, even in their wish to find Him, perhaps they themselves follow some mistaken path. It is possible to translate the whole clause in a very

.om. 1. 7 For being [d] conversant in his works they [1] search *him* diligently, and believe their sight: because the things are beautiful that are seen.

r, seek.

8 Howbeit neither are they to be pardoned.

9 For if they were able to know so much, that they could aim at the world; how did they not sooner find out the Lord thereof?

10 But miserable are they, and in [e] dead things is their hope, who called them gods, [f] which are the works of men's hands, gold and silver, to shew art in, and resemblances of beasts, or

[e] ver. 18. ch. 15. 17.
[f] Ps. 115. 4. & 135. 15.

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different sense, by making ὀλίγη μέμψις refer "to the case of the nature-worshippers," and αὐτοὶ to the seekers of true wisdom. The rendering would then be, "But yet for this (or, in their case) there is little blame to them, for even they perchance err who (really) seek God, and wish to find Him." If this had been the author's meaning, he could hardly have failed to write οἱ ζητοῦντες. Almost every commentator (except Grimm and De Wette) has followed the Vulg. and the A. V. in understanding the passage as I have explained it. It may well be doubted whether the writer would have admitted that the lovers of true wisdom were liable to error in matters so important: on the other hand, the search of the heathen after God was a blind and groping search which often failed (Acts xvii. 27, ζητεῖν τὸν θεὸν εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσειαν αὐτὸν καὶ εὕροιεν).

7. *being conversant in his works.*] They *confine* their attention *too much* to the things seen; but while they are thorough (διερευνῶσι) in their physical researches, they content themselves with external phenomena instead of looking beyond them (Heb. xi. 3).

8. *Howbeit neither are they to be pardoned.*] Lit., "Yet again" (in spite of the excuses which may be made for them) "not even these" (much less the grosser idolaters of whom he proceeds to speak) "are pardonable." Even these milder offenders are still, as St. Paul says, ἀναπολόγητοι (Rom. i. 20). For πάλιν δέ, see xvi. 23; 1 Cor. xii. 21.

9. *that they could aim at the world.*] This rendering hardly explains itself. The "that" (ἵνα) is here not telic ("in order that"), but consecutive ("so as to"). The verb "to aim at" (στοχάζεσθαι), which in classical Greek always takes a genitive, is here followed by an accusative, and means "to explain," "successfully to guess at." Αἰῶνα means the created world regarded in its temporal duration (Vulg., *saeculum*). The meaning then is that "if they possessed sufficient intellectual power to enable them to infer the meaning of phenomena, how was it that they failed yet more speedily to draw the final inference?"

sooner.] The deduction of the final inference—that God is greater than all His works—required no such lengthened toil as the study of science. He implies, therefore, that theirs was a *moral* failure or deficiency.

10. *But miserable are they.*] He now turns from the folly of nature-worship to the deeper baseness and wretchedness of image-worship. The line of thought followed in this passage (xiii. 10–xiv. 8) is found in many passages of Scripture (Deut. iv. 28; Ps. cxv. 4–8, cxxxv. 15–18; Jer. ii. 26–28). It is this form of idolatry which is overwhelmed with so fierce a storm of sarcasm and indignation in the later chapters of Isaiah (xl.–xlvi.). See, too, Jer. ii. x.; Ps. cxv. cxxxv., &c. The writer, in spite of the literary elaboration of his style, is incomparably less eloquent and forcible than the older prophet. When the same theme was handled by the Christian Apologists, as by Arnobius ('Adv. Gentes'), it was necessary to deal with the defence of images, which consisted in regarding them as mere visible symbols of deities, and not as being themselves divine.

in dead things.] Comp. xv. 17. The Jews had many terms of contempt for heathen idols. They called them "filth" (*shikkuts*), "shame" (*bosheth*), "horrors" (*miphletseth*), but especially "nothing" (*aven*) and "lies" (*elilim*).

the works of men's hands.] LXX. Ps. cxiii. 12, cxxxv. 15.

to shew art in.] Lit., "an elaboration of art." The word ἐμμελέτημα is only found once, in the Anthology. Acts xvii. 29, "graven by art (χαράγματι τέχνης) and man's device."

resemblances.] The word (ἀπεικάσματα) occurs in Plato, 'Crat.' 402 D, but not in the Bible.

of beasts.] ζώων, "of animals" or "living creatures." This was the original meaning of the word "beast," as in Gower—

> "That ilke ymage bare liknesse
> Of man and of none other *beste.*"
> *Confess. Amant.* i.

Beast-worship was specially prevalent in Egypt.

> "The brutish gods of Nile as fast—
> Isis, and Orus, and the dog Anubis—haste."
> MILTON, *Ode on Christ's Nativity.*

a stone good for nothing, the work of an ancient hand.

11 [g] Now a [1] carpenter that felleth timber, after he hath sawn down a tree meet for the purpose, and taken off all the bark skilfully round about, and hath wrought it handsomely, and made a vessel thereof fit for the service of man's life;

12 And after spending the [1] refuse of his work to dress his meat, hath filled himself;

13 And taking the very refuse among those which served to no use, being a crooked piece of wood, and full of knots, hath carved it diligently, when he had nothing else to do, and formed it by the skill of his understanding, and fashioned it to the image of a man;

[g] Isai. 44. 13, &c. Jer. 10. 3, &c.

[1] Or, *timber-wright.*

[1] Or, *chips.*

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a stone good for nothing.] Several such "useless stones," like the διοπετὲς ἄγαλμα of Ephesus (Acts xix. 35), the fabled Ancile of Numa, the Trojan Palladium, the Tauric Artemis, the Pessinuntian Cybele, &c., were widely worshipped by the ancients. The stone in the Kaaba at Mecca, probably an ancient aërolite, has been an immemorial object of worship in Arabia.

the work of an ancient hand.] It is not impossible that the "hand" of ancient sculptors may have been used to give even to aërolites some nearer semblance of the human form. The more hideous and antique an image was, the more highly was it venerated, just as in the Church of Rome the miracle-working Madonnas were rarely, if ever, fine works of art, but usually brown and ugly Byzantine pictures. But even to "the work of an ancient hand," such as a statue of Phidias or Praxiteles, a theocratic Jew would have given the name of "a useless stone." When Pope Adrian VI. was shewn the glorious sculptures in the Vatican, he sternly remarked, *Sunt idola antiquorum.*

11. *Now a carpenter that felleth timber.*] Lit., "But even if some wood-cutting artisan." The τις is scornful—any common workman. So Archias makes Priapus say that he was

> οἷόν κεν ἐρημαίησιν ἐπ' ἀκταῖς
> ξέσσειαν μογερῶν υἱέες ἰχθυβόλων.

The heathen not only worshipped idols of gold, silver, and stone, but even paltry wooden images made of odd pieces of timber. In this and the following verses (11–16) the writer follows Isaiah (xliv. 9–20), skilfully indeed, but in very inferior style, and with none of the prophet's white heat of passionate scorn.

after he hath sawn down.] ἐκπρίσας, "after sawing down one tree out of a number."

a tree meet for the purpose.] Lit., "a swiftly-moved" (vii. 22), *i.e.* a handy, serviceable tree.

a vessel . . . fit for the service of man's life.] Lit., "a useful vessel for the service of life." The emphatic position of χρήσιμον shews that he is contrasting the *useful* article of furniture with the worse than useless idol.

12. *the refuse.*] ἀποβλήματα, "the chips and shavings."

hath filled himself.] See chap. v. 7. The carpenter leisurely eats his dinner before setting about making his idols. The whole picture is borrowed from Is. xliv. 14–17, to which nothing is added but sonorous language.

13. *the very refuse among those.*] Not content with choosing as the material for his god the refuse of his fuel, he picks out the most refuse piece of that refuse.

which served to no use.] The "which" agrees with "refuse." The irony is here exaggerated, and weakened by exaggeration.

full of knots.] With the knots *grown into it*, i.e. a gnarled lump. No possible reason can be assigned why the artisan should purposely choose the most refuse and amorphous fragments to make into idols. They might do for the coarse garden scarecrows—Priapus, &c.—but not for divinities which were treated with any real veneration. There may, however, be an allusion to such objects of worship as the famous image (Acts xix. 35) of Artemis at Ephesus, which, according to Pausanias and later authorities, was of olive-wood painted vermilion.

when he had nothing else to do.] Lit., "in the diligence of his idleness;" a contemptuous oxymoron.

> "Stipes acernus eram *properanti* falce dolatus."
> PROPERT. iv. 2. 59.

by the skill of his understanding.] For συνέσεως some MSS. read ἀνέσεως, "by the skill of his relaxation." He only gives his idle moments to so trivial a task as the carving of a god. Compare the well-known lines of Horace—

> "Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
> Cum faber incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum
> Maluit esse Deum: Deus inde ego."
> HOR. *Sat.* i. 8. 1.

14. *like some vile beast.*] So Seneca says, "Numina vocant, quae si spiritu accepto

14 Or made it like some vile beast, laying it over with vermilion, and with paint colouring it red, and covering every spot therein;

15 And [h] when he had made a convenient room for it, set it in a wall, and made it fast with iron:

16 For he provided for it that it might not fall, knowing that it was unable to help itself; for it is an image, and hath need of help:

17 [i] Then maketh he prayer for his goods, for his wife and children, and is not ashamed to speak to that which hath no life.

18 For health he calleth upon that which is weak: for life prayeth to that [k] which is dead: for aid humbly beseecheth [l] that which hath least means to help: and for a good journey he asketh of that which cannot set a foot forward:

19 And for gaining and getting, and for good success of his hands, asketh ability to do of him, that is most unable to do any thing.

[h] Isai. 46. [i] Isai. 44. 19. [k] Jer. 10. [l] Gr. that hath no experience at all.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 Though men do not pray to their ships, 5 yet are they saved rather by them than by their idols. 8 Idols are accursed, and so are the makers of them. 14 The beginning of idolatry, 23 and the effects thereof. 30 God will punish them that swear falsely by their idols.

AGAIN, one preparing himself to sail, and about to pass through the raging waves, calleth upon a piece of wood more rotten than the [1] vessel that carrieth him.

[1] Or, *ship*.

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subito occurrerent, monstra haberentur" (ap. August. 'Civ. Dei,' vi. 10). Εὐτελεῖ, "cheap" (x. 4, xi. 15).

laying it over.] Lit., "smearing it."

with vermilion.] Bacchus, Hermes, and Pan were sometimes painted red. So Virgil describes Pan as

> "Sanguineis ebuli guttis minioque rubentem."
> *Ecl.* x. 26.

> "At *ruber* hortorum decus et tutela Priapus."
> OVID, *Fast.* i. 415.

Comp. Sil. Ital. xiii. 332. See note on *v.* 13.

15. *a convenient room for it.*] Rather, "a hut worthy of itself." The οἴκημα was an *aedicula*, or little shrine.

> "Stabat *in exiguâ* ligneus *aede* Deus."
> TIBULL. i. 10. 19.

16. *that it might not fall.*] Even the trembling of images was deemed ominous. It was regarded as portentous when they fell, as Dagon did, "and shamed his worshippers." The famous Artemis of Ephesus had artificial arms added to it in later times, which were supported by golden rods.

hath need of help.] The idea of the verse is borrowed from the mention of "silver chains" in Is. xl. 19, and the expression "he fasteneth it with nails, so that it shall not be moved" (Is. xli. 7). During the siege of Tyre by Alexander, the Tyrians bound their image of Melcarth to the altar by chains of gold.

18. *For health.*] This and the next verse are a continuous contrast of opposite expressions. They furnish a fine specimen of rhetorical oxymoron. See Hooker, 'Eccl. Pol.' I. viii. 11.

that which cannot set a foot forward.] "Feet have they, but they walk not" (Ps. cxv. 7). The word βάσει is used contemptuously—"that which cannot even use its pedestal!" Compare the scorn expressed by Elijah against Baal, "Cry aloud, for he is a god; either . . . he is pursuing, or he is on a journey" (1 K. xviii. 27).

19. *ability to do.*] The adjective εὐδρανής (from δραίνω) is only found in grammarians. The substantive εὐδράνεια, "furtherance," occurs nowhere else.

The Jews themselves fell more or less into all the kinds of idolatry mentioned in this chapter—namely, nature-worship (Baalim, Asherah, Ashteroth); beast-worship (the calves, &c.); and image-worship (2 K. xviii. 4, &c.).

CHAPTER XIV.

Proof of the folly of worshipping idols continued, and illustrated by the idolatry of seafarers (1, 2). Digression on God's providence as shewn in the care of righteous voyagers (3–7). Idols and idolaters are cursed, and shall be punished (8–10). The mischief of idolatry (12–14), which originated (i.) in grief for the dead (15); (ii.) in flattery towards rulers (16, 17); and (iii.) in the complaisance of artists (18–21). And this idolatry led to ruinous immorality (21–31).

1. *raging waves.*] So Jude 13, κύματα ἄγρια θαλάσσης. The proper meaning of ἄγριος is "rustic," "wild," and so "fierce."

a piece of wood.] An idol either at the prow or at the stern of vessels. This παράση-

2 For verily desire of gain devised [1]that, and the workman built it by his skill.

[1] Or, *vessel*, or, *ship*.

3 But thy providence, O Father, governeth it: for thou [a]hast made a way in the sea, and a safe path in the waves;

[a] Exod. 14. 22.

4 Shewing that thou canst save from all danger: yea, though a man went to sea without art.

5 Nevertheless thou wouldest not that the works of thy wisdom should be idle, and therefore do men commit their lives to a small piece of wood, and passing the rough sea in a weak vessel are saved.

μον often represented the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux (Acts xxviii. 11). Thus the Phoenicians placed on the prows of their triremes the pigmy images of the Pataeci (Herod. iii. 37). The custom of ancient sailors to fly to the images of their gods in a storm is mentioned both in the Bible (Jon. i. 5, "Then the mariners were afraid, and cried every man unto his god") and in classical writers. Compare Shakspeare's

"All lost! to prayers, to prayers! All lost!"
The Tempest, i. 5.

more rotten.] *σαθρότερον*. The word is used in the secondary sense of "more worthless," as is clear from the explanation in the next verse.

2. *devised that.*] *I.e.* the vessel. It can at least be said of the ship (i.) that it was invented in the interests of commerce; (ii.) that it is a work of "wisdom;" and (iii.) that the fact of its safe use illustrates the providence of God. For the idol, on the other hand, not a word can be said.

by his skill.] Lit., "by his wisdom." Wisdom is here used in its lowest sense of human art and intelligence. For "Wisdom" in its highest sense is identified with the Spirit of God; and artists like Bezaleel are said in Scripture to be inspired (Ex. xxxi. 1–6; xxxv. 31). The artist Hiram is described as being "filled with *wisdom* and understanding" (1 K. vii. 14). Some good MSS. read *τεχνῖτις σοφία*, as in vii. 22; but the expression would be less suitable to a work of human skill. The shipbuilder, working for laudable objects, is guided by *σοφία*; but the idol-maker has nothing better than *ἐμπειρία*, "experience," "practice," or "empiric skill" (xiii. 13).

3. *But thy providence, O Father, governeth it.*] The *δέ* involves a contrast. The ship is a work of consummate human skill, yet it would be useless without the care of God's providence. The word *πρόνοια*, in this sense, is borrowed from the Stoic philosophers, and this verse is interesting as marking its first appearance in Jewish literature (see xvii. 2). In the New Testament it is only used in the sense of forethought, purpose, intention (Acts xxiv. 2; Rom. xiii. 14). Plato first used the word to express what the Latins meant by "Providentia," and our "Divine Providence," though it is used *almost* in this technical meaning by Herodotus (iii. 108). We find it again in xvii. 2, and frequently in Philo, who wrote three books on Providence, now only extant in an Armenian translation (Euseb. 'H. E.' ii. 18; Dähne, 'Alex. Rel. Ph.' i. 385). Josephus also often uses the word ('B. J.' iii. 8, § 7, &c.). But though the *word* is borrowed from philosophy, the *thought* is common in the O. T. (Ps. cxlv. 9), and even with express reference to "those who go down to the sea in ships" (Ps. cvii. 23–31). From the expression here used comes the beginning of our collect, "O God, whose never-failing providence ordereth all things both in heaven and earth."

in the sea.] Rather, "even in the sea." Since God "turned the sea into dry land, to make a way for the children of Israel to pass over" (Ps. lxxvi. 20, &c.), He could clearly save those who sailed in deep waters.

4. *yea, though a man.*] The word *ἵνα* should be supplied from the best MSS.: "*in order that*, even without skilled knowledge, one may embark." The reference is to Noah, who was saved without any knowledge of navigation. Ἐπιβαίνειν is the technical word for "to go on board a ship," as in Acts xxi. 2. Some MSS. of the Vulg. read *sine rate*, "without a ship;" and Coverdale has "Yee though a man went to the see without shippe." But "sine *rate*" seems to be a mere clerical error for "sine *arte*," though it might seem to be sanctioned both by the allusion to the passage of the Red Sea in *v.* 3 and by *v.* 5. Possibly the translators took *τέχνη* as abstract for concrete, to mean "a work of art," *i.e.* a vessel.

5. *that the works of thy wisdom should be idle.*] The oxymoron *ἀργὰ . . . ἔργα* is quite in accordance with the taste of the writer. The reference must be to the desirability of commerce as diffusing the works of God.

their lives.] *ψυχάς*. Comp. xii. 6.

to a small piece of wood.] Chap. x. 4. Diogenes Laertius records the well-known remark of Anacharsis, that men on board ship were only four fingers' breadth removed from death. Comp. Hor. 'Od.' i. 3, 9:

Gen. 6. & 7. 18, 1, 22. 6 [b] For in the old time also, when the proud giants perished, the hope of the world governed by thy hand escaped in a weak vessel, and left to all ages a seed of generation.

7 For blessed is the wood whereby righteousness cometh.

Ps. 115. Bar. 6. 4. 8 But [c] that which is made with hands is cursed, as well it, as he that made it: he, because he made it; and it, because, being corruptible, it was called god.

Ps. 5. 5. 9 [d] For the ungodly and his ungodliness are both alike hateful unto God.

10 For that which is made shall be punished together with him that made it.

"Illi robur et aes triplex
Circa pectus erat, qui *fragilem truci*
Commisit pelago ratem."

The prayer of the Breton mariners is, "Save us, O God! Thine ocean is so large, and our little boats so small."

in a weak vessel.] Σχεδία properly means "a raft."

are saved.] Lit., "were saved." A gnomic aorist, expressive of a normal result, but here appropriate as referring to the first discoverers of navigation.

6. *in the old time also.*] Lit., "from" (or "in") "the beginning." The temporal gen. ἀρχῆς is used absolutely, as in νυκτός, ἡμέρας, &c. Vulg., *ab initio.*

when the proud giants perished.] Gen. vi. 4, 17. Comp. 3 Macc. ii. 4, "Thou didst destroy in former times those who did iniquity, among whom were also giants, who trusted in their strength and boldness, bringing upon them a measureless flood." As the genealogy of nations in Gen. x. gives no account of the origin of the Rephaim and other primeval races of Palestine, the Rabbis invented the story that Og had saved himself from the Deluge by wading beside the ark.

the hope of the world.] Noah and his family; the abstract for the concrete, as in Virg. 'Aen.' xii. 168, "Ascanius, magnae *spes altera* Romae."

governed.] Lit., "steered." Our "govern" is derived from the Latin *guberno* (κυβερνάω), "I steer."

to all ages.] αἰῶνι; Vulg., *saeculo.* To the world of mankind.

7. *the wood whereby righteousness cometh.*] It was most natural that the Fathers should apply this verse directly or mystically to the cross, which is often called ξύλον in the N. T. (Acts v. 30; Gal. iii. 13; 1 Pet. ii. 24, &c. Comp. עֵץ, Esther v. 14). The reference was more likely to strike them from the fact that they read ἐβασίλευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου in Ps. xcvi. 10, and quoted the words as a prophecy of the Cross (Justin Mart. 'Dial. c. Tryph.' p. 298; Aug. 'Enarrat.' in loc.; Tert. 'c. Marc.' iii. 19). Grätz ('Gesch. d. Juden,' iii. 495), following this view, looks on the verse as a Christian interpolation. There is, however, no proof that the writer was thinking specifically of anything but the ark, in which was saved "Noah, a preacher of righteousness" (2 Pet. ii. 5).

8. *that which is made with hands is cursed.*] The expression is not very accurate, for a ship is as much "made with hands" as an idol. The writer here uses it exclusively of an idol (Vulg., *per manus autem, quod fit idolum*), because in the LXX. the word χειροποιητὰ is used for Gentile gods (Elohim, Is. xxi. 9; and Elilim, Is. ii. 18). Comp. Judith viii. 17, οἱ προσκυνοῦσι θεοῖς χειροποιητοῖς. The curious dislike to any inanimate thing because it has been sometimes abused to bad purposes, is common in all ages. One court of the Ephetae at Athens (τὸ ἐπὶ Πρυτανείῳ), "by a strange custom, somewhat analogous to the imposition of a deodand," passed sentence on the *instruments* of a murder when the perpetrator was undiscovered. John Knox, when a slave in the galleys, contemptuously flung an image of the Virgin into the sea, and called it a "pented bredd." The feeling of the ancient Greeks and of enlightened Christians does not approve of *wanton* insults to idols so long as they are objects of sincere reverence; but the feeling of the Jews on the subject after the Exile became almost fanatically intense, and they would scarcely ever name a heathen deity without some title of scorn.

being corruptible, it was called god.] Comp. vi. 19, 20. God is ἄφθαρτος: Rom. i. 23; 1 Tim. i. 17.

9. *his ungodliness.*] The idol is therefore hateful to God as the concrete result of man's impiety, as well as the idolater (Deut. xxvii. 15).

10. *shall be punished.*] The writer, in regarding the *material* idols as capable of "punishment," only follows the views of the Pagans, who sometimes scourged their idols or bound them with chains. The images of the saints have often been similarly treated by offended worshippers in Roman Catholic countries. M. Renan in his 'Souvenirs' tells us with what unceremonious rudeness, and

e See Isai. 46. 1. Jer. 46. 25. & 49. 3.
‖ Or, *to*, or, *by*.
f Jer. 10. 8. Hab. 2. 18.
‖ Gr. *scandals*.
‖ Or, *trap*.
g ver. 27.

11 Therefore *e* even ‖ upon the idols of the Gentiles shall there be a visitation: because in the creature of God they are become an abomination, and *f* ‖ stumblingblocks to the souls of men, and a ‖ snare to the feet of the unwise.

12 For *g* the devising of idols was the beginning of *spiritual* fornication, and the invention of them the corruption of life.

13 For neither were they from the beginning, neither shall they be for ever.

14 For by the vain glory of men they entered into the world, and therefore shall they come shortly to an end.

15 For a father afflicted with untimely mourning, when he hath made an image of his child soon taken away, now honoured him as a god, which was then a dead man, and delivered to those that were under him ceremonies and sacrifices.

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even threats, the Bretons treat their saints in remote country districts.

11. *even upon the idols.*] Jer. x. 15, "They are vanity, and the work of errors; in the time of their visitation they shall perish;" xlvi. 25, "Behold, I will punish the Amon of No [Thebes], and Pharaoh, and Egypt, *with their gods*." Is. xxx. 32; xxxi. 7; xlvi. 1, 2. Ex. xii. 12, "Against all the gods of Egypt will I execute judgment." To a certain extent the idol is identified with the demon whom it was held to represent (Ps. xcvi. 5; 1 Cor. x. 20).

a visitation.] See note on ii. 20.

in the creature of God.] Their worship involved the perverted use of created things.

an abomination.] Comp. xii. 23. As the strongest word of disgust which they could find in Greek, the LXX. use the word βδέλυγμα to render the insulting terms which the Jews applied to idols, such as גִּלּוּלִים, *Dî stercoracei.*

stumbling-blocks . . . a snare.] Comp. Josh. xxiii. 13; 1 Tim. iii. 7, &c.

12. *of spiritual fornication.*] This metaphor for idolatry is universal in Scripture: Deut. xxxi. 16; Hos. ii. 3–5, v. 3. Suidas, πορνεία, ἡ εἰδωλολατρεία.

the corruption of life.] Spiritually and even physically: 2 Pet. i. 4; ii. 19. See Is. ii. 18; Jer. l. 2.

13. *were they.*] The nominative to ἦν is τὰ χειροποίητα understood.

14. *by the vain-glory of men.*] He illustrates this verse in the following passage (15–21), and shews that this human vain-glory exhibited itself in extravagant estimation of the dead (15); in the ambition of kings and the flattery of subjects (16, 17); and in the interested skill of artists (18–21). The word κενοδοξία occurs in the Apocrypha (4 Macc. ii. 15) and N. T. (Phil. ii. 3), but not in the LXX. "Vain-glorious" (κενόδοξοι) is found in Gal. v. 26.

they entered.] The nominative "idols" is understood. The Alex. MS. by a mistake reads θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν, which is a reminiscence of ii. 24, and does not agree with the following αὐτῶν.

shall they come shortly to an end.] Lit., "a swift end was devised for them" (by God). The word ἐπενοήθη is a reference to God's devising in contrast to the vain ἐπίνοια of man (*v.* 12). The exact meaning of σύντομον is not clear. It might imply the shortness of all human history compared with the Divine Eternity; or the writer may have thought that the Messianic kingdom was close at hand, and that then all idols would be abolished.

15. *with untimely mourning.*] Vulg., *acerbo luctu.* The *grief* may by hypallage be called "untimely" because the *child's* death is premature; or because the grief is unseasonably prolonged.

when he hath made an image of his child.] The Pagans themselves admitted to a certain extent that the views of Euhemerus—who tried to shew that the gods were deified kings and heroes—were true. Cicero ('De Nat. Deor.' i. 42), Justin Martyr, Lactantius, and other Fathers develop the same thought. There can be but little doubt that the Teraphim of Laban were images of deceased ancestors; and a great part of Confucianism consists in reverence for dead forefathers.

honoured him as a god.] According to Jewish tradition, Serug (Gen. xi. 20) was the first of his line who fell into this kind of idolatry. The Lares of the Romans also were departed ancestors. The worship of *children* was rarer, but it is recorded of a certain Spartan named Diophantus; and even Cicero planned a temple to his daughter Tullia. Nero claimed divine honours for the child who had been born to him by Poppaea. Egypt at a later epoch grew familiar with the worship of the youth Antinous, which was introduced by Hadrian.

ceremonies.] Lit., "mysteries."

sacrifices.] τελετάς, as in xii. 4.

16 Thus [1]in process of time an ungodly custom grown strong was kept as a law, and graven images were worshipped by the commandments of [1]kings.

17 Whom men could not honour [1]in presence, because they dwelt far off, they took the counterfeit of his visage from far, and made an express image of a king whom they honoured, to the end that by this their forwardness they might flatter him that was absent, as if he were present.

18 Also the singular diligence of the artificer did help to set forward the ignorant to more superstition.

19 For he, peradventure willing to please one in authority, forced all his skill to make the resemblance [1]of the best fashion.

[1] Gr. *to the better*

20 And so the multitude, allured by the grace of the work, took him now for a god, which a little before was but honoured as a man.

21 And this was an occasion to deceive the world: for men, serving

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16. *Thus.*] Rather, *Then.*

graven images.] τὰ γλυπτά. See xv. 13. It is a frequent rendering of Hebrew words for "idols" in the LXX.: Deut. vii. 5; Ps. cv. 34, 36; Is. xlvi. 1, &c.

were worshipped.] Lit., "were continuously worshipped"—an imperfect, in contrast with the general establishment of a custom referred to by the previous aorist.

by the commandments of kings.] Bauermeister and others refer this clause to the next verse. But the next verse refers to *voluntary* flattery, not to image-worship enjoined as a tyrannous command. The mention of "tyrants" serves, however, as a skilful introduction to the subject of the following paragraph. The apotheosis of Roman Emperors became almost a matter of course, and Augustus was scarcely able to prevent the worship of himself while living. He could only insist that temples to himself should always be associated also with temples to the goddess Roma. For full information on this subject see Boissier, 'La Religion Romaine,' i. 122–209. The example of worshipping kings was set in Egypt in the days of the Pharaohs, and was largely adopted by the Ptolemies. A sketch of the origin of hero-worship and emperor-worship is given by Canon Westcott in his edition of the Epistles of St. John, pp. 255–267.

17. *in presence.*] Since men who lived at a distance could not actually *see* their kings, they were induced by flattery to make images of them. There is a play of words between ἐν ὄψει, "visibly," and ὄψιν, "visage."

18. *singular diligence.*] Vulg., *eximia diligentia.* φιλοτιμία means rather "the eager ambition."

the ignorant.] Rather, "*even* the ignorant," *i.e.* even those who did not know whom the statues represented, or how they originally came to be worshipped. He is here passing from flattery to *admiration of artistic skill* as another source of idolatry.

to more superstition.] Rather, "to intensified service" of the image. Θρησκεία means "outward service;" "religion" in the old sense of the word, as in Col. ii. 18, Jas. i. 27, and in Milton's

"Gay *religions*, full of pomp and gold."

19. *peradventure.*] The word (τάχα) is omitted by the Vulg. Grimm prefers to render it "quickly," but it seems to mean that the artist toiled *on the chance* of pleasing the tyrant, or at any rate that this may have been *one* of his motives.

forced all his skill . . .] Lit., "By his skill forced the resemblance to something more beautiful;" *i.e.* did his utmost skilfully to flatter and idealise the likeness. The idols to which the writer is now alluding are not cheap wooden idols carved out of refuse clumps, but marble or chryselephantine statues, like the Zeus and Athena of Phidias, and the huge statues of deified Roman emperors. Philo also ('De Monarch.' i. 3) dwells on the abuse of art to furnish an additional incentive to idolatry.

20. *took him now for a god.*] Σέβασμα means "an object of worship" (Acts xvii. 25; 2 Thess. ii. 4). If the writer is thinking of any of the colossal statues of emperors, like that of Augustus at Ancyra, the word σέβασμα would recall the name "Augustus,"—a name of religious veneration (ὄνομα βλασφημίας, Rev. xiii. 1), which was peculiarly displeasing to Jewish ears. It was to avert the very danger here alluded to—the danger of aesthetic admiration passing into idolatry—that all sculpture (except that of the fourfold cherubic symbol, which was tacitly excepted) was forbidden to the Israelites.

21. *And this.*] In classic Greek τοῦτο means "the *following* fact;" ἐκεῖνο, "the fact just mentioned." In later Greek the distinction is often neglected. It is therefore uncertain whether the writer means the τοῦτο to be defined by the following clause—"This, namely: the fact that men, &c.;" or whether

either calamity or tyranny, did ascribe unto stones and stocks the incommunicable [1] name.

[1] Or, *of God.*

22 Moreover this was not enough for them, that they erred in the knowledge of God; but whereas they lived in the great war of ignorance, those so great plagues called they peace.

23 For whilst they [k] slew their children in sacrifices, or used secret ceremonies, or made revellings of strange rites;

24 They kept neither lives nor marriages any longer undefiled: but either one slew another traitorously, or grieved him by adultery.

25 [i] So that there reigned in all

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he means τοῦτο to mean "this thing," *i.e.* the idolatry of which he has been speaking. In that case the following ὅτι means "because" or "for," as in the A. V.

was an occasion to deceive the world.] Lit., "became to the world (τῷ βίῳ, Vulg. *mundo;* lit. "to life," comp. x. 8) for an ambush." That heathenism in its popular forms exercised a deadly and polluting influence cannot be questioned, since it is an inevitable inference from the actual condition of heathen society as preserved and portrayed for us in literature and the remains of art. See Neander, 'Church History,' Introd. i. pp. 6–47; Gieseler, 'Church History,' Introd. i. §§ 9–14; and above all Döllinger, 'The Jew and the Gentile,' which serves as an overwhelmingly powerful demonstration that there is nothing exaggerated in the awful indictment brought by St. Paul (Rom. i. 21–32) against the heathendom of his own day. The Apostle paints the evils here alluded to with yet more terrible vividness. Even the heathen, from Plato downwards, deplored the corrupting influence of the popular mythologies. Many of the Fathers (Tertullian, Lactantius, Arnobius, &c.) dilate on this topic with crushing force.

serving either calamity or tyranny.] The participle δουλεύοντες is joined by syllepsis both to συμφορᾷ and τυραννίδι—"*being slaves* either of accident or of tyranny." The "accident" means an early bereavement, like that mentioned in *v.* 15; the "tyranny" alludes to *v.* 16.

the incommunicable name.] The name "Jehovah," which most Jews did not even know how to utter, either substituting for it the name "Elohim," or pronouncing it "Jehovah" with the vowel-points of *Adonai* or *Elohim.* Hence the true pronunciation of Jehovah (perhaps Yahveh) is to this day uncertain. It is the name called *Shem Hammephorash,* "the Ineffable Tetragrammaton." Even the Jews only heard it pronounced by the High Priest once in the year, in his final benediction on the day of Atonement. The sin of the heathen consisted in giving the name of the ONE God to many gods. "I am the Lord; that is my name; and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images" (Is. xlii. 8).

22. *war of ignorance.*] All the miserable struggles and conflicts, arising from ignorance of God, which are described in the next verses.

plagues.] Lit., "evils."

called they peace.] They said, "Peace, Peace, when there was no peace" (Jer. vi. 14). Compare the celebrated remark of Tacitus, 'Agric.' xxx., "*Solitudinem faciunt, pacem* appellant."

23. *slew their children in sacrifices.*] This applied to Baal-worship and Moloch-worship. See xii. 5. Τεκνοφόνος is like νηπιοκτόνος, a word found in this book alone.

secret ceremonies.] These, like the Bacchanalia and Thesmophoria, and the orgiastic cults of the priests of Cybele, Isis, &c., were often mysteries of wickedness, belonging to "the crypts of shame."

or made revellings of strange rites.] Rather, "frantic revels of alien institutions." Perhaps "*made*" in the A. V. is a misprint for "mad," as (I see) has also occurred to Arnald. Ἐξάλλων is best taken as one word. Ἐξάλλω occurs in the LXX. 2 Sam. vi. 14; Esth. iii. 8. The wild mantic character of many of the Asiatic and African cults formed their most powerful element of attraction. St. Paul (Rom. xiii. 13) and St. Peter (1 Pet. iv. 3) join κῶμοι (Lat. *comessationes*) with other abominations; and in 2 Macc. vi. 4, "riot and revelling" are accompanied with horrible acts of sacrilege.

24. *slew another traitorously.*] The best commentary on the whole verse is the account of the Bacchanalian mysteries introduced into Rome (Liv. xxxix. 8). The pretence of mystic rites was mixed up with the infamous designs of secret societies, in which not only "*stupra,*" but also "*venena intestinaeque caedes*" played a large part, while amid the roar of drums and timbrels detection was rendered difficult.

25, 26. The catalogue of crimes here alluded to is also found in Rom. i. 21–31; Gal. v. 19–21; 1 Tim. i. 9, &c. It needs no special

con- ily. men [1] without exception blood, manslaughter, theft, and dissimulation, corruption, unfaithfulness, tumults, perjury,

26 Disquieting of good men, forgetfulness of good turns, defiling of souls, changing of [1] kind, disorder in marriages, adultery, and shameless uncleanness.

27 [k] For the worshipping of idols [1] not to be named is the beginning, the cause, and the end, of all evil.

28 For either they are mad when they be merry, or prophesy lies, or live unjustly, or else lightly forswear themselves.

29 For insomuch as their trust is in idols, which have no life; though they swear falsely, yet they look not to be hurt.

30 Howbeit for both causes shall they be justly punished: both because they thought not well of God, [1] giving heed unto idols, and also unjustly swore in deceit, despising holiness.

31 For it is not the power of them by whom they swear: but it is the just vengeance of sinners, that punisheth always the offence of the ungodly.

[1] sex. · m. 1. 6. · eless. 1. 23. · [1] Or, devoted.

CHAPTER XV.

1 *We do acknowledge the true God.* 7 *The folly of idolmakers,* 14 *and of the enemies of God's people;* 15 *because, besides the idols of the Gentiles,* 18 *they worshipped vile beasts.*

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comment, because the facts are notorious to all readers of classical literature.

"Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa."

25. *in all men.*] This would not have been a true charge, and the best reading is not πάντας but πάντα (Vulg., *omnia*). Blood and murder, theft and treachery, &c., confusedly prevailed in all things.

blood, manslaughter.] Lit., "blood and murder." Either the latter word is taken generally to mean any kind of murder, or the two words are an hendiadys for "murderous bloodshed."

26. *Disquieting of good men.*] This is described in ii. 10–20.

disorder in marriages.] The prevalence of divorce was specially shameful in the Imperial epoch, so that women, says Seneca, reckoned their years by their discarded husbands.

27. *of idols not to be named.*] Marg., "nameless." Vulg., *infandorum*. Many of the Jews, taking Ex. xxiii. 13, Deut. xii. 3, literally, held it to be a crime *even to mention* the name of idols (Ps. xvi. 4), and therefore spoke of them by all sorts of insulting paronomasiae and other terms of derision (Beelzebub, &c.). This seems to be a better way of understanding the word than Grimm's "*unreal* gods." The phrases about idols which are "nothing in the world" (1 Cor. viii. 4), and "which by nature are no gods" (Gal. iv. 8) and "men of no name" (Job xxx. 8), are different.

28. *For either.*] The following clauses are an attempt to prove the somewhat too sweeping assertion of the last verse. He says that frantic revelry, falsity, injustice, and perjury spring directly from idolatry. It would be more true to say that they spring from the degeneracy of human nature, which was not only unchecked by idolatry, but moulded it into subservience with depraved instincts.

they are mad when they be merry.] Comp. Eccles. ii. 2; Job i. 5. The allusion is to the wild, dissolute abandonment of due self-control in the religious banquets or ordinary carousals of the heathen.

prophesy lies.] An allusion to the oracles.

"The oracles are dumb:
No voice or hideous hum
Runs through the arched roof *in words deceiving*."—MILTON.

"Oracula, *partim falsa*" (Cic. 'De Div.' ii. 56).

29. *For.*] He offers an explanation of his remark that idolatry fosters perjury. Idols inspired no fear. Martial alludes to the notion that Jews were careless of perjuring themselves if they only swore by an idol. The Jews regarded the punishment of perjury as being inevitable if they swore falsely by the name of God (Ezek. xvii. 18, 19).

to be hurt.] Lit., "to be injured;" but ἀδικέω in later Greek acquires the sense of βλάπτω (Lk. x. 19). The ancients regarded an unpunished perjury as a reflection against the justice of the gods. (See Aristoph. 'Nub.' 399, εἴπερ βάλλει τοὺς ἐπιόρκους πῶς οὐχὶ Σίμων' ἐνέπρησεν;)

30. *shall they be justly punished.*] Lit., "just things shall come upon them." Their idolatry leads them to expect impunity in perjury, but they shall be punished for the idolatry *as well as* for the false oaths. Instead of impunity they shall have *double* vengeance.

31. *the just vengeance.*] God's justice shall punish, not their dead idols, but *themselves*.

BUT thou, O God, art gracious and true, longsuffering, and in mercy ordering all things.

2 For if we sin, we are thine, knowing thy power: but we will not sin, knowing that we are counted thine.

3 For to know thee is perfect righteousness: yea, to know thy power is the root of immortality.

4 For neither did the mischievous invention of men deceive us, nor an image spotted with divers colours, the painter's fruitless labour;

CHAPTER XV.

God's goodness to the Hebrews because of their exemption from idolatry (1–5). The folly and wickedness of idolatry (6). Special denunciation of those who made gods of clay (7–13), and of the eclectic idolatry of the enemies of Israel who tolerated the worship of dead things (14–17). The consummate shamefulness of beast-worship (18, 19).

1. *But thou, O God.*] Rather, "But thou, *our* God." The A. V. omits the ἡμῶν on which depends the main emphasis of the verse. God's vengeance on heathen sinners (xiv. 30, 31) is contrasted with His love for Israel.

gracious.] The same adjective, χρηστὸς, "kind," is applied in the N. T. to God (Lk. vi. 35; Rom. ii. 4) and to Christ (χρηστότης, Eph. ii. 7). In Rom. xi. 22, the χρηστότης of God towards the righteous is contrasted with His severity (ἀποτομία, comp. v. 11) towards sinners. The same word is used of God's goodness by the LXX. in Ps. xxiv. 9, xxxiii. 8, &c. See Ex. xxxiv. 6.

true.] ἀληθής, a *very* God; real; not merely *verax*, but *veritas*. (Vulg., *verus*.)

ordering.] διοικῶν. See viii. 1, 14; xii. 18. The word is not common in the LXX. (Lam. iv. 4), and does not occur in the N. T.

2. *For if we sin.*] Rather, "For even if we sin." For the thought, see xii. 21, 22; Rom. iii. 3. The "faithfulness" of God to His people remains unshaken by the faithlessness of some of them. 1 John ii. 2: "And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and He is the propitiation for our sins."

we are thine.] σοί ἐσμεν. A similar dependence on God is expressed by ἐν σοι. Comp. Acts xvii. 28.

knowing thy power.] This is a somewhat Oriental way of expressing the reason for obedience to God. Taken alone, it might seem to imply that might is right, and that fear is the basis of obedience. It is clear, however, from the following verse that the writer did not mean his words to be understood in this sense, but that he saw in God's omnipotence a pledge of His absolute righteousness.

that we are counted thine.] Lit., "We have been reckoned to thee." We have been set down as Thy possessions.

3. *For to know thee is perfect righteousness.*] Comp. John xvii. 3, "This is life eternal, that they might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." It is, of course, assumed that this *knowledge* of God carries with it the desire for and effort after holiness. The writer at the very outset has stated (i. 1–11) that wisdom is incompatible with moral vileness. The word for "perfect" is ὁλόκληρος; Vulg., *consummata*. Comp. Jas. i. 4; 1 Thess. v. 23.

the root of immortality.] Death comes from sin (i. 12–16); a holy fear, by restraining us from sin, makes us capable of wisdom (i. 4, 5); and wisdom is immortality (i. 15; iii. 4; iv. 1; viii. 18). Neither ἀθάνατος nor ἀθανασία occur in the LXX., though the substantive is used by Aquila in Ps. xlviii. 15 (see Schleusner, *s. v.*). In the Apocrypha the words only occur in this book and in Ecclus. xvii. 24; xix. 17. In the N. T. ἀθάνατος does not occur, but St. Paul uses ἀθανασία in 1 Cor. xv. 53, 54; 1 Tim. vi. 16: and ἀφθαρσία expresses the same conception in 1 Cor. xv.; Eph. vi. 24; 2 Tim. i. 10, &c. For the metaphor, "*root of* immortality," see 1 Tim. vi. 10; Ecclus. i. 20, "The root of wisdom is to fear the Lord."

4. *mischievous.*] κακότεχνος. See i. 4.

deceive us.] Art did not lead us astray into idolatry. The assertion is contrary to the entire tenor of Old Test. history, but probably the writer is only thinking of the era after the return from the Exile, or of those faithful and ideal Israelites who never bowed the knee to Baal. During the Babylonish Captivity the Jews were cured of material idolatry, but they rapidly fell into the idolatry of formalism and letter-worship.

nor.] Rather, "nor even" (οὐδέ). The writer implies that there was a special and subtle charm in *coloured* idols.

an image.] Not εἰκὼν, but εἶδος (Lat. *species*), perhaps implying the beauty of the idol.

spotted.] Vulg., *sculpta*. The word σπιλωθὲν cannot properly bear either of these meanings. Idols were not "spotted," but "painted." The word refers to the *various* colours employed. The verbs μολύνω, μαίνω,

5 The sight whereof [1] enticeth fools to lust after it, and so they desire the form of a dead image, that hath no breath.

6 Both they that make them, they that desire them, and they that worship them, are lovers of evil things, and are worthy to have such things to trust upon.

7 For the [a] potter, tempering soft earth, fashioneth every vessel with much labour for our service: yea, of

[1] Gr. *it sendeth a reproach.*

[a] Rom. 9. 21.

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and here apparently σπιλόω, are used like the Latin *maculo* and our "*stain*," in the sense of "smear" or "paint." Comp. Jas. iii. 6. The expression is here contemptuous. The verb belongs to later Greek, and the Attic word for a "stain" is not σπῖλος, but κηλίς. (Comp. xiii. 14; Lobeck, 'Phrynichus,' p. 28.)

the painter's fruitless labour.] The painting of idols was an art more highly developed in Egypt than in any other country. Σκιαγράφος, here used generally, properly means "a perspective painter," "one who paints lights and shadows"—an art first practised by the painter Apollodorus. The painter's skill is "fruitless," because it is, in the writer's view, cursed and doomed to destruction. His feelings towards the most incomparable statue of Pagan worship would have been like those of Pope Adrian VI. He regarded them solely as *idola*. We find throughout the passage the Jewish hatred of heathen σεβάσματα (Acts xvii. 23) transferred to the arts of painting and sculpture, which were chiefly devoted to their production. It is in this matter that we see the most marked contrast between Hebraism and Hellenism. The antithesis is sharply seen in M. Renan's remarks on the preaching of St. Paul at Athens.

5. *whereof.*] *I.e.*, of these painted images.

enticeth fools to lust after it.] Marg., "turneth a reproach (reading ὄνειδος) to the foolish." Vulg., *insensato dat concupiscentiam.* Lit., "comes to longing to a fool," *i.e.* when an infatuated worshipper gazes on a beautiful statue, his admiration ends in (comes to, *cedit in*) a *desire* after it. The meaning is defined in the next clause, "and he yearns for the unbreathing beauty of a dead image." Ὄρεξις means "appetency" or "vehement desire" (xiv. 2; Ecclus. xix. 20). In the N.T. it occurs only (and exactly in this sense) in Rom. i. 27. The writer is alluding to the insensate passion of such ἄφρονες as Pygmalion, who fell in love with the statue of the Cyprian Venus, and the youth mentioned by Posidippus, who insanely loved the statue of the Cnidian Venus (Arnob. 'adv. Natt.' vi. 22). Lucian alludes to similar aberrations, and the like story is told of a French maiden who pined away for the Apollo Belvedere, as being

"Too fair to worship, too divine to love."

The elaboration of the writer's style here betrays itself by such (imperfect) iambic rhythms as

ὧν ὄψις ἄφροσι εἰς ὄρεξιν ἔρχεται,

and

ποθεῖ τε νεκρᾶς εἰκόνος,

and

κακῶν ἐρασταί.

We find a similar phenomenon in Heb. xii. 13, 14; Jas. i. 17.

6. *Both they that make them.*] The instance of guilty infatuation mentioned in the last verse prepares the way for this denunciation.

lovers of evil things.] The word ἐραστής is here used in its worst sense. The same reproach is more mildly indicated in the ἀφιλάγαθοι (Theophylact, ἐχθροὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ) of 2 Tim. iii. 3. The thought is also expressed by St. Paul in Rom. i. 32.

worthy to have such things to trust upon.] They are worthy of such vain and vile hopes as those inspired by a passion for dead statues.

7. *For the potter.*] Rather, "For, indeed, a potter" (καὶ γάρ, *etenim*). The "potter"—here contemptuously used to include a sculptor in clay—is chosen as a special illustration of the vanity and vileness of the makers and worshippers of idols. In xiii. 10–16 he has spoken of gods of gold, silver, and wood, and has held up the carpenter to contempt who fashions a gnarled and refuse clump of wood into a god. His denunciation of the "potter" and his clay goods in this and the following verses (7–13) is far more fierce, and there is something curious in the vehemence with which the makers of these particular images are overwhelmed with scorn and abhorrence. They are charged with peculiar futility (8), with dishonesty (9), with worthlessness (10), with godlessness (11), with folly and greed (12), and with conscious hypocrisy (13). This concentration of hatred against this class of idol-makers perhaps arises from their being a large community in Egypt; from the seductive beauty which could be given by their skill to dead images; and from the writer's strange assumption that the makers of painted clay idols must be more consciously insincere than the makers of wooden idols.

tempering soft earth.] The choice of words, "kneading friable clay," seems to be intended to excite contempt from the first.

with much labour.] Vulg., *laboriose*, re-

the same clay he maketh both the vessels that serve for clean uses, and likewise also all such as serve to the contrary: but what is the use of either sort, the potter himself is the judge.

8 And employing his labours lewdly, he maketh a vain god of the same clay, even he which a little before was made of earth himself, and within a little while after returneth to the same, out of the which he was taken, when his [b] life which was lent him shall be demanded.

[b] Luke 12. 20.

9 Notwithstanding his care is, not that he shall [1] have much labour, nor that his life is short: but striveth to excel goldsmiths and silversmiths, and endeavoureth to do like the workers in brass, and counteth it his glory to make counterfeit things.

[1] Or, *be sick*, or, *die*.

10 His heart is ashes, his hope is more vile than earth, and his life of less value than clay:

11 Forasmuch as he knew not his Maker, and him that inspired into him an active soul, and [c] breathed in a living spirit.

[c] Gen. 2. 7.

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garding ἐπίμοχθον as an adverb. Another way of taking it is "working troublesome earth into softness," regarding ἁπαλὴν as a proleptic adjective.

for clean uses.] Rom. ix. 21.

the potter.] Not, as before, κεραμεύς, but πηλουργός, "clay-worker."

8. *employing his labours lewdly.*] Rather, "with misdirected toil." The word κακόμοχθος, "ill-labouring," occurs here only.

was made of earth.] Gen. ii. 7.

returneth to the same.] Gen. iii. 19.

when his life which was lent him shall be demanded.] Lit., "on being demanded for the debt of his life." Life is a debt due to God: all men are, as it were, under short reprieve of a capital sentence passed upon our race.

"Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu."

The same verb (ἀπαιτηθεὶς) occurs in Luke xii. 20. "This night they require (ἀπαιτοῦσι) thy life of thee." "Repetitur anima, non interimitur" (Ambros. 'De bono mortis,' 10). Plutarch also calls life "a debt" (χρέος).

9. *his care is, not that he shall have much labour.*] Rather, "it is an anxiety to him, not that he is about to die." Κάμνειν means first "to be weary;" then "to fall sick," "to die." (Καμών, "dead," iv. 16.)

short.] βραχυτελής, "swiftly-ending," formed on the analogy of εὐτελής, occurs here only.

striveth to excel.] The potter emulates or matches his art against goldsmiths, &c., by gilding his clay idols, when he ought to be bearing in mind that he shall himself soon return to the clay of which he is made.

endeavoureth to do like.] "Imitates."

counterfeit things.] In the Egyptian tombs have been found many scarabaei and idols made of clay, but gilded, bronzed, and covered with a vitrified coating. Images of this kind excited the anger of the writer from their attempt to deceive the eye. They are not only idols, but base shams, and yet the artist of them glories in the things for which he ought to blush. The writer seems to assume that the idol-maker is, in every sense of the word, a cheat, who laughs in his sleeve at his own dupes. We can, however, hardly suppose that these imitations were sold as genuine. See Wilkinson, 'Anc. Egypt.' ii. 148.

10. *His heart is ashes.*] This fine expression is borrowed from the LXX. Is. xliv. 20, "He feedeth on (Heb. *followeth after*) ashes" (LXX. γνῶθι ὅτι σποδὸς ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν), because "there is a lie in his right hand." This quotation proves that the Book of Wisdom is later than the LXX. Compare—

> "No heart have you, or such
> As fancies, like to vermin in the nut,
> *Have fretted all to dust* and bitterness."
> TENNYSON, *The Princess.*

> "There's many a white hand holds an urn
> With lovers' hearts *to dust consumed.*"
> ANON.

his hope is more vile than earth.] Such a man "has no hope," since he is "without God in the world" (Eph. ii. 12). St. Paul says of the heathen generally that "they have no hope." "More vile;" lit., "cheaper."

of less value.] Lit., "more dishonoured;" but as τιμή sometimes means "price," so ἄτιμος may mean "valueless."

11. *Forasmuch as he knew not.*] It is assumed that the ignorance is wilful; that "they *would* not have God in their knowledge," Rom. i. 28.

inspired into him.] Gen. ii. 7, LXX.

a living spirit.] The term is a mere variation for "active soul." The writer only recognises a twofold, not a tripartite nature of man—namely, body and soul: see notes on

12 But they counted our life a pastime, and our [1] time here a market for gain: for, say they, we must be getting every way, though it be by evil means.

13 [1] For this man, that of earthly matter maketh brickle vessels and graven images, knoweth himself to offend above all others.

14 And all the enemies of thy people, that hold them in subjection, are most foolish, and are more miserable than very babes.

15 For they counted all the idols of the heathen to be gods: [d] which neither have the use of eyes to see, nor noses to draw [1] breath, nor ears to hear, nor fingers of hands to

[d] Ps. 115. 5, 6, 7. & 135. 16, 17 [1] Or, *air*.

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i. 4; viii. 19; ix. 15. Here, and in xvi. 14, "soul" and "spirit" are used to express the same thing; as they also are in *vv.* 8, 16 of this chapter. The adj. ζωτικὸν is rare, but is used by Plato and by Philo ('Quod det. pot.' Opp. i. 207). The fact that the spirit is imbreathed by God (Gen. ii. 7) does not militate against the pre-existence of souls, which the writer has already implied. (See note on viii. 20.)

12. *they counted our life a pastime.*] The writer thinks that it is to treat life as a mere jest when a man made of clay by God, and by Him inspired with the breath of life, makes his own gods out of dead clay, which cannot breathe. A fine old gem represents Prometheus making a man of clay, while Athena, who holds a butterfly over the skull, inspires it with life. Ζωὴ is the animal life—the "vita, *quâ* vivimus;" βίος is the character of our life—"vita, *quam* vivimus."

a pastime.] The serious Jew thought it disgraceful to treat life as a mere sport. What would he have said of the miserable epitaph selected by Gay for his tomb in Westminster Abbey?

> "Life is a jest, and all things shew it;
> I thought so once, and now I know it."

Παίγνιον. LXX. Hab. i. 10.

a market for gain.] Πανηγυρισμὸς means the celebration of a πανήγυρις, or public market. Lat., *mercatus*. Diogenes Laertius says that Pythagoras compared life to a Paneguris. Comp. Cic. 'Tusc. Disp.' v. 3.

> "What is man
> If the chief use and *market* of his time
> Be but to sleep and feed? A beast, no more!"
> SHAKSPEARE.

These idolaters, like the worldly men reproved by St. James (iv. 17), acted as though life were meant for no other purpose than to buy and sell and get gain.

every way.] ὅθεν δή. Vulg., *undecumque*. "From any source whatever."

though it be by evil means.] "Even should it be from crime."

> "Lucri bonus est odor ex re
> Qualibet."
> JUV. *Sat.* xiv. 204 (SUET. *Vesp.* 23).

> "Non quare et unde; quid habeas tantum rogant."—SENEC. *Ep.* 115.

> "Rem facias rem
> Si possis recte; si non quocunque modo rem."
> HOR. *Ep.* i. 65.

The "potter," apart from his greed and cheating, is supposed to be well aware that his gods are shams, really as well as commercially. He does not himself believe in them (xiv. 29), but knows them to be vanities (Acts xiv. 15).

13. *For.*] The verse gives the reason for charging the potter with avaricious hypocrisy.

brickle.] εὔθραυστα, a late Greek word. "Brickle" is the older form of "brittle."

> "The altar on the which this image staid,
> Was, oh great pity! built of brickle clay."
> SPENSER, *Ruins of Time.*

graven images.] Vulg., *sculptilia*. "Idols" in general. See note on xiv. 15.

14. *And all.*] Rather, "but all." The hypocritical and dishonest potter is the worst, but all the idolatrous enemies of God's people are utterly foolish.

that hold them in subjection.] The special reference may be to the Egyptians or Romans. The writer is never particularly careful about the verisimilitude of his pseudonymic style. No enemies lorded it over Israel in Solomon's day.

15. *all.*] Rather, "even all." Not content with their own national idols, they were eclectic, and tolerated the cult of all other idols. The remark especially applies to the Romans of the imperial epoch, who made room for all kinds of foreign idolatries—even for *semi-deos canes*, like Anubis—in Rome (Lucan, 'Pharsal.' viii. 83). The allusion cannot, however, be regarded as decisive, for Alexander the Great was no less tolerant, and, according to Arrian ('Exped. Alex.' iii. 1), built temples to the gods of Egypt. Paganism has often been praised, and favourably contrasted with Christianity, because of its tolerance; but this tolerance rose only from politic limitations, and the lack of depth and intensity among Polytheists. Wherever a new religion clashed with popular custom or

handle; and as for their feet, they are slow to go.

16 For man made them, and he that borrowed his own spirit fashioned them: but no man can make a god like unto himself.

17 For being mortal, he worketh [e] a dead thing with wicked hands: for he himself is better than the things which he worshippeth: whereas he lived *once*, but they never.

[e] ch. 13. 10, 18.

18 Yea, they worshipped those beasts also that are most hateful: for being compared together, some are worse than others.

19 Neither are they beautiful, so much as to be desired in respect of beasts: but they went without the praise of God and his blessing.

CHAPTER XVI.

2 God gave strange meat to his people, to stir up their appetite, and vile beasts to their enemies, to take it from them. 5 He stung with his serpents, 12 but soon healed them by his word only. 17 The creatures altered their nature to pleasure God's people, and to offend their enemies.

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civil order, Pagans became the most ruthless persecutors.

the use of eyes, &c.] Ps. cxv. 4-7; cxxxv. 15-17.

16. *he that borrowed his own spirit.*] He whose own life is, as has been already said, *in debt* (*v.* 8). Eccles. viii. 8, "There is no man that hath power over the Spirit to retain the Spirit."

but no man.] Rather, "for no man." A second reason is here given for the worthlessness of idols. 1. Man seeing that his own life is "borrowed," cannot give them life. 2. He cannot even make them like himself, seeing that he is alive and they are dead: much less can he make them like God. The living workman is incomparably superior to his own dead work: how much superior must God be who gave the workman life! It will be seen that the writer does not even deign to notice the plea for idolatry founded on the purely symbolic character of the idols. See Philo, 'De Decal.' 14.

18. *they worshipped.*] Rather, "they worship." In these two verses he again touches on animal-worship, which serves as a transition to the concluding section of the book.

that are most hateful.] Such as serpents, crocodiles, reptiles, which the Egyptians worshipped (xii. 24), as well as the lion, the kite, the ibis (Philo, 'De Vit. contempl.' i.; Opp. ii. 472).

some are worse than others.] The A. V. here adopts the reading ἔνια, "some," which has no MS. authority, but is a conjecture of Junius. The reading ἄνοια gives no sense. By reading ἀνοίᾳ we might render it, "For *in senselessness*, being compared together, they (these beasts) are worse than others." Grimm, arguing that the serpent cannot be called "senseless" (Gen. iii. 1), suggests the reading ἀνίᾳ, "in malignity," unless ἀνοίᾳ be taken in something of the same sense, "in fury" (comp. Luke vi. 11).

19. *so much as to be desired in respect of beasts.*] This rendering is somewhat obscure. The meaning is, "Nor do these (most hateful creatures) chance to be beautiful, so that, in comparison even with other animals, men should yearn towards them." Their hideousness extinguishes the excuse that there is in them any special charm which might have led to idolatry. For the meaning of ἐν ὄψει, comp. vii. 9, ἐν ὄψει αὐτῆς, "in respect of her." The meaning of ὡς ἐν ζώων ὄψει might, however, be "as far as the appearance of animals is concerned."

they went without the praise of God and his blessing.] An allusion to God's pronouncing all things very good (Gen. i. 21, 22, 25), a blessing from which the writer supposes the serpent and reptiles in general to be exempted (Gen. iii. 14), though in reality the serpent was only cursed *after* the Fall.

XVI.–XIX. — CONTRAST BETWEEN THE FORTUNES OF THE ISRAELITES AND EGYPTIANS IN THE DAYS OF THE EXODUS.

The animal-worshippers were punished by means of animals, which paralysed even the sense of hunger, while quails were granted to the Israelites (1–4). The Israelites were indeed bitten by serpents, but only for a short time, and were speedily saved,—partly as a warning to themselves, and partly to convince the Egyptians, who perished by the bites of contemptible insects (5–14). The Egyptians were punished by fire, which prevailed over water to destroy their food, and yet did not burn up the creatures which plagued them (15–20); whereas for the Israelites the ice-like manna resisted flame, and, when melted by the morning sunbeam, only served to remind them of the care of Providence and the duty of prayer (21–29).

In these chapters the writer reverts to thoughts on which he has touched in xi. 5–16, but from which he diverged to speak of the punishment of the Canaanites (xii.), and of the guilt and folly of idolatry (xiii., xiv.,

[a] ch. 12. 23.
[b] Numb. 21. 6. ch. 11. 15, 16.

THEREFORE [a] by the like were they punished worthily, and by the multitude of beasts [b] tormented.

2 Instead of which punishment, dealing graciously with thine own people, thou preparedst for them meat of a strange taste, even [c] quails to stir up their appetite:

[c] Numb. 11. 31.

3 To the end that they, desiring food, might for the ugly sight of the beasts sent among them loathe even that, which they must needs desire; but these, suffering penury for a short

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xv.). In the three elaborate chapters which follow, he mainly aims at the illustration of two religious lessons which he deduces from Scripture-history: viz. 1. That the Israelites were blessed by the same things wherewith their enemies were punished (xi. 5; xviii. 8); and 2. That "wherewithal a man sinneth, by the same also shall he be punished" (xi. 16). Both principles, as treated by the writer, have only a partial and one-sided truth. The first is supported, not by Scripture, but only by distorted and exaggerated inferences from special passages of Scripture, which must be counterbalanced by other passages of a different tone; the second, though only cursorily noticed in Scripture, rests indeed on a basis of experience, but is illustrated by the most fantastic analogies. In the method of treatment we at once feel that we are in the region of fancy, of Jewish particularism, and of Rabbinic Hagadoth. In these chapters, in spite of a certain kind of eloquence, the writer is, on the whole, at his worst. He has flashes of lofty thought, and a copious outpouring of eloquent verbiage; but, here more than ever, we realise the depth of the chasm which separates the canonical books of Scripture from even the best of the Apocryphal writings.

CHAPTER XVI.

1-14. The worshippers of beasts and the children of God; their contrasted fortunes—as regards hunger and thirst.

1. *Therefore.*] Because of this worship of hateful animals (xv. 18, 19).

by the like.] See notes on xi. 5, 15, 16.

worthily.] As they deserved.

by the multitude.] Rather, "by *a* multitude."

of beasts.] *κνωδάλων* (not, as before, *θηρίων*). *Κνώδαλον* was properly used of a "sea monster." See xi. 16.

2. *dealing graciously with thine own people.*] This is a direct contradiction of Scripture, which always represents the giving of the quails as a *punishment* sent in anger (Ex. xvi. 1–13; Num. xi. 10–35), and issuing in the great plague of Kibroth Hattaavah (Deut. ix. 22; Ps. lxxviii. 27–31).

meat of a strange taste.] xix. 12. The writer is either giving the reins to his fancy, or following some Jewish legend.

even quails.] The word used for "quails" is *ὀρτυγομήτρα*, as in the LXX. (Heb. שְׂלָו; Ex. xvi. 13; Num. xi. 31, &c.) The Latins used the name King-quail (*Roi des Cailles*, *Re di Quagbe*, *Wacbtel-König*) for the larger and darker species, which is supposed to be indicated (Plin. 'H. N.' x. 23; Arist. 'Hist. Animal.' viii. 12. See Rosenmüller, 'Schol.' on Ex. *l. c.*, and Bochart, 'Hierozoicon,' P. II., lib. i. c. 14). Properly speaking, the *ortygometra* seems to mean the land-rail (*Crex Rallus*), which precedes the quail in its migrations. Hesychius says, *Ὀρτυγομήτρα, ὄρτυξ ὑπερμεγέθης.*

to stir up their appetite.] This would have been a motive most unworthy to be ascribed to God, and as alien from anything in Scripture as the Rabbinic notion of the Messianic Age in which Jews are to be fed with the flesh of Leviathan and the bird Bar Juchne. The translation, however, is not quite correct. The words mean "to content (*εἰς*) the eagerness of their appetency," *i.e.* to furnish them with delicacies, while the Egyptians were forced to loathe their food even amid the cravings of hunger (*v.* 3).

3. *they.*] The Egyptians. God gives quails to the Israelites to meet the desire (*ἐπιθυμία*) of their daintiness; but when the Egyptians desire (*ἐπιθυμοῦντες*) even ordinary food, their necessary craving is robbed of gratification by their disgust at the loathsome creatures which were sent to punish them.

the ugly sight.] *εἰδέχθειαν*. The substantive is peculiar to this author, though *εἰδεχθής*, "hideous," is found in Polybius, and later Greek writers.

of the beasts sent among them.] Lit., "of things sent against them."

loathe even that which they must needs desire.] Lit., "turn away from even the necessary craving;" *i.e.* forego the satisfaction of their hunger out of sheer disgust. An exaggerated allusion to the fact that the plague of frogs invaded even the ovens and kneading-troughs of the Egyptians (Ex. viii. 3).

suffering penury.] Rather, "lacking" (food).

space, might be made partakers of a strange taste.

4 For it was requisite, that upon them exercising tyranny should come penury, which they could not avoid: but to these it should only be shewed how their enemies were tormented.

5 For when the horrible fierceness of beasts came upon [1] these, and they perished with the [d] stings of crooked serpents, thy wrath endured not for ever:

6 But they were troubled for a small season, that they might be admonished, having [e] a sign of salvation, to put them in remembrance of the commandment of thy law.

7 For he that turned himself toward it was not saved by the thing that he saw, but by thee, that art the Saviour of all.

8 And in this thou madest thine enemies confess, that it is thou who deliverest from all evil:

9 For [f] them the bitings of grasshoppers and flies killed, neither was

[1] Or, *thy people*.
[d] Numb. 21. 6. 1 Cor. 10. 9.
[e] Numb. 21. 9.
[f] Exod. 8. 24 & 10. 4. Rev. 9. 3 &c.

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of a strange taste.] As far as the writer's language is concerned, he seems to imply that the hunger of the Israelites in the desert was mainly intended to enhance their enjoyment of the quails. Even if we make allowance for incautious expressions, behind which probably lay a worthier meaning, all that he says about the quails is very different from what is said in the Pentateuch.

4. *penury which they could not avoid.*] "Inexorable want."

but to these.] The Israelites.

it should only be shewed how their enemies were tormented.] Their hunger in the desert, so soon removed and so exquisitely gratified, only served (the writer says) to shew them how severe were the torments of their enemies. Ἐβασανίζοντο; lit., "were being tormented." This might imply that the two events were contemporaneous, but the writer rather seems to mean that the Plagues of Egypt had not been entirely removed, and were still tormenting the Egyptians after the Exodus. Nothing but the pride and ruthlessness which so often mark the allusions of Jews to their enemies, can explain the unworthy conception that God meant to teach the Israelites to congratulate themselves by gloating over the agony of their former oppressors. The author is here at his worst and lowest point of crude particularism. "Ici," says Reuss, "la chose est positivement travestie."

5–14. The different objects with which God sent the fiery serpents against the Israelites, and the insect-plagues upon the Egyptians.

5. *of beasts.*] The fiery serpents. Num. xxi. 6.

upon these.] The Israelites.

they perished.] "They were being destroyed."

crooked serpents.] A phrase borrowed from the LXX. Is. xxvii. 1.

for ever.] Lit., "to the end." This accounts for the previous imperfect, διεφθείροντο. Comp. xviii. 21, "but the wrath endured not long" (ἐπὶ πολύ); and xix. 1, where it is said that wrath did come on the ungodly unto the end (μεχρὶ τέλους). In 1 Thess. ii. 16, St. Paul says that the wrath had come (ἔφθασεν) on the Jews to the uttermost (εἰς τέλος).

6. *that they might be admonished.*] xi. 10. It is assumed throughout that the *Egyptians* were too far gone for admonition, and needed unmitigated punishment.

a sign of salvation.] The brazen serpent, Num. xxi. 8.

to put them in remembrance.] That this was the object of the brazen serpent is not stated by Moses; but the author means the εἰς ἀνάμνησιν to apply to the whole event, and not only to the means by which the Israelites were saved (see *v.* 11). Philo, as usual, allegorises, and treats the brazen serpent as an image of sober-mindedness (σωφροσύνη) and endurance (καρτερία). 'De agric.' § 22; 'Legg. Allegg.' ii. 20.

7. *was not saved by the thing that he saw.*] The writer wished to obviate the error of supposing that the brazen serpent had any *magical* influence, or that it had any of the intrinsic power which had led the Jews to offer incense to it in the days of Hezekiah. To Pseudo-Solomon as to Hezekiah, it was in itself merely Nehushtan, "a piece of brass."

the Saviour of all.] Without the most absolute self-contradiction, the writer cannot mean to express any final triumph of Universal Mercy. The phrase must mean "the source of all salvation."

8. *madest . . . confess.*] Lit., "didst persuade." Here, as in xi. 13, he assumes that the Egyptians were aware of all that happened to the Israelites. Scripture makes no allusion to the subject, unless we can stretch Num. xiv. 13 to imply something of the kind.

9. *For them.*] The Egyptians.

the bitings of grasshoppers and flies killed.

there found any remedy for their life: for they were worthy to be punished by such.

10 But thy sons not the very teeth of venomous dragons overcame: for thy mercy was *ever* by them, and healed them.

11 For they were pricked, that they should remember thy words; and were quickly saved, that not falling into deep forgetfulness, they might be continually mindful of thy goodness.

12 For it was neither herb, nor mollifying plaister, that restored them to health: but thy word, O Lord, which healeth all things.

13 For thou hast power of life and death: thou [g] leadest to the gates of hell, and bringest up again.

[g] Deut. 32. 39. 1 Sam. 2. 6. Ps. 105. Tobit 13. 2.

14 A man indeed killeth through his malice: and the spirit, when it is gone forth, returneth not; neither the soul received up cometh again.

15 But it is not possible to escape thine hand.

16 [h] For the ungodly, [i] that denied to know thee, were scourged by the strength of thine arm: with strange rains, hails, and showers, were they persecuted, that they could not avoid, and through fire were they consumed.

[h] Exod. 9. 23. [i] Exod. 5. 2.

17 For, which is most to be won-

This is an exaggerated inference from "this death" in Ex. x. 17. Comp. Jos. 'Antt.' II. xiv. § 3; Philo, 'Vit. Mos.' i. 19.

they were worthy.] They deserved to be so punished. It may be so; but this language of exultation over the torments of enemies does not waken our sympathy.

by such.] The word "such things" is often contemptuous. Comp. John viii. 5, "Moses commanded in the law that *such*" (τὰς τοιαύτας, "such as she") "should be stoned." "*Such*" (lit. "these things," ταῦτα) "were some of you," 1 Cor. vi. 11.

> "And never shall in friendship's grasp
> The hand of *such* as Marmion clasp."
> SCOTT.

10. *was ever by them.*] Rather, "came forth to meet them" (ἀντιπαρῆλθε).

11. *they were pricked.*] By the poison-fangs of the fiery serpents. The verb ἐγκεντρίζειν properly means "to engraft" (Rom. xi. 17, &c.), and is here used incorrectly for ἐγκεντροῦν.

thy words.] Rather, "thy oracles" (λογίων). The diminutive perhaps came, as Grimm suggests, from the brevity of the ancient oracles. The term is applied to Scripture in Acts vii. 38.

quickly.] ὀξέως has this meaning at iii. 18; or we might suppose that it here meant "sharply," "by a sharp remedy."

forgetfulness.] Namely, of God's law.

continually mindful of.] Lit., "undistracted from," *i.e.* indissolubly attached to. Compare the use of ἀπερισπάστως, 1 Cor. vii. 35; περιεσπᾶτο, Lk. x. 40.

12. *thy word.*] To give Logos the Philonian and semi-personal sense here is a perversion against which warning has to be given almost as often as the word Logos occurs. Compare *vv.* 7, 10, 26.

13. *For thou hast power.*] This is the reason why nothing but God's word could have healed them.

thou leadest to the gates of hell.] That is, to the verge of death (Ps. xlix. 16). Comp. 3 Macc. v. 51.

bringest up again.] God can both slay and restore to life; whereas, as the next verse says, man can only kill.

14. *the spirit.*] The meaning is much the same whether the writer here means "the breath" or "the living principle." But that the latter is here meant is shewn by the contrast with ψυχὴ as in xv. 11.

neither the soul received up cometh again.] The true reading is ψυχὴν παραληφθεῖσαν, "nor does he deliver the soul received (into the unseen world)."

15–29. The different ways in which the element of fire was employed by God in the case of the Egyptians and of the Israelites.

15. *But . . . thine hand.*] The substance of this and the previous verse is repeated in Tobit xiii. i. 2: "Blessed be God . . . for he leads down to Hades . . . and he brings up from the great destruction, and there is nothing which shall escape his hand."

16. *that denied to know thee.*] The Egyptians (xii. 27).

with strange rains, hails, and showers.] "Strange" (as in *v.* 3) because they were abnormal in character and violence. Ὑετὸς is more continuous rain than ὄμβρος. In these verses (16–19) the Mosaic narrative of Ex. ix. 22–25 is almost grotesquely distorted and exaggerated.

that they could not avoid.] Lit., "inexorable," *i.e.* inevitable, as in *v.* 4.

dered at, [k] the fire had more force in the water, that quencheth all things: for the world [l] fighteth for the righteous.

18 For some time the flame was mitigated, that it might not burn up the beasts that were sent against the ungodly; but themselves might see and perceive that they were persecuted with the judgment of God.

19 And at another time it burneth even in the midst of water above the power of fire, that it might destroy the fruits of an unjust land.

20 [m] Instead whereof thou feddest thine own people with angels' food, and didst send them from heaven bread prepared without their labour, able to content every man's delight, and agreeing to every taste.

[k] ch. 19. 20.
[l] Judg. 5. 20. See ver. 24.
[m] Exod. 16. 14. Numb. 11. 7. Ps. 78. 25. John 6. 31.

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17. *For which is most to be wondered at.*] These three verses are an expansion of "fire mingled with the hail" in Ex. ix. 24, which is rendered in the LXX. ἦν . . . τὸ πῦρ φλογίζον ἐν τῇ χαλάζῃ. The phenomenon intended to be described by the Hebrew expression (which literally means "there was fire taking-hold-of-itself—conglomerated—in the midst of the hail") is the electric phenomenon known as St. Elmo's fire—balls of fire which, as sometimes happens in violent storms, fell amid the hailstorm. Such, at least, is the explanation of אֵשׁ מִתְלַקַּחַת given by Gesenius and De Wette. In itself the phenomenon is natural, not miraculous; *i.e.* it must be reckoned among normal and recurrent phenomena, since the mixture of hail and lightning is one of the commonest results of electrical disturbance. God made use of the ordinary laws of nature in a special manner. Moses gives no sanction for the comments of the writer, which are more than mere poetic expressions, like those of Aeschylus (Ag. 631):

> συνώμοσαν γὰρ ὄντες ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρὶν
> πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα καὶ τὰ πίστ' ἐδειξάτην.

Or Milton's:

> "The clouds
> From many a horrid rift abortive poured
> Fierce rain with lightning mixed, water with fire
> In ruin reconciled."—*Par. Reg.* iv. 410.

the world fighteth for the righteous.] See *v.* 24 and v. 17.

18. *that it might not burn up the beasts.*] The writer speaks as though the plagues of locusts, flies, lice, and storm were all contemporaneous. There is no scriptural warrant for his remarks. In Ex. viii. 13, 31, we are expressly told that the frogs and flies had died before the hail came. Yet the meaning of the writer is clear, for in xix. 21 he grotesquely asserts that the frogs, flies, &c., lived and walked uninjured in the flames. He cannot therefore be here referring to the frogs being found in the Egyptian ovens (Ex. viii. 3).

might see and perceive.] βλέποντες ἴδωσιν. When used together, βλέπω refers to physical sight, and ὁρῶ to mental insight.

they were persecuted.] Lit., "they are being driven" (ἐλαύνονται). The word is often used of divine judgments.

19. *in the midst of water.*] The writer heaps miracles on miracles: the rain did not quench the fire, the fire did not burn the insect-swarms. "*Miracula non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem.*"

above the power of fire.] It is supposed to be supernatural fire, as in xix. 20. Philo has the same notion in 'Vit. Mos.' i. 20. Both writers are following the Jewish Hagadists; but what Pseudo-Solomon here says does not well accord with the wiser remarks which he has made in xi. 17–26.

the fruits.] γεννήματα, all the products of the soil. Comp. *v.* 22 and Ps. cv. 35.

20. *Instead whereof.*] Instead of this destruction of food by hail and fire.

thou feddest.] ἐψώμισας. The verb here governs two accusatives. It properly means "I dole" (1 Cor. xiii. 3), but is used by the LXX. in Num. xi. 4, 18; Deut. viii. 3, &c., to describe the supply of manna. It is applicable to the gift of manna, which was small, like grains of coriander seed (Num. xi. 16); "a small round thing, as small as the hoar-frost on the ground" (Ex. xvi. 14).

angels' food.] Comp. LXX. Ps. lxxviii. 25. In the Hebrew the phrase thus rendered is לֶחֶם אַבִּירִים, "bread of the mighty," *i.e.* of "angels, that excel in strength" (Ps. ciii. 20). Being "bread from heaven" (Ps. cv. 40; Ex. xvi. 4), it is called "ambrosial food" in xix. 21, and "spiritual food" in 1 Cor. x. 3.

prepared without their labour.] It is better to join the adverb ἀκοπιάτως with the verb, "Thou sentest them unweariedly." The manna does not seem to have been eaten as it was found, but was baked and made into cakes (Num. xi. 8).

able to content every man's delight.] Vulg., *omne delectamentum in se habentem* (perhaps reading ἴσχοντα). If ἰσχύοντα πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν means "mastering every pleasure," the

idg. 6. 21 For thy *[1] sustenance declared thy sweetness unto thy children, and serving to the appetite of the eater, [1] tempered itself to every man's liking.

ina.

, was pered.

19. 22 [o] But snow and ice endured the fire, and melted not, that they might know that fire burning in the hail, and sparkling in the rain, did destroy the fruits of the enemies.

23 But this again did even forget his own strength, that the righteous might be nourished.

24 For [p] the creature that serveth thee, who art the Maker, increaseth his strength against the unrighteous

p ch. 19. 6

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construction is very unusual; for when ἰσχύω is used in this active sense, it is generally followed by πρός, ἐπί, or ὑπέρ (LXX. Ps. xii. 5; 1 Macc. x. 49, &c.). But it is harsh to make πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν an "accusative of the nearer meaning," and to render the words "strong as regards every pleasure."

agreeing to every taste.] The Mosaic narrative says that the manna tasted like honey-cakes (Ex. xvi. 31), or like fresh oil (Num. xi. 8). Here and in the next verse the writer follows the Jewish legends, which said that the manna tasted to each eater like grapes, or figs, or whatever else he desired. The later Jewish Rabbis said similarly that the flesh of leviathan in the days of the Messiah would suit every palate.

21. *For thy sustenance.*] The manna is here called "God's *hypostasis*;" for the conjectures ὑπόσταξις, "gently-dropping dew" (Naunius), or ἀπόσταξις, "dropping from heaven" (Grabe),—though they might be supposed to refer to Ex. xvi. 4, Num. xi. 9, where the manna is said to have fallen with the dew,—are untenable. What then is the meaning of the ambiguous word ὑπόστασις in this passage? Luther and others make it mean "confidence;" but though the word has the meaning of "confidence" in 2 Cor. ix. 4, xi. 17, Heb. xi. 1, yet ὑπόστασίς σου could hardly mean "trust in thee." Grimm makes it mean "thy substance," not as equivalent to "thou" or to "God," but to the power of God working in the manna. It is more simple and natural to follow the A.V. in giving to the word its ordinary sense of substance, and explaining it to mean "the thing sent by thee."

thy sweetness.] The metaphor is the same as in 1 Pet. ii. 3, "if ye *tasted* that the Lord is gracious;" Ps. xxxiv. 8, "O *taste* and see that the Lord is good."

serving.] The participle is masculine, because it refers back to ἄρτος, not to ὑπόστασις.

of the eater.] τοῦ προσφερομένου. In later Greek, προσφέρεσθαι, like the vulgar term "to set to," means "to take food" (Judith xii. 9). The Vulg. renders it *uniuscujusque*, which would rather be the classic τοῦ τυχόντος.

22. *But snow and ice endured the fire.*] The expression is fantastic. By "snow and ice" are meant nothing but the manna, which Moses only *compares to* the hoar-frost (LXX., πάγος; Ex. xvi. 14), from its size and colour. In Num. xi. 7 we are told that "the colour thereof was as the colour of bdellium," which the LXX. render by εἶδος κρυστάλλου. On this very slender and insecure foundation the writer assumes in this verse, not that the manna *glittered* like snow, but that it was a kind of ice or snow. This perversion enables him to contrast the ice and snow which was delicious food to the Israelites with the hail which plagued the Egyptians. It also gives him an excuse for introducing several more miraculous elements into the narrative of the Pentateuch. Except in a certain mastery of sonorous and effective language, the writer does not appear at his best in this passage.

melted not.] With the exception noted at *v.* 27. The "fire" here alluded to is not, however, the sunlight, but the fire which the Israelites used for cooking. Out of the fact that the manna looked like hoar-frost, and was baked by the Israelites into cakes (Ex. xvi. 23; Num. xi. 8), the writer gets the miracle that ice did not melt in the fire, and that this was intended to teach the people that the fire which was miraculously ruinous to the Egyptians was miraculously beneficent to themselves.

"Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi."

burning in the hail.] See *v.* 17. "Cette antithèse résume toute la tirade, et renchérit encore sur ses paradoxes" (Reuss).

23. *But this again.*] The A. V. refers τοῦτο to πῦρ. It is, however, better to put only a comma at the end of the last verse, and render "and (that they might know) this further fact, that the fire had even forgotten its proper power in order that the just might be nourished." The γνῶσιν is followed first by ὅτι (*v.* 22), and then by the acc. and infinitive.

24. *For the creature.*] That is, "the created thing," as in v. 17.

the Maker.] ὁ ποιήσας is not "the Creator"

for their punishment, and abateth his strength for the benefit of such as put their trust in thee.

25 Therefore even then was it altered into all [1] fashions, and was obedient to thy grace, that nourisheth all things, according to the desire [1] of them that had need:

[1] Or, *things.*

[1] Or, *of them that prayed.*

26 That thy children, O Lord, whom thou lovest, might know, that [q] it is not the growing of fruits that nourisheth man: but that it is thy word, which preserveth them that put their trust in thee.

[q] Deut. 8. 3. Matt. 4. 4.

27 For that which was not destroyed of the fire, [r] being warmed with a little sunbeam, soon melted away:

[r] Exod. 16. 21.

28 That it might be known, that [s] we must prevent the sun to give thee thanks, and at the dayspring pray unto thee.

[s] Ps. 88. 13.

29 For the hope of the unthankful shall melt away as the winter's hoar frost, and shall run away as unprofitable water.

CHAPTER XVII.

1 *Why the Egyptians were punished with darkness.* 4 *The terrors of that darkness.* 11 *The terrors of an ill conscience.*

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absolutely. The clause means "the created thing, serving Thee, who didst create it."

25. *Therefore.*] In accordance with the law just mentioned, viz. that created things increase and relax their force as they are needed to perform God's behests.

even then.] Then, as at other times.

was it altered.] μεταλλευομένη. There is the same apparent mistake as to the proper meaning of the word (which is "being dug"), as we have already observed at iv. 12. The writer seems to have confused μεταλλεύω, "I mine," with μεταλλάσσω, "I change."

26. *not.*] "Not so much." It is a Hebrew idiom to negative altogether the inferior alternative, so that often in Scripture οὐκ . . . ἀλλὰ mean *non tam . . . quam.*

the growing of fruits.] Rather, "the kinds of fruits," i. 14.

thy word.] Deut. viii. 3: "He . . . fed thee with manna, that thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that He might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live." Comp. Matt. iv. 4. In the N. T. the truth is deepened and spiritualised. The manna provided for the Israelites was a proof that God can support man by other than ordinary methods, by the utterance of His word; but for the children of the New Dispensation it symbolises the truth that the physical life is but a passing shadow in comparison with that eternal life, that life of the soul, which only comes from Him who is the Word of God.

27. *For.*] This is the proof that it is not the nature of things which supports man, but God's work which modifies their nature to His purpose.

that which was not destroyed of the fire.] The manna, *v.* 22. The force of the fire was weakened; the force of the sunbeam increased, as is indicated in *v.* 24.

melted away.] Ex. xvi. 21.

28. *must prevent the sun.*] "Prevent" is used in its old sense of "anticipate" (*prévenir*), as in Ps. cxix. 147; 1 Thess. iv. 15.

to give thee thanks.] A beautiful precept, founded on somewhat precarious exegesis. Had this been the intention of the facts mentioned by Moses, he would have hardly failed to point the lesson.

at the dayspring.] This is almost certainly the right rendering of πρὸς ἀνατολὴν φωτός. The words might of course mean "*towards the* dawn;" but to give them this meaning here would be entirely to dissever them from the context, which has no special reference. The vanishing of the manna at daybreak could not conceivably point the lesson that people ought *to face the sun* when they make their morning prayer. Hence it is a most unwarrantable inference of Eichhorn, Gfrörer, Zeller, &c., that this verse shews the writer to have been one of the Therapeutae, who adopted the Persian practice of praying towards the rising sun. (Philo, 'Vit. contempl.' Opp. ii. 475; Jos. 'B. J.' ii. 8, § 5.) All Jews regarded it as a duty to begin the day with prayer, and especially with the repeating of the *Shemâ:* "Hear, O Israel! the Lord our God is one God" (Ps. v. 3, lvii. 8; 'Berakhoth,' i. 2).

29. *the hope of the unthankful.*] Chap. v. 14, 15.

CHAPTER XVII.

The writer has contrasted the destinies of the Egyptians and Israelites, (i.) as regards hunger and thirst (xvi. 1–14); (ii.) as regards the element of fire. (iii.) He now draws out a third contrast—as regards light and darkness. (See Buddeus's 'Institt. theol. dogm.' v. 145.)

FOR great are thy judgments, and cannot be expressed: therefore [1]unnurtured souls have erred.

2 For when unrighteous men thought to oppress the holy nation; [a]they being shut up [1]in their houses, the prisoners of darkness, and fettered with the bonds of a long night, lay [there] [1]exiled from the eternal providence.

3 For while they supposed to lie hid in their secret sins, they were scattered [1]under a dark vail of forgetfulness, being horribly astonished, and troubled with [strange] [1]apparitions.

4 For neither might the corner that held them keep them from fear: but noises [as of waters] falling down sounded about them, and sad visions

1 Or, *souls without re...d.* 1 Or, *in...d.* 1 Or, *fugi...*

1 Or, *in* 1 Or, *sights.*

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1. *great are thy judgments.*] The punishments inflicted by divine retribution (Ps. cxix. 75) are terrible.

cannot be expressed.] δυσδιήγητοι. The word, which does not occur elsewhere, means, not that they are "too great for utterance," but that they are mysterious, insoluble, difficult to explain. God's "thoughts are very deep" (Ps. xcii. 5); His "judgments unsearchable and past finding out" (Rom. xi. 33).

therefore.] From inability to unravel the secrets of the Divine Providence.

unnurtured souls.] Souls *that have not been trained* to recognise religious truths. Vulg., *indisciplinatae.*

have erred.] Rather, "erred." There is a specific allusion to the error of the Egyptians in persecuting the chosen people.

2. *unrighteous men.*] ἄνομοι. The Egyptians, who were "without the Law," and who acted in opposition to a law which they might have recognised.

the holy nation.] Rather, "*a* holy nation."

the prisoners of darkness.] Compare the almost Aeschylean expression of St. Peter (2 Pet. ii. 14), σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας.

of a long night.] The plague of darkness lasted for three days.

lay.] An expression of helplessness, with an allusion to Ex. x. 23, "neither rose any from his place." Philo, no less than the writer, expands the narrative of Moses, and says that, "flung down in their beds, the Egyptians did not dare to rise, or, if forced to rise, could only grope their way along the walls like blind men" ('Vit. Mos.' i. 21).

exiled from the eternal providence.] Outlaws from God; fugitives (*i.e.* banished from the merciful care) of the eternal foresight. On the word πρόνοια, see xiv. 3. Tennyson has employed this very fine expression:

"She, mouldering with the dull earth's mouldering sod,
Inwrapt tenfold in slothful shame,
Lay there exiled from Eternal God,
Lost to her place and name."
Palace of Art.

3. *while they supposed to lie hid.*] Comp. Ps. x. 11; Is. xxix. 15; Job xxiv. 14. The darkness which they regarded as the veil of their secret orgies (xiv. 23) became their worst punishment. The English construction "supposed to lie hid" is rare. The Geneva version has, "while they thought to be hid."

they were scattered.] ἐσκορπίσθησαν. The expression is a strange one, and not very suitable to the Egyptians huddling in their own houses during the plague of darkness; but there is not sufficient authority for the reading ἐσκοτίσθησαν, "they were darkened."

of forgetfulness.] Being banished from God's care (*v.* 2), it seemed as though they were altogether obliterated from existence, and plunged already in the world of darkness and death.

with apparitions.] The reading of the Vatican MS. is φαντάσμασιν. The better-supported reading is ἰνδάλμασιν, a rare and late word, rendered "sights" in the margin. It is omitted altogether by the Vulgate (*cum admiratione nimiâ perturbati*). Ἴνδαλμα means much the same as εἴδωλον, "a shadowy image." See LXX. Jer. l. 39. The writer perhaps supposed that the "evil angels" whom God sent among the Egyptians (Ps. lxxviii. 49) assumed these spectral forms.

4. *the corner that held them.*] Kleuk and others interpret this to imply that the Egyptians hid themselves in their pyramids and catacombs; but μυχὸς clearly means the inner chambers of their own houses, from which they could not stir (*v.* 2).

noises [as of waters] falling down.] In all that follows the writer gives the reins to his own imagination. The phrase "*noises dashing down upon them*" (comp. *v.* 18) is a bold one, but there can be little doubt that καταράσσοντες, not ἐκταράσσοντες, is the true reading. It is possible the writer understood καταράσσω—which is used of the rush of water (comp. the name Araxes), and which occurs in LXX. Hos. vii. 6 (Ps. lxxxviii. 3; ci. 10)—in the sense of κατὰ ταράσσω. In several instances he uses words in strange, and sometimes apparently in mistaken senses.

sounded about them.] Literally, "boasted

appeared unto them with heavy countenances.

5 No power of the fire might give them light: neither could the bright flames of the stars endure to lighten that horrible night.

6 Only there appeared unto them a fire kindled of itself, very dreadful: for being much terrified, they thought the things which they saw to be worse than the sight they saw not.

7 [b] As for the illusions of art magick, they were put down, and

[b] Exod. 7. 12. & 8. 7. 19. & 9. 11.

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round them" (περιεκόμπουν). The word does not occur elsewhere.

sad visions . . . with heavy countenances.] Lit., "phantoms downcast with unsmiling faces." The words κατηφῆ ("dejected," "gazing downwards") and ἀμειδήτοις ("unsmiling") are highly poetical. Neither word occurs in the LXX. or N. T. By these "phantoms" the writer probably meant that the terrors of the Egyptians took objective form in ghostly spectres which gleamed dimly through the darkness.

5. *No power of the fire might give them light.*] This notion seems to be borrowed from Philo, who, after attributing the darkness to some unnaturally complete eclipse, or some dense agglomeration of clouds, adds that "the light of necessary domestic fire was partly quenched by the dominant surge of storm, and partly obscured by the depth of the darkness" ('Vit. Mos.' i. 21). Abn Ezra also, commenting on the fact that it was "a darkness *that might be felt*," says that no flame or light would burn in it, and gives this as a reason why "they saw not one another," Ex. xi. 23. Josephus says that the darkness was so thick that men died from inability to breathe it, and "were afraid lest they should be swallowed up by the cloud."

neither could the bright flames of the stars endure.] The notion seems to be that the stars turned away from the sight, and could not tolerate it, as the sun was said to have turned in disgust from the feast of Thyestes; or else that the supernatural darkness "strangled" their light. Josephus also ('Antt.' ii. 14, § 5) calls the darkness φέγγους ἄμοιρον.

that horrible night.] στυγνὴν, properly "frowning," and then, metaphorically, gloomy and menacing. Comp. Matt. xvi. 3.

6. *Only there appeared unto them.*] The fire of earth and the stars of heaven gave no light; yet the Egyptians had a light which made the darkness visible, partly in the glimmering spectres which flitted around them (*v.* 4), and partly in a supernatural globe of flame, which "*kept gleaming through* the darkness" to them (διεφαίνετο).

a fire kindled of itself, very dreadful.] Lit., "a spontaneous pyre, full of dreadfulness." Πυρὰ properly means "a pyre," but in late Greek is sometimes used for "a flame," or "mass of fire" (2 Macc. i. 22; Judith vii. 5). It is called "spontaneous" or "self-kindled," because it had no ostensible cause.

being much terrified.] There are various ways of rendering and explaining this clause. The A. V. makes τῆς . . . ὄψεως a genitive governed by χείρω. It might also be taken as a genitive absolute (Grimm), or as a genitive governed by ἐκδειματούμενοι, as in the Vulgate version. The rhythm of the writer seems to point to the latter construction: "but being utterly terrified by the sight which they saw not." "The sight which they saw not" is a sort of oxymoron, and apparently means the wandering self-enkindled flame. It does not, however, mean that this flame-globe had no existence except in the terrified imaginations of the Egyptians, but that they only saw its flashes and coruscations here and there, not the fire itself. Throughout the chapter the writer becomes obscure from want of simplicity and over-elaboration of style. His literary effects are produced, not by the unifying touch of genuine imagination, which concentrates a living picture into one word or one line, but by aggregation of vague separate details. On the other hand, it may perhaps be said that there is a sense of horror inspired by the very vagueness of the things described.

they thought the things which they saw to be worse.] Either "worse than they really were;" or, "worse than they would have done if the vision of wandering flame could have been more distinctly gazed upon." The form of expression is too obscure to be understood with certainty. The meaning apparently is that the Egyptians were so affrighted that they took the gleams and flashes which they saw flitting about through the darkness to be more portentous because of their lurid indistinctness; and thus were utterly terrified by the flame from which those flashes proceeded, but which they could not see. Another explanation is, that in their terror at the invisible objects, they took *natural objects* (τὰ βλεπόμενα) to be worse than they were. Shakspeare says—

> "Or in the night, imagining some fear,
> How easy is a bush supposed a bear."

7. *As for the illusions of art magick, they were put down.*] The meaning is that the

their vaunting in wisdom was reproved with disgrace.

8 For they, that promised to drive away terrors and troubles from a sick soul, were sick themselves of fear, worthy to be laughed at.

9 For though no terrible thing did fear them; yet being scared with beasts that passed by, and hissing of serpents,

10 They died for fear, [1]denying that they saw the air, which could of no side be avoided.

[1] Or, *refusing to look upon.*

11 For wickedness, condemned by her own witness, is very timorous, and being pressed with con-

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old "mockeries" and "lying miracles" were laid low by the failure of the Egyptian magicians either to produce or to get rid of these ghastly spectres. "And the magicians did so with their enchantments . . . but could not" (Ex. viii. 18).

was reproved.] Lit., "and ignominious was the rebuke of their vaunting about their science." The braggart science of the sorcerers shamefully failed to meet the test.

8. *they that promised.*] The names of two of the Egyptian sorcerers, Jannes and Jambres, are traditionally preserved in 2 Tim. iii. 8.

from a sick soul.] Comp. 1 Tim. vi. 4, "doting (lit. *sick*, νοσῶν) about questions."

"Canst thou not minister to *a mind diseased?*"

The total failure of the "magicians" to relieve the troubled spirit of an earlier Pharaoh is recorded in Gen. xli. 8.

were sick themselves of fear, worthy to be laughed at.] Εὐλάβειαν ("anxiety," Heb. v. 7) is a cognate accusative after ἐνόσουν. The emphatically repeated οὗτοι is contemptuous. Since the magicians failed in the plague of lice, the writer naturally assumes that they failed still more hopelessly during the plague of darkness.

9. *though no terrible thing did fear them.*] "Fear" is here used in its earlier sense of "frighten," as in Shakspeare's

"Tush! tush! fear boys with bugs."
Timon of Athens.

yet.] Even if there was no perturbing sight to terrify them—*i.e.* even when no aërial spectre was shining luridly through the thick darkness—they were alarmed by deadly creatures.

being scared.] This seems to be a rendering of ἐκπεφοβημένοι. The more emphatic and unusual word ἐκσεσοβημένοι (which is probably the true reading) means "being harried, or *scared from place to place.*" Ἐκσοβέω means, "I scare away a bird by saying, σοῦ σοῦ (*shoo! shoo!*)." It is here highly picturesque, as representing the Egyptians rushing through the strange midnight from the serpents and other creatures that hissed around them.

with beasts that passed by.] Lit., "with the passing-by of monsters" (κνωδάλων; see xi. 15).

hissing of serpents.] The serpents that crawled about and hissed in the darkness are created solely by the writer's imagination.

10. *They died for fear.*] Lit., "They were perishing in tremor." The phrase must not be taken literally, but merely means that "their hearts failed them for fear" (Lk. xxi. 26).

denying that they saw.] This, in classical Greek, would be ἀρνούμενοι μὴ προσιδεῖν. The marginal rendering is "refusing (even) to look upon." For this sense of ἀρνεῖσθαι, see Heb. xi. 24.

the air, which could of no side be avoided.] They would not even lift their eyes to the all-surrounding, inevitable (μηδαμόθεν φευκτόν, "ambient and inevitable") air. Ἀὴρ is used by Homer for dark mist; and might here be rendered "mirk," were it not that the accompanying epithet seems to imply "the common, universal air," as in vii. 3.

11. *For wickedness.*] In a brief digression (11–13) he touches upon the terrors which spring from a guilty conscience.

is very timorous.] If the reading δειλὸν γὰρ ἰδίως πονηρία μαρτυρεῖ καταδικαζομένη be correct, it can only mean, "For wickedness, a thing innately timorous, bears witness to its own condemnation." (Vulg., *Cum sit enim timida nequitia dat testimonium condemnationis.*) For the construction δειλὸν πονηρία, compare vii. 24, σοφία . . . κινητικώτερον. But the simpler reading, followed by the A. V. and fairly well supported, is ἰδίῳ . . . μάρτυρι: "For wickedness, being condemned by its own witness, is a timorous thing." In either case, the thought is the same as in Tennyson's lines—

"He that wrongs his friend
Wrongs himself more; and *ever bears about*
A silent court of justice in his breast,
Himself the judge and jury, and himself
The prisoner at the bar, ever condemned;
And that drags down his life."
Sea Dreams.

Quinctilian quotes the proverb *Conscientia mille testes.*

being pressed.] The verb συνέχεσθαι ex-

science, always forecasteth grievous things.

12 For fear is nothing else but a betraying of the succours which reason offereth.

13 And the expectation from within, being less, counteth the ignorance more than the cause which bringeth the torment.

14 But they sleeping the same

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presses the strangling anguish of intense grief, or pain, or fear (Lk. viii. 27, xii. 50; Acts xviii. 5, xxviii. 8).

with conscience.] τῇ συνειδήσει. This verse is remarkable as the earliest passage in which the word συνείδησις (*conscientia*), which is found in Euripides, 'Orest.' 396, occurs in the cycle of sacred writings to express "the principle in man by which he approves or disapproves of his heart, temper, and actions" (Bp. Butler). The Hebrews knew the *thing* and expressed it by "heart" or "spirit" (comp. 1 John iii. 19–21); but it is the glory of Greek thought to have invented the word, which frequently occurs in the N. T. (John viii. 9; Acts xxvii. 1; 2 Cor. i. 12, &c.), but not in the LXX. except in Eccles. x. 20, and that in a different sense, to represent the Hebrew מַדָּע, "thought." The word first occurs in sayings attributed to Periander and Bias ('ap. Stob.' p. 192, 21). See Cremer, 'Lexicon,' p. 233 (E. Tr.), and Hofmann, 'Die Lehre vom Gewissen.'

always forecasteth grievous things.] Προσείληφε can hardly have this meaning (Vulg., *praesumit*), which belongs rather to προείληφε. Προσλαμβάνειν means "to assume besides," and the verb may here imply the *multiplied* and *exaggerated* terrors of a guilty conscience. "Wickedness . . . being pressed by conscience hath ever *added* to the sum of grievous miseries." In order to save souls from "the death that cannot die," they are often made to feel

> "A vague spiritual fear,
> Like to some doubtful noise of creaking doors,
> Heard by the watcher in a haunted house,
> That keeps the rust of murder on the walls."

12. *a betraying of the succours which reason offereth.*] This curious definition of fear is probably taken from some Greek philosopher. It belongs to the Stoic notion of "apathy" and "independence." The wise and good man, the writer implies, cannot fear, because he stands superior to the influences which cause fear. Reason dominates over the sources of terror. The philosophers, followed by Clemens of Alexandria, define fear as "an *unreasonable* avoidance of evils." So Lucretius says—

> "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas
> Quique *metus omnes* et inexorabile fatum
> Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari."

The sentiment is common in Milton—

> "These thoughts may startle well, but not astound
> The virtuous mind, which ever walks attended
> By a strong siding champion, Conscience."
> *Comus.*

> "Tanto vogl' io che vi sia manifesto
> Pur che mia coscïenza non mi garra
> Che alla fortuna, come vuol, son presto."
> DANTE, *Inf.* xv. 93.

13. *the expectation from within.*] This verse in our A. V. is very obscure. The meaning is, "And (in the case of fearful and guilty men) the expectation from within (of the succours derived from reason) being worsted (ἥττων οὖσα), reckons the ignorance (of those succours) as worse than the cause which brings the torment;" or "makes the ignorance of the cause of the torment seem greater." In other words, "The loss of reasonable hope intensifies the dread of ill-understood calamities." After προσδοκία we must understand τῶν βοηθημάτων, and it must be closely joined with οὖσα ἥττων, so as to mean "the defeated expectation of the succours of reason," *i.e.* the fact that all hope of such succours has sunk into despair. Ἥττων often has this sense of "worsted in conflict," but it might also mean "*being less than it should be.*" Τῆς . . . αἰτίας may be governed either by πλείονα or by ἄγνοιαν. If it be governed by πλείονα, we must understand τῶν βοηθημάτων after ἄγνοιαν. In any case the sentence is deficient in clearness of expression, but means much the same as *omne ignotum pro magnifico.* Fear, when deprived of the aid of reason, reckons its ignorant helplessness to be a worse calamity than that which causes its immediate trouble. It is "over-exquisite to forecast the shadow of uncertain evils." "*Les malheurs des malheurs sont ceux qui n'arrivent jamais.*" The general meaning then is that *fear*, when abandoned by reason,

> "apprehends
> More than *cool reason* ever comprehends."

There is a *paronomasia* in the use of the words προδοσία, προσδοκία.

14. *sleeping the same sleep.*] Unless the word ὕπνον be here used metaphorically for a period of enforced rest and quiet, the meaning must be that they all slept during the three days' darkness, but it was a sleep disturbed by horrid dreams and portents and phantoms.

sleep that night, [1] which was indeed intolerable, and which came upon them out of the bottoms of inevitable hell,

15 Were partly vexed with monstrous apparitions, and partly fainted, their heart failing them: for a sudden fear, and not looked for, came upon them.

16 So then whosoever there fell down was straitly kept, shut up in a prison without iron bars.

17 For whether he were husbandman, or shepherd, or a labourer in the [1] field, he was overtaken, and endured that necessity, which could not be avoided: for they were all bound with one chain of darkness.

18 Whether it were a whistling wind, or a melodious noise of birds among the spreading branches, or a pleasing fall of water running violently,

19 Or a [1] terrible sound of stones

[1] ...ein ...do ...ng.

[1] Or, *desert.*

[1] Or, *hideous.*

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that night, which was indeed intolerable.] Lit., "during that really *impossible* (or powerless) night." Our A. V. understands ἀδύνατον to mean either "intolerable" (understanding the word τλῆναι, "impossible to endure"), or (marg.) "wherein they could do nothing." The Vulg. renders it "*impotentem*," and perhaps the word implies that the night was *in itself* powerless, but derived its terrors from the prodigies with which it was accompanied; and again, "that really impossible night" may mean that it was a night purely miraculous, and beyond the sphere of ordinary possibility.

out of the bottoms of inevitable hell.] The darkness was not natural; it was a hell-born darkness; it came from the abysses of the grave. The word rendered "inevitable" is again ἀδυνάτος. It is omitted by the Vulgate, and we cannot follow Grotius and others, who from a single MS. adopt the reading ἀδύτου, "from the inmost shrine of the recesses of Hades" (Vulg., *ab altissimis inferis*). We can only conjecture the exact meaning of the writer in calling Hades "impossible" as well as "the night." Grimm supposes that he is alluding to his former remark, οὔτε ᾅδου βασίλειον ἐπὶ γῆς (i. 14). Possibly he meant to imply that neither "night" nor "Hades" were real entities.

15. *Were vexed.*] Lit., "were driven;" but the verb has the same sense as in xvi. 18.

fainted, their heart failing them.] Lit., "were paralysed by the betrayal (or treachery) of their soul." The imperfects are due to the writer's desire to be graphic (πρὸ ὀμμάτων ποιεῖν).

came upon them.] Lit., "was poured upon them."

16. *So then.*] The A. V. does not translate the word οὕτως "thus," *i.e.* in the consternation just described. Οὕτως, like the Latin *sic*, may also mean "just as they were" (John iv. 6).

whosoever there fell down . . .] Rather, "whosoever it was, there sinking to the earth, was kept under guard, shut up into an ironless prison."

without iron bars.] "A prison, but not of iron." The expression resembles one of the numerous oxymora used by Aeschylus (ἄπτεροι πελειάδες, πέδαι ἀχάλκευτοι, &c.). The same figure of speech is found in Isaiah xxix. 9, "drunken, but not with wine." The reverse of the conception is that

> "Strong walls do not a prison make,
> Nor iron bars a cage."

The soul of a prisoner may be in perfect freedom; the soul of one who is free may be hopelessly imprisoned.

17. *labourer in the field.*] Lit., "labourer of the toils in the waste," *i.e.* labourer in lonely and open places.

which could not be avoided.] δυσάλυκτον, "*difficult* to avoid," used by *meiosis* for "*impossible* to avoid."

chain.] ἁλύσει, coupling-chain.

of darkness.] Comp. 2 Pet. ii. 4, 17.

18. *a whistling wind.*] There was not a single sound of nature which did not increase their alarm, even if it were naturally pleasant (Lev. xxvi. 36; Ps. liii. 5).

melodious noise of birds.] It is difficult to say whether the writer supposes that these birds sang in the darkness, like the nightingales, or whether he regards the darkness as purely *subjective*. All was dark to the Egyptians, but to all others the darkness was as clear as the day, and the breeze blew and the birds sang. If this be his conception, it is an exaggeration of the remark that "all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings" (Ex. x. 23).

spreading.] ἀμφιλαφεῖς, a highly poetic word, though also used in prose. (Herod. iv. 172; Plato, 'Phaedr.' 230 B.)

a pleasing fall.] Lit., "a rhythm."

19. *terrible.*] Ἀπηνὴς means properly "cruel."

cast down, or a running that could not be seen of skipping beasts, or a roaring voice of most savage wild beasts, or a rebounding echo from the hollow mountains; these things made them to swoon for fear.

20 For the whole world shined with clear light, and none were hindered in their labour:

21 Over them only was spread an heavy night, an image of [c] that darkness which should afterward receive them: but yet were they unto themselves more grievous than the darkness.

[c] Matt. 8. 12. & 22. 31. & 25. 30. 2 Pet. 2. 17. Jude 13.

CHAPTER XVIII.

4 Why Egypt was punished with darkness, 5 and with the death of their children. 18 They themselves saw the cause thereof. 20 God also plagued his own people. 21 By what means that plague was stayed.

NEVERTHELESS thy saints had a very great [a] light, whose voice they hearing, and not seeing their shape, because they also had not suffered the same things, they counted them happy.

[a] Exod. 10. 23.

2 But for that they did not hurt them *now*, of whom they had been wronged before, they thanked them,

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that could not be seen.] They felt the motion of the beasts as they rushed by (*v.* 9), but could not see them (*v.* 6, τῆς μὴ θεωρουμένης ὄψεως).

a rebounding echo.] Lit., "an echo reverberating from the hollowness of the mountains." An echo *from the mountains* must have seemed an extraordinary thing in Egypt.

made them to swoon.] παρέλυσε (comp. *v.* 15).

20. *the whole world.*] The writer in his own fashion again expands Ex. x. 23. The elaboration of style is marked by the metrical forms ἀνεμποδίστοις, συνείχετ' ἔργοις, λαμπρῷ κατελάμπετο φωτί.

and none were hindered in their labour.] Lit., "and it (the whole world) was busily occupied in unimpeded works." For this meaning of συνείχετο see Acts xviii. 5.

21. *was spread.*] Lit., "had been spread" (ἐπετέτατο).

receive them.] Lit., "to receive in turn" or "in succession." The darkness alluded to is "the outer darkness" (Matt. viii. 12) which awaits guilty souls.

> "Forth John's soul flared *into the dark.*"
> BROWNING.

unto themselves more grievous than the darkness.] So Jeremiah threatens Pashur that his name should be no more Pashur, but Magor Missabib, "terror on every side." "Behold, I will make thee *a terror to thyself*, and to all thy friends" (Jer. xx. 3, 4).

CHAPTER XVIII.

The contrast between the Egyptians and Israelites as regards light and darkness continued (1–4). Fourth contrast between the two nations, as regards the life and death of children (5–19). The Israelites did indeed suffer from death in the desert, but were speedily delivered (20–25).

1. *thy saints.*] See note on x. 15.

had a very great light.] In the land of Goshen (Ex. x. 23).

whose voice.] The cheerful sounds of life going on among the Israelites.

they.] The Egyptians. The Vulgate here follows some other reading, or else goes strangely astray, and is followed by many commentators.

and.] Rather, "but."

not seeing their shape.] It seems clear from the general tenor of the contrast that the writer conceives of the Egyptian darkness *as affecting them only*, while in the very same regions which to the Egyptians were dark the Israelites moved in light (see xvii. 18, 20).

because they also had not suffered the same things, they counted them happy.] The clause conveys no clear meaning, and has consequently been interpreted in many different ways. If the reading οὖν be correct, it seems to mean that "the Egyptians congratulated the Israelites because they (the Israelites) had suffered." This gives no intelligible sense; nor is the sense improved by giving to ὅτι the sense of "whatever;" or by distorting ἐμακάριζον to mean "they deemed it a happy thing." The A.V. follows the reading of the Alexandrian MS., which has οὐ for οὖν. The clause may then be intended to express the thought that the Egyptians regarded the Israelites as blessed in their *exemption* from the plague of darkness—which is perhaps the best that we can make of it.

2. *of whom they had been wronged.*] Lit., "They (the Egyptians) thank the Israelites, because, having been previously injured (by them), they (the Israelites) do not hurt them." Εὐχαριστοῦσι and βλάπτουσι are historic pre-

and besought them pardon for that they had been enemies.

[b] Exod. 13. 21. & 14. 24. Ps. 78. 14. & 105. 39.

3 [b] Instead whereof thou gavest them a burning pillar of fire, both to be a guide of the unknown journey, and an harmless sun to entertain them honourably.

4 For they were worthy to be deprived of light, and imprisoned in darkness, who had kept thy sons shut up, by whom the [1] uncorrupt light of the law was to be given unto the world.

[1] Or, corruptible.

5 [c] And when they had determined to slay the babes of the saints, [d] one child being cast forth, and

[c] Ex. 1. 16. [d] Ex. 2. 3.

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sents, only used for past tenses to make the style more graphic; but perhaps ηὐχαρίστουν, the reading of the Alex. MS., may have been altered into the present tense because of the βλάπτουσι. The meaning is that the Egyptians thanked the Israelites for not avenging themselves for past injuries by taking advantage of the present helplessness of their enemies.

besought them pardon for that they had been enemies.] This is the correct rendering of a clause which has been misunderstood to mean "besought them the favour that they would depart" (as though it were a reference to Ex. x. 24. Comp. xix. 2).

3. *Instead whereof.*] In place of the horrible darkness and anguish which have been described.

thou gavest them.] "Thou didst provide for the Israelites."

an harmless sun to entertain them honourably.] Rather, "a harmless sun of their glorious pilgrimage" (Ex. xiii. 21, xiv. 24; Ps. lxxvii. 14). The φιλοτίμου ξενιτείας might also be taken as a genitive after ἀβλαβῆ, "a sun that harmed not their glorious pilgrimage;" but the other construction is simpler. Φιλότιμος is used in the sense of "honourable" in Aesch. 'Eum.' 98, where he speaks of the Erinyes as "great and glorious (φιλότιμοι) children of Night." Ξενιτεία is a rare word, and properly means "foreign service."

The fiery pillar is called "a *harmless* sun," because it was not a sun that "smote them by day" (Ps. cxxi. 6).

> "By day along the astonished lands
> The cloudy pillar glided slow;
> By night Arabia's crimson sands
> Returned the fiery column's glow."
>
> SCOTT.

4. *they.*] The Egyptians.

the uncorrupt light.] ἄφθαρτον, "immortal," "incorruptible." Tobit regards even the ceremonial law as "an everlasting decree" (Tob. i. 6). "This is the book of the commandments of God, and the law that endureth for ever" (Baruch iv. 1). The metaphor of "light" is constantly applied in a spiritual sense: Is. ii. 5; Ps. cxix. 105; Eph. v. 8, &c.

of the law.] "The law" is used as in Ps. cxix. to express true religion, the revealed relation between God and man.

unto the world.] See note on iv. 2; xiv. 6. Natural light was given to the nation which was to be to the world the source of spiritual light; those who had striven to imprison that nation in darkness were punished with darkness. Thus the passage furnishes a fresh illustration of the writer's favourite thesis respecting the relation of "like to like," between sin and retribution (xi. 16). Here, as in the song of Simeon (Lk. ii. 32), we find the distinct conception that ultimately "the law" was not to be confined to the Jew only, but was to be "a light to lighten the Gentiles" (comp. xiv. 13). It is strange that the scribes of our Lord's day, and the people under their teaching, should so completely have lost sight of the old prophecies of the universal conversion of the heathen (Is. ii. 1–5, xxvii. 13; Micah iv. 1–13). Comp. Tobit xiii. 11, "A clear light shall shine to all the ends of the earth;" *id.* xiv. 6, "And *all the nations which are in the whole earth* will turn and fear God truly, and will forsake their idols." Probably these Apocryphal writers, no less than Philo, supposed, however, that the Jews would retain their theocratic supremacy (Philo, 'De Abraham.' 19), and that the whole world would adopt their ceremonial usages.

5. *to slay the babes.*] Ex. i. 15–22. At this point (to *v.* 19) begins the parallel between the fate of the children of the Egyptians and of the Israelites, which furnishes yet another illustration of the truth "that wherewithal a man sins, by the same also shall he be punished" (xi. 16).

one child.] Ex. ii. 9. The rescue of one babe of the Israelites involved the destruction of a multitude of the children of the Egyptians (Ex. xii. 29). Josephus mentions the legend that Pharaoh was induced to attempt the destruction of the children of the Israelites by a warning prophecy ('Antt.' ii. 9). Compare the policy and motives of Herod the Great (Matt. ii. 1–18). The Book of Exodus does not mention how many children of the Israelites perished by exposure or drowning, but hardly warrants the writer'

[e] Exod. 12. 29. [f] Exod. 14. 24, &c. [g] Exod. 11. 4.

saved, to reprove them, [e] thou tookest away the multitude of their children, and [f] destroyedst them altogether in a mighty water.

6 [g] Of that night were our fathers certified afore, that assuredly knowing unto what oaths they had given credence, they might afterwards be of good cheer.

7 So of thy people was accepted both the salvation of the righteous, and destruction of the enemies.

8 For wherewith thou didst punish our adversaries, by the same thou didst glorify us, whom thou hadst called.

9 [h] For the righteous children of good men did sacrifice secretly, and with one consent made [1] a holy law, that the saints should be like partakers of the same good and evil, the fathers now singing out the songs of praise.

[h] Exod. 12. 21—28 [1] Or, a covenant of God, or, league: See Ps. 50. 5.

10 But on the other side there

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implication that Moses was the only child in whose case Pharaoh's decree was carried out.

altogether.] ὁμοθυμαδόν. The proper meaning of the word is "unanimously," but it is used in the sense "one and all:" *v.* 12; Job xvi. 10 (LXX.); 3 Macc. iv. 4, &c.

in a mighty water.] σφοδρῷ, "violent," "rushing." The water of the Nile, in which they strove to drown the children of the Israelites, had been the instrument of their sin; and the water of the Red Sea, as well as the blood-corrupted water of the Nile (xi. 6), was the instrument of their punishment (x. 19; xix. 4–7).

6. *that night.*] In which the Egyptian firstborn were slain.

certified afore.] Ex. xi. 4–11; xii. 21–29.

they might afterwards be of good cheer.] These seven words represent the one word ἐπευθυμήσωσι, "they might be gladdened thereby," *i.e.* by the oaths on which it was thus shewn that they might rely. The "oaths" were those which promised to them the inheritance of Canaan: Ex. xiii. 5–16; xxxii. 13; xxxiii. 1, &c.

7. *was accepted.*] The A.V. follows the Vulg. "*suscepta est;*" but προσεδέχθη rather means "was *expected.*" They had been forewarned respecting it.

8. *wherewith.*] ᾧ. This is the reading of the Vatican MS., and is an obvious correction of ὡς, the reading of the Sinaitic and Alexandrine MSS. By the slaying of the firstborn God freed the Israelites and summoned them to be His own people.

whom thou hadst called.] Lit., "calling us to thyself." This call is illustrated in *v.* 9, and the punishment of the Egyptians in *v.* 10.

9. *the righteous children of good men.*] Rather, "the holy (ὅσιοι) sons of good things." The writer has often called the Israelites ὅσιοι (*vv.* 1, 5, 10, 17, &c.) and δίκαιοι (x. 20; xi. 14; xii. 9, &c.), but nowhere ἀγαθοί. It is better, therefore (with Grimm, Kleuk, &c.), to take ἀγαθῶν as neuter. Comp. "children of destruction," John xvii. 12. It is true that in this idiom τέκνα is generally used, not παῖδες; but perhaps the phrase παῖδες ἀγαθῶν might be used, just as we have υἱοὶ διαβόλου. Schleusner understands it to mean "the heirs of God's fatherly goodness."

did sacrifice secretly.] An allusion to the Passover, which is called θυσία in Ex. xii. 27. Comp. Heb. xi. 28. The expression "secretly" can only mean "in their own houses," Ex. xii. 46.

a holy law.] Lit., "the law of holiness" (ὁσιότητος), unless with the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS. we read θειότητος, "the law of (*i.e.* which emanated from) Divinity." The law is that of the Passover, which established a new relation between God and His people.

that the saints.] It is better to take τοὺς ἁγίους with αἴνους. The subject of μεταλήψεσθαι is involved in ὅσιοι παῖδες ἀγαθῶν.

partakers of the same good and evil.] That henceforth all the sons of Israel should be bound together in all prosperity and adversity. This solidarity in good and evil fortune was indicated by the sweet sauce (*caroseth*) and the bitter herbs at the Paschal feast.

the fathers now singing out the songs of praise.] The A.V. here follows the reading of ℵ B, προαναμελπόντων. The reading of A, προαναμέλποντες, yields a better sense—"singing beforehand" (*i.e.* before the Paschal feast), or perhaps merely "singing forth already the holy praises of the fathers." The word ἤδη refers to the notion that even at this first Passover the Israelites observed the custom which afterwards prevailed, of beginning the feast with songs of praise (the Hallel), 2 Chron. xxx. 21; xxxv. 15. Πατέρων αἴνους may mean either "praises of the fathers," *i.e.* songs in honour of the Patriarchs, or "songs of praise of the fathers," *i.e.* songs which had come down from the days of the fathers. The statement is en-

sounded an ill according cry of the enemies, and a lamentable noise was carried abroad for children that were bewailed.

xod. 5. & 29.

11 [i] The master and the servant were punished after one manner; and like as the king, so suffered the common person.

12 So they all together had innumerable dead with one kind of death; neither were the living sufficient to bury them: for in one moment the noblest offspring of them was destroyed.

13 For whereas they would not believe any thing by reason of the enchantments; upon the destruction of the firstborn, they acknowledged this people to be the sons of God.

14 For while all things were in quiet silence, and that night was in the midst of her swift course,

15 Thine Almighty word leaped down from heaven out of thy royal throne, as a fierce man of war into the midst of a land of destruction,

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tirely devoid of historical, and perhaps even of traditional, foundation. It is meant to provide a strong antithesis to the wail of the Egyptians described in the next verse, by contrasting "praises of fathers" with "wails for children."

10. *ill-according.*] ἀσύμφωνος. The wail of the bereaved (Ex. xi. 6) mingled discordantly with the songs of the triumphant.

11. *The master and the servant.*] Ex. xii. 29. The Targum of Jonathan explains "the captive in the dungeon" to mean subject kings, kept in prison by Pharaoh, who were punished by God for rejoicing over the miseries of the Israelites.

12. *all together.*] As in *v.* 5.

with one kind of death.] Lit., "in one name of death."

sufficient to bury them.] An exaggeration for which there is no authority, but the writer may mean to imply that the occurrence of so many deaths at once rendered impossible the pompous ceremonies involved in the Egyptian notion of "burying" (comp. xix. 3). There is probably an allusion to the fact that the Egyptians had their thoughts turned from the pursuit of the Israelites because they "were burying their firstborn" (Num. xxxiii. 4). Similar Hagadistic additions are found in Philo ('Vit. Mos.' i. 24) and in the Targum of Jonathan.

in one moment.] πρὸς μίαν ῥοπὴν, "at one trembling of the scale."

the noblest offspring.] Lit., "the more honourable birth," *i.e.* the firstborn; "the chief of all their strength" (Ps. cv. 36).

13. *they would not believe anything.*] This, again, goes beyond, and even contradicts, the statement of Moses (Ex. viii. 19).

enchantments.] Φαρμακία properly means magic wrought by means of drugs, roots, &c., but became a general word for all sorceries (Rev. ix. 21).

to be the sons of God.] Rather, if the reading be correct, "to be a son of God," which is an exaggerated reference to Ex. xii. 31. God had said to Moses, "Israel is my son, even my firstborn" (Ex. iv. 22; comp. Hos. xi. 1; *supra*, ii. 13), but the Egyptians had never acknowledged this. The Venetian MS. omits υἱὸν altogether, and the Vulg. has *spoponderunt populum Dei esse.*

14. *in the midst of her swift course.*] Lit., "was midway in her own swiftness" (Ex. xii. 29).

15. *Thine Almighty word.*] This is one of the passages (comp. ix. 1; xvi. 12) in which the writer approaches most nearly to the all but personal Logos which plays so prominent a part in the writings of Philo. Yet, like the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the author of this book never definitely and demonstrably adopts (or anticipates, as the case may be) Philo's views about the Logos. Here the Word delivers the Israelites, as Wisdom is said to do in x. 15; but the delivery is wrought by the infliction of vengeance. Indeed the language of these verses seems to be suggested by 1 Chron. xxi. 16, "David... saw *the Angel of the Lord stand between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand.*" It need hardly be said that the Angel of the Plague has no affinity with the Philonian Logos, but rather with "the punisher" (*v.* 22) and the destroyer (*v.* 25). It seems probable therefore that the expressions of the writer are mainly founded upon scriptural passages, such as Hos. vi. 5 (LXX.), ἀπέκτεινα αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥήματι στόματός μου (comp. Rev. i. 16). Jer. xxiii. 29, "Is not my word like as a fire? saith the Lord; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?" Ps. cxlvii. 15, "His word runneth very swiftly;" *v.* 18, "He sendeth out his word and melteth them," &c.

16 And brought thine unfeigned commandment as a sharp sword, and standing up filled all things with death; and it touched the heaven, but it stood upon the earth.

17 Then suddenly [1] visions of horrible dreams troubled them sore, and terrors came upon them unlooked for.

[1] Or, *imaginations.*

18 And one thrown here, and another there, half dead, shewed the cause of his death.

19 For the dreams that troubled them did foreshew this, lest they should perish, and not know why they were afflicted.

20 Yea, the tasting of death touched the righteous also, and there was a destruction of the [k] multitude in the wilderness: but the wrath endured not long.

[k] Numb 16. 46, &c.

21 For then the blameless man made haste, and stood forth to defend them; and bringing the shield of his

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out of thy royal throne.] Chap. ix. 4. Lit., "out of thy royal thrones." The plural, as in Dan. vii. 9, is only the *pluralis excellentiae*, though Christians in their early controversies with the Jews sometimes argued from the term as an indication of a Trinity in the Unity.

fierce.] *v.* 20.

as a fierce man of war.] Lit., "a fierce warrior." The A.V. has changed the metaphor into a simile. "The Lord is a man of war" (Ex. xv. 3).

of a land of destruction.] "Of the doomed land." Comp. ἄνδρα ὀλέθριον, "a doomed man" (1 K. xx. 42).

16. *as a sharp sword.*] Lit., "bearing a sharp sword, Thine unfeigned commandment." ἀνυπόκριτον (*v.* 18). This is one of the passages in which the Epistle to the Hebrews resembles this book (Heb. iv. 12).

standing up.] Taking its stand on earth.

all things.] τὰ πάντα. "The length and breadth of Egypt."

it touched the heaven.] So Homer says of Discord:

> οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει.
> *Il.* iv. 443.

and Virgil of Fame:

> "Ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit."—*Æn.* iv. 177.

it stood.] Βεβήκει (for ἐβεβ.) is used in the sense of an imperfect.

upon the earth.] Those commentators who take "the all-sovereign word" in this passage for the hypostatised Logos, see in this verse a sort of unconscious prophecy of the Incarnate Christ. But the purpose of Christ's Incarnation was mercy, not vengeance.

17. *suddenly.*] Lit., "immediately." As soon as God's Almighty word leapt to earth.

visions.] "Phantasies."

18. *thrown.*] Flung down and half-slain by terror.

shewed.] Lit., "was manifesting," *i.e.* told to others.

the cause of his death.] Lit., "on what account he was dying."

19. *did foreshew this.*] Their dreams were meant to reveal to them the reason why they were thus suffered to perish.

20. *the tasting of death.*] Lit., "the experience of death;" comp. *v.* 25. This and the following verses (20–25) are meant to obviate the objection that in the wilderness, and on more than one occasion, the Israelites perished by thousands. The writer has already been compelled to allude to this in speaking of the fiery serpents (xvi. 6; comp. xii. 21). The entire insufficiency of his answer to the objection, not to say the positively sophistical manipulation of the history, might have led him to more just views as to the impartial goodness and justice of God. There was historically *no* generic difference between the retributive disasters which fell on Israel and in Egypt; nor was there historically any difference in their duration. Indeed, the Egyptian plagues only occupied a few months, whereas the miserable and penal wanderings in the wilderness continued for forty years, until the whole generation of these "righteous" had perished.

a destruction.] θραῦσις, "a breaking." The word is borrowed from the LXX. Num. xvi. 49.

endured not long.] Nevertheless, 14,700 perished in this single plague; more probably, by far, than died in all the Egyptian plagues put together. It is impossible not to see that the writer, from his national narrowness, is distorting sacred history to illustrate his own foregone conclusions.

21. *the blameless man.*] Aaron (Num. xvi. 46–50). It is not meant that Aaron was "blameless" altogether, which would be a flagrant contradiction of the Mosaic narrative, but only that he was guiltless of the sin for which the plague was the retribution,

proper ministry, even prayer, and the propitiation of incense, set himself against the wrath, and so brought the calamity to an end, declaring that he was thy servant.

22 So he overcame the destroyer, not with strength of body, nor force of arms, but with a word subdued he him that punished, alleging the oaths and covenants made with the fathers.

23 For when the dead were now fallen down by heaps one upon another, standing between, he stayed the wrath, and [1]parted the way to the living.

24 [l]For in the long garment was the whole world, and in the four rows of the stones was the glory of the fathers graven, and thy Majesty upon the diadem of his head.

25 Unto these the destroyer gave

[1] Or, *cut off.*

[l] Exod. 28. 6, 9, 36.

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and was therefore enabled to fulfil towards the sufferers his high-priestly functions.

stood forth to defend them.] Lit., "*fought* for them." So prayer is represented as a wrestling (Gen. xxxii. 24; Rom. xv. 30).

the shield.] Rather, "the weapon." Comp. 2 Cor. x. 4.

the propitiation of incense.] An atoning efficacy was always attached by the Jews to the burning of incense (Lev. xvi. 12, 13; Ex. xxx. 1–10). The Rabbis said that the smoke of incense atoned for slanders spoken in secret.

against the wrath.] τῷ θυμῷ. Θυμὸς is inward anger; ὀργὴ its outward expression.

thy servant.] Θεράπων is a far more respectful term than δοῦλος, and is specially applied to Moses (Heb. iii. 5).

22. *overcame the destroyer.*] The A. V. follows the weakly-supported reading ὀλοθρεύοντα (*v.* 25). The reading of the MSS. is ὄχλον (Vulg., *Vicit autem turbas*). There may be an allusion to some Jewish tradition, or possibly only to the murmuring of the people before the plague broke out (Num. xvi. 41). The context, however, almost compels us either to give to ὄχλον some general sense like "confusion," "perturbation," "hanc tragicam calamitatem" (Strigel); or to suppose that ὄχλον is a clerical error for χόλον, "wrath" (comp. ἀντέστη τῷ θυμῷ, *v.* 21, and ἀνέκοψε τὴν ὀργήν, *v.* 23). In 4 Macc. vii. 11, we have a similar passage, "Our father Aaron, armed with the censer, running forward, prevailed over the fiery angel by means of the ἐθνοπλήκτου πυρός."

with a word.] Rather, "with word," by the power of his speech.

alleging.] Lit., "reminding of" (Ex. xxxii. 13).

the oaths.] See *v.* 6; xii. 21.

23. *by heaps.*] σωρηδὸν, a late word, used also by Philo ('Vit. Mos.' i. 17; 'De conf. ling.' 6).

standing between.] Num. xvi. 48.

stayed the wrath.] ἀνέκοψε. Lit., "struck back."

parted the way.] Cut off (διέσχισε) the path, so that the destroyer could not get at the living.

24. *For in the long garment was the whole world.*] The intervention of Aaron was more effectual because of the symbolic importance of his high-priestly robes. The ποδήρης ἔνδυμα was the High Priest's "robe of the ephod" (*meil*). It can only be so called on the assumption that it was a *vestis talaris*, which reached to the ankles. The word is used by the LXX. to describe the High Priest's robe in Ex. xxviii. 4; Zech. iii. 4 (comp. Rev. i. 13); and by Josephus ('B. J.' v. 5, § 7). But it seems much more likely that the word ποδήρες applies accurately not to the "robe of the ephod," but to the ephod itself, which was of white, and was seen coming below the blue *meil*, which only reached to the knees. It was of blue, and on its hem was a ring of golden bells, and of pomegranates woven in blue and purple and scarlet (Ex. xxviii. 31–35). The symbolic significance of the robe, as representing the whole universe, is also explained by Philo ('De Monarch.' ii. 5; 'Vit. Mos.' iii. 14; and in other treatises: 'De profug.' 20; 'De migr. Abraham.' 18, πεποικιλμένη ἔκ τε τῶν νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν δυνάμεων). Josephus ('Antt.' iii. 7, § 7) repeats the same notions, as also does Clemens Alexandrinus ('Strom.' v. 6). It is very doubtful whether these explanations of the symbolism are correct.

in the four rows of the stones.] Lit., "and the glories of the fathers on the graving of the four-rowed stone." For λίθου we find λίθων in A and C. If that be the true reading, τὸ τετράστυχον must be regarded as a substantive—"the tetrastych," which the LXX. and Josephus call the oracle (τὸ λογεῖον, Ex. xxviii. 15; Jos. 'Antt.' iii. 7, § 5). Josephus regards it as an emblem of the four elements. The allusion is to the names of the Twelve Tribes carved on the precious stones of the High Priest's breastplate (*cosben*), which many precariously *identify* with the

place, and was afraid of them: for it was enough that they only tasted of the wrath.

CHAPTER XIX.

1 Why God shewed no mercy to the Egyptians, 5 and how wonderfully he dealt with his people. 14 The Egyptians were worse than the Sodomites. 18 The wonderful agreement of the creatures to serve God's people.

AS for the ungodly, wrath came upon them without mercy unto the end: for he knew before what they would do;

2 How that having given them leave to depart, and sent them hastily away, [a] they would repent and pursue them.

[a] Exod. 14. 5, &c.

3 For whilst they were yet mourn-

Urim and Thummim (Ex. xxviii. 17–21; comp. Ecclus. xlv. 11).

the glory of the fathers.] The names of the Patriarchs which recalled their glories.

thy Majesty.] The words "Holy to Jehovah" (קדש ליהוה) were engraved on the High Priest's golden frontlet (Ex. xxviii. 36), as a condensation of "the whole end and complete sum of revealed religion."

25. *Unto these.*] The writer seems to give to the "golden robes" of the High Priest—and especially to the robe of the ephod, the pectoral, and the mitre—the power of amulets. The cast-off garments of the High Priest were used by the Jews to cure various diseases. Probably, however, the real conception of the writer is deeper. He implies that by the robe as a symbol of the universe, and by His name on the mitre-plate, God, as the Lord of life and death, is reminded of His love to the creatures whom He has made (xvi. 13); and that the names of the fathers on the graven gems remind him of the oath which He sware unto Abraham, and the covenant which He made with Isaac (*v.* 22). And this is the meaning implied by Ex. xxviii. 38.

the destroyer.] The LXX. use this word, ὁ ὀλοθρεύων, to render the Hebrew מַשְׁחִית (Ex. xii. 23: comp. Heb. xi. 28; 1 Cor. x. 10). He is here the Angel of the Pestilence. But it is clear that he is meant to be an *evil* angel, or he would not have *feared* the holy garments.

for it was enough that they only tasted of the wrath.] Lit., "for the mere experience of the wrath was sufficient." Had it not been enough that they should merely have trial (as it were) of what the effects of God's wrath could be, the High Priest's robes would not have been sufficient to terrify the destroyer. In the narrative of Moses (Num. xvi. 46–50) not a word is said either of Aaron's apparel or of his prayer; but the incense in his censer was a type of prayer. It cannot, however, be denied that the writer sees the equal and impartial retributions of sacred history through the medium of a Jewish prejudice which leads him to give an unscriptural colouring to plain facts. For this plague was by no means an isolated punishment, and in point of fact the carcases of the whole generation of rescued Israelites fell in the wilderness because of their sins, the only survivors being Joshua and Caleb. The writer's residence in Egypt, his daily eye-witness of strange and degrading forms of idolatry, and the persecutions inflicted on his people by their Egyptian neighbours, made him delight to invent or to expand these contrasts of mercy and judgment.

CHAPTER XIX.

FIFTH CONTRAST BETWEEN THE FORTUNES OF THE ISRAELITES AND EGYPTIANS. THE LESSON TAUGHT BY THE PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.

1. *As for the ungodly.*] The Egyptians.

came upon them.] ἐπέστη. The verb is used of violent and sudden calamities.

unto the end.] Involving their final overthrow. The punishments which chastised the Israelites in the wilderness were οὐ μέχρι τέλους. So note on xvi. 5.

he.] God. The nominative is involved in the word θυμὸς, which means the wrath of God.

what they would do.] Lit., "even their future things."

2. *having given them leave.*] This is a translation of ἐπιτρέψαντες, the reading of A. (Vulg., *quum ipsi permisissent.*) This verb, however, is usually followed by the infinitive in Hellenistic Greek. The reading of ℵ B, &c., is ἐπιστρέψαντες, which must then bear the sense of ἐπιστρεψάμενοι, "having thought of" or "provided for their absence."

to depart.] The best-supported reading is ἀπεῖναι, not ἀπιέναι. It means "that they should depart and be absent."

sent them . . . away.] Προπέμπειν means "to conduct honourably on a journey" (Tit. iii. 13; 3 John 6). The allusion may certainly be to the presents which the Egyptians pressed upon the acceptance of the Israelites at their departure (Ex. xi. 2, 3; xii. 35, 36). There is a similar passage in Philo, 'Vit. Mos.' i. 24.

ing and making lamentation at the graves of the dead, they added another foolish device, and pursued them as fugitives, whom they had [1] intreated to be gone.

[1] Or, *cast out by intreaty.*

4 For the destiny, whereof they were worthy, drew them unto this end, and made them forget the things that had already happened, that they might fulfil the punishment which was wanting to their torments:

5 [b] And that thy people might pass a wonderful way: but they might find a strange death.

[b] Exod. 14. 28, 29.

6 For [c] the whole creature in his proper kind was fashioned again anew, serving the peculiar commandments that were given unto them, that thy children might be kept without hurt:

[c] See ch. 16. 24, 25.

7 *As namely*, a cloud shadowing the camp; and where water stood before, dry land appeared; and out

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they would repent.] The αὐτοὶ is emphatic—they, the very same persons, would entirely change their minds.

3. *whilst they were yet mourning.*] The original is more emphatic, "For having their mourning still on hand;" *i.e.* before they had ceased to be occupied with the mourning for their lost firstborn.

they added another foolish device.] Lit., "they dragged down on themselves another device of madness." The sudden change of motive which induced the Egyptians to pursue the Israelites is only a matter of conjecture; but it is very probable that the early movements of the Israelites appeared to betray ignorance of the route (Ex. xiv. 3). The Targum of Jonathan says that Pharaoh relied on the aid of the idol Baal-Zephon (Ex. xiv. 2). More probably they thought that the nation had entered a sort of *cul de sac* between the mountains and the sea, where they could be overwhelmed with advantage.

whom they had intreated to be gone.] Lit., "whom, entreating, they cast forth" (Ex. xii. 33, 39—where the LXX. use the urgent word ἐκβάλλειν).

4. *the destiny whereof they were worthy.*] "The deserved necessity—a premerited destiny—was dragging them to this end." This is another way of expressing, in accordance with the phrases of Greek philosophy, the obstinate and penal blindness which Moses describes by saying that "the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart" (Gen. vii. 3, &c.). The writer makes no attempt to coordinate the conflicting truths of God's absolute foreknowledge and man's unfettered free will. The antinomies involved in such questions are insoluble, but happily they are of no practical importance for the guidance of human action. To the Jews, however, the problems of predestination and free will presented themselves more often in the national than in the individual aspect; and when the ruin of another nation tended to the blessing of Israel, the sense of national, and much more of individual pity, was modified, if not obliterated, by patriotic gratitude. The Jew had so intense a conviction that his people was the firstborn of Jehovah that it was hardly possible for him to keep steadily in view the impartial love of God (see *v.* 5).

which was wanting to their torments.] Comp. 2 Macc. vi. 14. Their guilt required a certain amount of retribution which had not yet been exhausted by their previous plagues.

5. *wonderful.*] παράδοξον, "contrary to expectation," *i.e.* abnormal.

a strange death.] ξένον, as in xvi. 2.

6. *For the whole creature.*] The verse is a comment on the epithets παράδοξον, ξένον. "Creature," rather "creation" (κτίσις). Comp. v. 17.

anew.] The word ἄνωθεν may also mean "from above" (John iii. 31; Jas. i. 17, &c.), but here the two meanings involve the same thing; for "the whole creation" could only have been "remoulded" by God's direct action. The pleonasm, "again anew," is frequent with πάλιν (comp. πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου, Matt. xxvi. 42).

the peculiar commandments.] For ἰδίαις we find σαῖς in ℵ A, but this is probably a correction of the *difficilior lectio*. The meaning is that in the passage of the Red Sea the elements obeyed "the special injunctions laid on them," instead of following their normal course. Some of their powers were intensified, and some reduced to abeyance.

7. *As namely, a cloud.*] These words are nominatives to the verb ἐθεωρήθη.

shadowing the camp.] LXX. Num. ix. 18, 22. "He spread a cloud for a covering" (Ps. cv. 39).

a green field.] This notion of "a grass-bearing plain" in the middle of the Red Sea was still further exaggerated in the legendary literature of the Jews. Gutmann quotes a Passover prayer which speaks of springs of sweet water, fruit-laden trees, and incense-breathing odours in the path through the

of the Red sea a way without impediment; and out of the violent stream a green field:

8 Wherethrough all the people went that were defended with thy hand, seeing thy marvellous strange wonders.

9 For they went at large like horses, and leaped like lambs, praising thee, O Lord, who hadst delivered them.

10 For they were yet mindful of the things that were done while they sojourned in the strange land, how the ground brought forth [1]flies instead of cattle, and how the river cast up a multitude of frogs instead of fishes.

[1] Or, *lice*.

11 But [d]afterwards they saw a new generation of fowls, when, being led with their appetite, they asked delicate meats.

[d] Exod. 16. 13. Numb. 11. 31.

12 For quails came up unto them from the sea for their [1]contentment.

[1] Or, *comfort*.

13 And punishments came upon the sinners not without former signs by the force of thunders: for they suffered justly according to their own wickedness, insomuch as they used a more hard and hateful behaviour toward strangers.

14 For the *Sodomites* did not re-

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divided waters. Philo and Josephus abstain from these exaggerations ('Vit. Mos.' iii. 34; Jos. 'Antt.' ii. 16).

9. *went at large.*] ἐνεμέθησαν, "they roamed the pastures." Some editors conjecture a reading ἐχρεμέτισαν, "they neighed." The metaphor is probably suggested by Is. lxiii. 13, "that led them through the deep as an horse in the wilderness."

leaped like lambs.] Ps. cxiv. 6; Mal. iv. 2.

who badst delivered them.] Ex. xv. 1–19. The better reading is τὸν ῥυόμενον (א B) αὐτοὺς, "their deliverer" (not ῥυσάμενον, A, C).

10. *while they sojourned in the strange land.*] Ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ αὐτῶν, Acts xiii. 17.

flies.] In the LXX. Ex. viii. 18, σκνῖφα is an acc. singular. The word is here used generically, like ὁ βάτραχος, Ex. viii. 6; ἀκρίς, Ex. x. 12. Σκνίψ is any small biting insect, and represents the collective word כִּנִּם.

cast up.] ἐξηρεύξατο. Vulg., *eructavit*, "vomited forth."

instead of fishes.] Vulg., *pro piscibus*. But ἀντὶ ἐνύδρων means "instead of things which live in water;" and since frogs live in water, the antithesis of the writer is somewhat halting.

11. *a new generation of fowls.*] There was nothing "new" about the quails, which, to this day, may be killed by hundreds in their annual migrations.

they asked.] We have already seen that the writer takes a peculiar view of the sending of the quails (xvi. 1–3). He turns the sensual murmurings of the Israelites (Num. xi. 4–23) into a prayer (ᾐτήσαντο), and seems to represent the quails as a special luxury given to the people in sign of God's approval. The scriptural view of the incident is very widely different (Num. xi. 31–35; Ps. lxxviii. 26–28); but the writer, perhaps, relied on the brief allusion in Ps. cv. 40.

12. *from the sea.*] Num. xi. 31. If the writer interpreted the words "from the sea" as furnishing any support to his theory of the reversal of the ordinary course of nature for the sustenance of Israel, he was in error. The phrase merely points to the direction taken by the quails in their migration. Ὀρτυγομήτρα: see xvi. 1. This reversion to facts of which he has already explained the significance, shews that the writer has exhausted his originality, and has nothing left to say which he has not said already.

13. *And punishments came.*] The *vv.* 13–17 are a digression in which the writer compares the punishment of the Sodomites and the Egyptians. He quite unwarrantably represents the latter as much worse than the former.

the sinners.] The host of Pharaoh, which was overwhelmed in the Red Sea.

by the force of thunders.] This was the Jewish tradition: Ps. lxxvii. 15–20; Jos. 'Antt.' ii. 16, § 3. It is implied in Ex. xiv. 24.

a more hard and hateful behaviour toward strangers.] χαλεπωτέραν μισοξενίαν; Vulg., *detestabiliorum inhospitalitatem*. The comparative means "a harder exclusiveness" than that of the Sodomites or any previous offenders.

14. *For the Sodomites.*] Lit., "For they:" the writer in his usual euphuistic manner (comp. chap. x.) suppresses the name. Nothing is gained by this literary method, except that it proves to us that he is addressing Jews, who alone would have understood these anonymous allusions.

did not receive.] οὐκ ἐδέχοντο. Rejected from their hospitality; "were not for receiving."

ceive those, whom they knew not when they came: but these brought friends into bondage, that had well deserved of them.

15 And not only so, but peradventure some respect shall be had of those, because they used strangers not friendly:

16 But these very grievously afflicted them, whom they had received with feastings, and were already made partakers of the same laws with them.

17 Therefore even with blindness were these stricken, as [a] those were at the doors of the righteous man: when, being compassed about with horrible great darkness, every one sought the passage of his own doors.

18 For the elements were changed [1] in themselves by a kind of harmony,

[a] Gen. 19. 11.

[1] Gr. *by themselves.*

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whom they knew not.] The A. V. renders ἀγνοοῦντας as though it were ἀγνοουμένους or ἀγνῶτας (Vulg. *ignotos*). The word seems to mean "strangers, who knew not where they were." The allusion is to the Angels who came to Lot in human form.

friends . . . that had well deserved of them.] Lit., "stranger-benefactors." The Sodomites were less guilty in this respect than the Egyptians, who had received the greatest benefits from Joseph and the Israelites. It should be remembered that the dynasty which had first befriended the Patriarchs had been conquered and expelled.

15. *And not only so.*] They not only enslaved their strange benefactors, but (as he adds in the next verse), after having received them with feastings, they grievously afflicted them.

but.] The verse is strangely expressed, and has been explained in many different ways. It seems best to refer it in a quasi-parenthetical sense to the Sodomites.

some respect shall be had of those (*of the men of Sodom*).] If this view be correct, ἐπισκοπή, "visitation," is perhaps used in a good sense, as in ii. 20. The men of Sodom shall receive some consideration from the fact that those whom they rejected came to them as entire strangers, not as known benefactors. It is strange that he should not so much as touch on the horrible aggravation which made the sin of the Sodomites infinitely worse than mere want of hospitality.

because they used strangers not friendly.] Rather, "because they received unkindly the alien visitors." The emphasis is on ἀλλοτρίους. The men of Sodom did not add gross ingratitude to their inhospitality, but they added far deadlier crimes.

16. *whom they had received with feastings.*] Gen. xlvii. 1-12. The Egyptians "afflicted with terrible labours those who had already participated in the same rights as themselves." Both the men of Sodom and the Egyptians were punished with darkness, but the Egyptians much more severely, because of their worse guilt. The treatment of the historical circumstances is once more fanciful, not to say sophistical.

17. *with blindness.*] ἀορασίᾳ. The word is borrowed from the LXX. Gen. xix. 11; 2 Kings vi. 18.

at the doors of the righteous man.] Lot (x. 6; Gen. xix. 11).

with horrible darkness.] The strange epithet ἀχανεῖ is rendered by the Vulg. *subitaneis* (*tenebris*). The word means "yawning" (the ἀ being intensive). Another meaning which has been assigned to it is "speechless," *i.e.* reducing to speechlessness; but these "factitive epithets" ("*Rugosum* piper et *pallentis* grana cuminis," Pers.) are chiefly confined to poetry.

18. *For the elements.*] The writer here reverts from his digression to the thesis that the elements changed their usual nature at the Exodus (xix. 6)—a point which he has already illustrated. The meaning of this difficult verse seems to be: "For the elements being interchanged throughout themselves—as in a psaltery notes change the name of the measure—are always permanent in sound." The obscurity seems to arise from the confusion of the comparison with the thing to which it is compared. The last word ἤχῳ, "in sound," applies only to the notes of the psaltery, but is loosely attached to στοιχεῖα. The meaning then seems to be this—just as in a psaltery the notes may be various, and may change the name given to the tune, but still always remain notes, whether they be weak or strong, high or low, sudden or lingering; so the elements of creation may seem to change their normal action, but never change their essential nature. The writer is not thinking of a *harmony* unaffected by variations and discords, but of things which always retain their essence under all diversities of operation. Water and fire still continued to be water and fire, though they seemed to alter and almost interchange their natures. The phrase δι' ἑαυτῶν (A. V. "in themselves;" marg. "by themselves") cannot here mean "by their own action," but must mean "throughout themselves" (*durch einander*, Grimm), *i.e.* throughout their whole

like as in a psaltery notes change the name of the tune, and yet are always sounds; which may well be perceived by the sight of the things that have been done.

19 For earthly things were turned into watery, and the things, that before swam in the water, now went upon the ground.

20 [f] The fire had power in the water, forgetting his own virtue: and the water forgat his own quenching nature.

[f] ch. 16. 17.

21 On the other side, the flames wasted not the flesh of the corruptible living things, though they walked therein; [g] neither melted they the icy kind of heavenly meat, that was of nature apt to melt.

[g] ch. 16. 22.

22 For in all things, O Lord, thou didst magnify thy people, and glorify them, neither didst thou lightly regard them: but didst assist them in every time and place.

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extent they became for the time mutually interchangeable.

in a psaltery.] The word "psaltery" became known to the Jews in the Graeco-Syrian epoch (Dan. iii. 7).

yet are always sounds.] This rendering confuses everything, for *μένοντα* can only agree with *στοιχεῖα*, and yet is made to agree with *φθόγγοι*. The *ἤχῳ* is an awkward and needless addition of the writer. It has no meaning as referred to *στοιχεῖα*. What he means is that, in a psaltery, whatever the time or pitch, the *φθόγγοι* are always *φθόγγοι*; and in creation, however abnormal the special manifestation of the elements, they always remain elements. The ancients, like the moderns, were fond of these musical comparisons.

of the things that have been done.] The incidents of the Exodus.

19. *earthly things were turned into watery.*] It is hard to say what the writer specially meant by this remark. If he is alluding to the "frogs" (*v.* 10), they were rather water-creatures, which, as Philo says, became for the nonce land-creatures ('Vit. Mos.' i. 18). In these three verses (19–21) the writer does not even confine himself to Jewish legends, but lets his fancy run riot in the most arbitrary antitheses.

20. *The fire had power in the water.*] Chap. xvi. 17–25.

forgetting.] The reading of A, C is *ἐπιλελησμένον*, which may be a gloss. The meaning is that fire exceeded its own natural power in the midst of water.

21. *On the other side.*] Ἀνάπαλιν. Vulg., *e contrario.*

though they walked therein.] This transformation of the locusts, frogs, flies, &c., into creatures with the power of the fabled salamander seems to have pleased the writer, for he has already dwelt upon it (xvi. 18). It involves two perversions of history equally extravagant: one that all the plagues were simultaneously continued, the other that miracles were innumerably multiplied.

neither melted they.] The A. V. here follows the Vulg., *nec dissolvebant;* which seems to point (as Nannius conjectured) to an ancient reading, *οὐδὲ ἔτηκον*. If *τηκτὸν* be retained, we must understand *ἦν*. A substance which was icy, and so easily dissolvable, was undissolvable.

the icy kind of heavenly meat.] The manna. See on xvi. 22. *Heavenly;* lit., "ambrosial." By reverting to what he has already dwelt upon, the writer is able to illustrate his thesis that the elements changed their normal operations: and he thus ends in a blaze of futile paradoxes.

22. *in every time and place.*] The book appears to end abruptly, but doubtless this recognition of God's continual help was meant to close the whole subject. There is, therefore, no ground for regarding the book as a fragment. The writer has now fully developed the views which he most prominently desired to teach: the love of God for His people; the punishment of the wicked; the guilt and folly of idolatry; the analogy between sin and retribution; the nature of wisdom; the rewards and blessings of those who follow Wisdom, and the ruin of those who reject her. As he is writing in the person of Solomon, he might indeed have continued his historical illustrations through the period of the Judges and the early monarchy; but that epoch gave no such room for poetical and Hagadistic developments, and perhaps—being a period of almost continual backsliding—furnished problems with which it would have been difficult for the writer to deal in such a manner as to vaunt the super-eminent "righteousness" of Israel.

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